CHRISTIAN MISSIONS
AND
FOREIGN RELATIONS
IN CHINA,
AN HISTORICAL STUDY

by

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Note: A number of papers have been written and some have been omitted from publication. Hep.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1926, the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. sent a deputation to China to investigate conditions as they pertained to the missionary program of the church. The report of their findings presented to the church by Dr. Robert E. Speer and Dr. Hugh T. Kerr appeared in 1927. In this report the following statement is made:

"Sooner or later some one should undertake a careful, dispassionate and yet sympathetic study of the whole question of the relation of Christian missions and of Christianity in China to the Chinese Government and to Western Governments and to the treaties between them."

Even before this report appeared, the author of this treatise was at work on this theme. It is hoped that the following study will answer the above expressed need.

The author proposes to trace the history of the political affiliations of Christian missions in China and the effects of such affiliations from 635, when the Nestorians entered, to 1927, when the Nationalists captured Nanking. A new era in foreign mission work in China begins with 1927 and as such it makes a convenient stopping place for this study.

The treatise is divided into two main parts. The first part covers the period from 635 to 1842. China opened her doors and gave a hearty welcome to Christian missionaries when they first came to her land. After hundreds of years of contact with these workers, the doors of the Empire gradually closed to them, so that by 1747 the missionaries were forbidden residence, with the exception of a small band of Jesuits who were engaged in scientific work at Peking.

The modern era of China's history opens in 1842 with the Treaty of Nanjing, which marked the close of the first Anglo-Chinese war. That date marks the dawn of a new day for Christian missions in China, for in through the doors of the Empire, blown open by powerful foreign cannon, poured an ever enlarging stream of Christian missionaries.

The second part of this treatise covers the period from 1842 to 1927. During the first part of this period were written the treaties which contained the famous toleration clauses. Rarely if ever in history have the political and the religious factors been so intertwined.

This is the period which bears more directly upon present day problems. And yet to appreciate properly why the toleration clauses were written into the treaties, one must study the events prior to 1842. It is therefore hoped that the chapters dealing with the earlier period will not be found to be so far removed from present day problems as might appear at first glance.

The first part of this treatise deals largely with Nestorian and Roman Catholic activities, since but few Protestant missionaries reached China before 1842. In the second part, while the Roman Catholic work is traced out, attention is focused more particularly upon the Protestant aspect of this theme.

The author wishes to make it clear that this study is not a history of Christian missions in China. Instead, it is a history of Christian missionary activity in China in the light of political affiliations, both internal and external. The author proposes to show how the political affiliations of the missionaries contributed both to their successes and to their failures.
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Abbreviations used for Missionary Societies and Christian Organizations.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.B.C.F.M.</td>
<td>American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.B.M.U.</td>
<td>American Baptist Missionary Union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.B.S.</td>
<td>American Bible Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.W.U.</td>
<td>American Women's Union.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Basel Mission.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.F.B.S.</td>
<td>British and Foreign Bible Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.L.M.S.</td>
<td>Berlin Ladies Missionary Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.M.S.</td>
<td>Baptist Missionary Society (English).</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.C.C.</td>
<td>China Continuation Committee.</td>
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<td>C.I.M.</td>
<td>China Inland Mission.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.L.S.</td>
<td>Christian Literature Society.</td>
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<td>C.M.S.</td>
<td>Christian and Missionary Alliance.</td>
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<tr>
<td>E.P.M.</td>
<td>English Presbyterian Mission.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>Independent Missionaries.</td>
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<tr>
<td>L.M.S.</td>
<td>London Missionary Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>M.E.F.B.</td>
<td>Methodist Episcopal Church, North.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.S.</td>
<td>Methodist Episcopal Church, South.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.M.S.</td>
<td>Netherlands Missionary Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.E.</td>
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<td>P.N.</td>
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<td>P.S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>R.C.A.</td>
<td>Reformed Church in America.</td>
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<td>R.M.</td>
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<td>S.B.C.</td>
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<td>S.D.B.</td>
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<td>S.P.F.E.</td>
<td>Society for the Promotion of Female Education.</td>
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<td>W.F.M.S.</td>
<td>Women's Foreign Missionary Society.</td>
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<td>W.M.M.S.</td>
<td>Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.</td>
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<td>Y.M.C.A.</td>
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<td>Y.W.C.A.</td>
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PART ONE

635 - 1842

CHAPTER ONE

EMPIRE REPORTS TO LITTERATE CHRISTIANITY

1. The Historian - 632-1540
2. The Traveler - 1501-1540
Although there are a few earlier references to earlier efforts to introduce Christianity into China, the first attempt which was sufficiently successful to justify our attention was that of the Nestorians. Nestorianism was a direct consequence of the victories of Constantine, but who would have thought it a matter for the Council of Ephesus in 431 that Nestorianism possessed a vigorous vitality. The Nestorians played a real role for several centuries in the heart of China and was a cause of the rise of the Sung dynasty.

Because of the nature of our information, the history of the Nestorian work in China can be divided into two periods. The first period began with the year 635, when the Byzantine monk Nestor arrived at Cha'ang-an, the ancient capital of the T'ang dynasty. Cha'ang-an is now called Peking and is the capital of the provinces of T'ang. This period closed in 705, when a fierce persecution arose out against the Nestorians, in which the Nestorians also suffered.

The second period extended from 1293 to 1368, which was practically simultaneous with the rule of the Mongol or Yuan dynasty.

The Nestorian Stone The chief source of our information for the first period in the famous Nestorian stone which was found at

J. Williams, *The Nestorian Stone*, vol. 1, p. 276: "The Nestorians sought to introduce the art of the silk workers to Constantine in 635, but the Nestorians of China were not aware of the 4th century A.D. As early as 635, Nestorianism had spread far to the West, and it was even supposed to have come from Judaeo. See Beechill, "China and the Nestorians," 2, 26 A.D. 260, p. 1. Portal, or of Benben."
CHAPTER I
EARLY EFFORTS TO INTRODUCE CHRISTIANITY

The Nestorian - 635 - 1368

Although there are a few meager references to earlier efforts to introduce Christianity into China, the first attempt which was sufficiently successful to justify our attention was that of the Nestorians. Nestorius was a Syrian ecclesiastic, who was for a time patriarch of Constantinople, but who was condemned as a heretic by the Council of Ephesus in 431. His teachings possessed a vigorous vitality. His followers displayed a real zeal for evangelism. Nestorianism spread far into the heart of Asia and has continued through the centuries in Asia Minor even until today.

Because of the nature of our information, the history of the Nestorian work in China can be divided into two periods. The first period began with the year 635, when the Syrian monk A-lo-pen arrived at Ch'ang-an, the ancient capital of the Tang dynasty. Ch'ang-an is now called Hsianuant'ai, the capital of the province of Shensi. This period closed in 845, when a fierce persecution broke out against the Buddhists, in which the Nestorians also suffered.

The second period extended from 1264 to 1368, which dates practically coincide with the dates of the Mongol or Yuan dynasty.

The Nestorian Stone

The chief source of our information for the first period is the famous Nestorian stone which was found at

1. Williams, Kid. King. Vol. 2, p. 275; "The Nestorian monk who brought the eggs of the silk worm to Constantinople (A.D. 635) had resided long in China." Williams believes that there are grounds for placing the date of the first entry of the Nestorians into China as early as 605.

2. Sometimes written Olopun. He is supposed to have come from Judea. See Soothill, "China and the West" p. 28.
Chou-chih, about forty miles from Hsianfu in February, 1625. The famous monument was found by workmen who were excavating preparatory to the laying of foundations for a building. Two Chinese Christians with Father Nicholas Trigault, a French Jesuit, visited the place in October of 1625.

The dimensions of the stone are approximately nine by three by one foot. A Christian cross, similar to the one on the reputed tomb of St. Thomas at Malabar, is engraved over the inscription. One notices especially the non-Christian symbols which are on each side of the cross. On one side is the lotus blossom of Buddhism, on the other the cloud of Taoism. Beneath the cross are nine large Chinese characters which say that the monument was erected to commemorate the propagation of the Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom. Ta-ch'in was the Chinese name for the Roman Orient, or what might be called today the Near East, which was the home of the Nestorians or the Luminous Religion. The Middle Kingdom refers to China.

Beneath this title is the main inscription containing about two thousand Chinese characters which remain to this day the admiration of scholars in a land where calligraphy is ranked among the highest of the arts. This inscription tells us that the stone was erected during the reign of Te-tseng of the T'ang dynasty in 781. The writer, whose Syrian name was Adam, was then the head of the Nestorians in China. The main body of the inscription is divided into three parts.

The first section gives a vague and fanciful abstract of Christian doctrine. In this account there is no trace of the doctrines which caused Nestorius to be condemned as a

3. Parker, "China and Religion", p. 173 states that the discovery was made in 1623.
5. Various translations of the inscription may be found in Williams, "Middle Kingdom", Vol. 2, pp. 275 ff. Also, Holm, "My Nestorian Adventure".
heretic. The writer speaks about the Trinity, the creation, the fall, the guiding star, the coming of the wise men, the virgin birth, the incarnation, Christianity as 'the Way', and the holy life and ascension of the Messiah. He also refers to the twenty-seven books of the New Testament and to the sacrament of baptism.

While the writer was not giving a catechism, yet we regret that his statement of faith was so incomplete. The omissions are most significant. There is no mention of the death of Christ on the cross, and therefore no reference to the atonement. While the cross is engraved at the head of the monument and while it is spoken of as being a way of uniting people, still nothing is said of the connection between the cross and human sin. Neither is there any mention made of the resurrection.

The second section of the inscription refers to the history of the Luminous Religion in China. It tells us of how this monk by the name of A-lo-pen reached China in 635 when the great T'ai Tsung (627-649), the second emperor of the T'ang dynasty (618-907), was on the throne.

T'ai Tsung was a patron of learning. During his reign he extended a welcome to Buddhists, Parsees, and Manichaeans as well as to the Nestorians. A-lo-pen was well received at court. The Emperor not only gave him permission to preach publicly the doctrines of his faith, but also granted him the privilege of working in the palace library on the translation of the Scriptures. Three years after A-lo-pen's arrival, or in 638, T'ai Tsung issued an edict in favor of the new religion and ordered the erection of a monastery within the capital. Twenty-one priests were to be ordained
and connected with this monastery. A picture of the Emperor was to be hung within the building. The inscription on the Nestorian monument sings the praises of the great T'ai Tsung.

The next emperor, Kao Tsung (650-683) continued to favor the new religion. Monasteries were founded in many cities within ten provinces. Toward the end of the century, Buddhism began to get the upper hand and, as a result, the Nestorians were subjected to some persecution. During the reign of Ruin Tsung (713-755) new missionaries arrived, headed by Kie-leih, who were instrumental in winning back much of their lost prestige.

The third section of the inscription recapitulates in poetry what had been given in prose in the first two sections. At the bottom of the inscription are two lists of names, one written in Syriac characters, containing sixty-seven names, mostly of priests; the other written in Chinese characters, giving sixty-one names, all save one being of priests. The author of the inscription signs his name at the top of the Syriac list and dates the inscription as being at the "time of the Patriarch Hanajesu, Catholic Lord, Chief over the Bishops".

In 845, during the reign of Wu Tsung (841-847), who was an ardent Taoist, an edict was issued which was directed primarily against the Buddhists. Over 200,000 Buddhist monks and nuns were commanded to return to civil life. This same edict also commanded that the Christian and other foreign monks, between two and three thousand in number, should do the same. During the persecution that followed, 4,600 Buddhist monasteries were destroyed. This persecution marks one of

7. Parker, "China and Religion", p. 128 states that the Patriarch Hanajesu has been identified with Manasichnshah, a Nestorian patriarch.
the few times Buddhism has so suffered in China. The Nestorians evidently suffered with them. From 845 to 1264 we have very little information regarding the presence or the work of the Nestorians in China. In 980 a monk who had been sent to China with five companions to supervise the work of the church returned with the news that he could find no Christians in the Empire.

History of the monument

When the Nestorian monument was discovered in 1625, it was then under ground. Abbe Huc, a well-known Roman Catholic writer on China of the past century, quotes from the 'great Imperial Geography' regarding the stone to the effect that "during the years Thien-tchun (1457-1464) the strangers from Thsin repaired it". Huc feels that these strangers were Christians who in the fifteenth century "enjoyed enough freedom to be able to repair the monument that had been raised by the faith of their fathers in the seventh".

We can only speculate as to how the monument came to be buried. It may have been knocked over, and then have sunk by its own weight into the ground, gradually being covered with earth. Surely, if Huc's quotation be true, it could not have been lost to sight for much more than a century and a half. Soon after its discovery the stone was taken to Hsianfu and set up in a small temple nearly two miles outside the west gate of the city. It remained there until October 1907, when it was removed to a place of safe-keeping, called "The Forest of Tablets", within the city walls, where it remains at this time. It has a right to be ranked with the famous stone monuments of the world, such as the Moabite and the Rosetta stones.

10. Ibid. p. 77.
The inscription confirmed the authenticity of the inscription was challenged by such men as Voltaire, and even by some Protestant missionaries. Voltaire claimed that it was nothing more than another pious fraud perpetrated by the Jesuits. Even before recent researches dissolved all doubts regarding the authenticity of the monument, most scholars felt that the very nature of the inscription itself was such as to insure its genuineness. In 1908, Professor Paul Pelliot discovered at Tun Huang a Chinese manuscript of the period contemporary with the first Nestorian effort which mentions the coming of A-lo-pen to China during the reign of T'ai Tsung. The manuscript also gives a hymn to the Trinity and a list of sacred books.

The Second Period of Nestorianism in China.

The first effort of the Nestorian Church to establish itself in China failed. The knowledge of the effort almost, if not completely, passed from man's memory and was not revived until the discovery of the Nestorian stone in 1625. Several centuries passed, then with the coming of the Mongols we hear about the Nestorians being in China again.

Before the Nestorians returned to China we find them active in Central Asia among the peoples who bordered on China. At about the beginning of the eleventh century western Asia, Europe, and northern Africa were greatly stirred by the news of the conversion to Christianity of a powerful Kerait chieftain known as Prester John. Beginning with the eleventh and continuing through the twelfth and thirteenth to the fourteenth century, the renown of this monarch kept growing.

There has been considerable speculation as to who this Prester John was.

The first Prester John is reported to have been converted to Nestorianism in 1001 together with two hundred thousand of his subjects. Perhaps this is the same chieftain who is reported to have been converted by the Bishop of Merv in 1007. Gowen writes:

"Perhaps the best guess is that he was no other than the Georgian prince Ivan, who in 1123 delivered his country out of Moslem hands."

A common and popular identification has been with Unc Khan (or Ung Khan or Wang Khan) who was once an ally and then a foe of Jenghiz Khan. We find both Marco Polo and William of Rubruk making such an identification.

In 1297, a Dominican by the name of Philip informed Pope Gregory IX of the wide extent of the authority of the Nestorians in the territory of "the priest John, as well as over other countries." As late as 1326 we find Friar Odoric making reference to a ruler whom he calls Prester John.

An ingenious explanation of the astonishing longevity of this ruler is made by Abbé Huc. According to his exegesis of the name Khan, it means ruler. Western travelers wrote it "Chan", "Caan", "Ghan", and then finally "John". Prester evidently is the same as "Priest".

In general, the seat of the Khans was northwest of the great wall of China, some six hundred miles from the Peking of today.

It appears that this large and powerful Kerait tribe adopted the Nestorian faith early in the eleventh century. When Jenghiz Khan conquered Unc Khan, he arranged for the

marriage of his youngest son Tuli to a Christian princess of the Keraits, a niece of Unc Khan, called Sorhabtomi.

To this union were born three great Mongol leaders, Mangu, Hulagu, and Kublai.

Jenghiz Khan was succeeded by his third son, Ogodai (1125-1241), who subdued the Chin Tartars and annexed Northern China. During his reign his armies swept as far westward as Liegnitz in Silesia, which was taken in 1241.

Ogodai was succeeded by his son Kuyuk (1246-1248). In 1251, Mangu, a cousin of Kuyuk and a son of Tuli, became Khan. Mangu was succeeded by Kublai (1259-1294). Under Kublai Khan the conquest of the Sung dynasty in China was completed and thus all of China brought under the Mongol rule. Kublai Khan established his capital at Cambaluc, better known as Peking.

The invasion of eastern Europe by missionaries the Tartars was one reason why Pope Innocent IV called a church council to meet in Lyons in 1245. This council was to consider, among other things, ways and means of protecting Europe against the Tartar invasion. The dread of the 'yellow peril' is no modern fear. This Council of Lyons made several suggestions. It called for days of fasting and prayer. The border towns were told to fortify themselves. And finally, it was decreed that missionaries should be sent

"to the chiefs of the barbarians with letters from the Pope, entreating them to shed no more Christian blood, and be converted to the one true faith."

Thus out of fear was born in the Western Church the first impulse to evangelize the Orient.

20. Sometimes spelt Octai, Okkodai, or Ogodai.
22. Sometimes spelt Khubilai.
23. Now known as Peiping. However, throughout this treatise the old name of Peking will be used.
On Easter day, 1245, a party of seven missionaries, including four Dominicans and three Franciscans, left the city of Lyons for China. They arrived in China at the beginning of the reign of Kuyuk Khan. They delivered the letter which the Pope had sent. In this letter the Pope not only counseled moderation but inquired as to whether or not the Khan considered himself to be a Christian. In his reply, the Khan bluntly stated that if the Pope really wished to know this let him come and see. He also added that it behooved the Pope to act as a suppliant if he wished to escape the general destruction.

The Franciscan, John of Plano Carpini, left an account of this mission. He tells of the rough welcome which he and his comrades received in China. It may be that the jealousy of the Nestorians was partly responsible for this lack of cordiality. The mission returned home in June, 1247.

In 1253, Louis IX of France sent two Franciscan monks, one of whom was William of Rubruk. William of Rubruk was a friend and correspondent of Roger Bacon and has left us some interesting accounts of his travels. He and his companion arrived at the court of Mangu Khan then located at Karakorum. In William's accounts we find frequent mention of the Nestorians. Of them he says that although they

"possess the Holy Scriptures in the Syriac tongue, they scarcely understand anything of them. They chant like our ignorant monks who do not know Latin, and thence it comes that they are mostly corrupt and wicked, and especially great usurers and drunkards."

Here we have additional evidence of the antipathy which existed between the Nestorians and the missionaries.

25. Gowen and Hall, op. cit., p. 84.
27. Sometimes spelt Rubruquis or Rubruck.
of the western church. As shall be shown later on, the antipathy existing between the Nestorians and Franciscans adversely affected the Franciscan work which was established at Peking.

The next visitor from the west whom we are to consider is Marco Polo, who arrived at the court of Kublai Khan in Peking in 1274. Kublai Khan is looked upon as being the founder of the Mongol or Yuan dynasty in China. It is claimed that he was sovereign over the most enormous empire ever recorded in the history of mankind.

"It comprised the whole of China, Corea, Tibet, Tonquin, and Cochinchina, a great part of India beyond the Ganges; many islands of the Indian ocean; and the whole north of the continent of Asia from the Pacific to the Dniiper. Persia also was a feudatory of his throne."

The conquest of China by the Mongols marks the beginning of the second period of Nestorianism in China. The Mongols had first conquered the Nestorian tribes. They were tolerant to Christianity. Hence when the Mongols entered China, the Nestorians went with them.

Marco Polo is a valuable source for the extent of the Nestorian activities in China during this period. He tells us that there were Nestorian Christians in the court of Kublai Khan. The emperor frequently gave preference to Nestorians in his official appointments because "they did not tell lies". We hear especially of one Nestorian official by the name of Mar Sergius of Samarkand who was appointed by Kublai Khan and who lived at Chinkiang. Marco Polo states that this official built in that city two Nestorian churches in 1278. He also states that "before his time there was no church.

neither were there any Christians". He makes mention of the presence of Nestorians in Kinsay (now Hangchow), Cacanfu (now Hekienfoo in Chihli), Yangchow, Suchou, Siningfoo, and Kanchou in Kansu. He speaks of them being in far distant Yunnan. From Marco Polo's writings it appears that the Nestorians were confined to the northern provinces and to the arteries of trade. In 1289, a board for the control of the Christian clergy was established under Kublai Khan. It is reported that there were then seventy-two quasi-dioceses in the empire.

The evidence is quite clear that Nestorianism was reintroduced into China during Kublai Khan's reign. It is not likely that the Sung dynasty would have shown much, if any, sympathy to the Nestorians, for the Nestorian faith was so linked up with the hated Tartar tribes that it would have been, on that ground alone, objectionable to the Chinese. The sympathy of Kublai Khan for the Christians is seen in his request for missionaries. Once he said to the Polo brothers:

"But now you shall go to your Pope, and pray him on my part to send hither an hundred men skilled in your law who shall be capable of rebuking the idolaters to their faces... When we shall witness this we will denounce the idolaters and their religion, and then I will receive baptism; and when I shall have been baptized, then all my barons and chiefs shall be baptized also, and their followers shall do the like, and thus in the end there will be more Christians here than exist in your part of the world."

An interesting side-light, which shows how influential the Nestorians became in China during the Mongol dynasty, is found in the fact that Mark, a native of Shensi, became Patriarch of the whole Nestorian Church during the years 1281-1317 under the name of Mar Jaballaha.

35. Soothill, "China and the West", p. 29.
The failure of Nestorianism in China continued for several centuries under the Ming dynasty but we hear little or nothing of their activities. The Jesuit father, Ricci, in 1608 speaks of the "last trembling remnant of the worshippers of the Cross" as living at Kai-feng, in the center of Honan province. Thus we see that we have about a thousand-year history of the Nestorians in China.

Looking back over this millennium we can point to but few results of their long occupancy. They entered China at an auspicious time. The doors of the Empire were open. The rulers were tolerant and sympathetic. Every encouragement was given to the missionaries. At least two great monarchs, T'ai Tsung and Kublai Khan, gave personal assistance to their cause. They occupied high positions of trust in the government. And yet Nestorianism failed to take root and thrive.

In the light of the history of a contemporary movement, namely that of the Mohammedan religion in China, the failure of the Nestorians is all the more inexplicable. Mohammedanism was introduced into China about 755, when one of the T'ang emperors brought four thousand Arab mercenaries into China to aid him in his campaigns. As compensation for their services, these soldiers were given Chinese wives and places to live in some of the chief cities.

36. Peking means 'north capital'; Nanking means 'south capital'. Some of the tombs of the early members of the Ming dynasty may be seen east of Nanking.
37. Boothill, op. cit., p. 29.
Marco Polo states that in his day the province of Yunan was largely Mohammedan. S.H. Zwemer, a well-known authority on Islam, puts the present day population of Mohammedans in China at about nine million. Today they are found in at least half of the provinces of China. They were important enough at the time of the Revolution in 1911-1912 to be represented by one of the bars on the five-bar flag adopted by the Republic as its national emblem. Why was it possible to so remember the Mohammedans and not the Nestorians?

The problem becomes even more perplexing when we remember that the Mohammedans were not allowed by their own religious precepts to translate the Koran, whereas one of the first things A-lo-pen did was to translate the Christian scriptures into Chinese. Moreover we have no evidence to believe that the Mohammedans enjoyed imperial favor to the extent that enjoyed by the Nestorians.

Both Nestorianism and Mohammedanism were foreign religions introduced by foreigners. Nestorianism had the advantage in that it was fairly well established before Mohammedanism arrived. And yet, whereas Mohammedanism took root and flourished, Nestorianism gradually died out.

How can we account for this failure? To say that they were persecuted is not an answer, for Christianity has been persecuted elsewhere. Such persecutions have been but the birth-pangs of a larger church in practically every field and in every age in which the church has been planted.

Among the most reasonable explanations offered for

38. Presbyterian Magazine, Jan. 1930, p. 32 T. Richard in "Conversion by the Million" Vol.2, p. 1 estimated the Mohammedan population in China in 1907 to have been twenty million. One hundred thousand were supposed to have been in Peking where they were served by some fifteen mosques.
this failure of Nestorianism to take root in China is the observation that the Nestorians compromised too much with Buddhism and Taoism. They failed to keep a pure form of doctrine. The inscription on the Nestorian monument reveals an emasculated form of Christianity, since no mention is made there of some of the most fundamental doctrines of Christianity, such as the atonement. The presence of the lotus blossom and the cloud along with the cross seem to suggest further that a too close affinity with these other faiths caused Nestorianism to lose its own distinctive character. Mohammedanism, on the other hand, retained its intolerant attitude on such questions as polytheism and idolatry.

Perhaps the mother-church failed to support its representatives in China. Some students feel that the rise of Mohammedanism formed a great barrier which separated the mission from the mother-church. It appears that the Nestorians failed to develop native leadership. The church did not become "indigenous". Huc states: "They bestowed no pains on the formation of a native clergy".

Surely another factor contributing to this failure was the jealousies and animosities which existed between the Nestorians and the Franciscans during the days of the Mongol dynasty. No basis of union could be found and instead of co-operating and taking advantage of the splendid opportunity which was theirs, they spent time and energy in reviling one another.

John of Monte Corvino, the father of the Franciscan mission in Peking, once wrote:

"These Nestorians dwelling in the said empire of Cathay, number more than 30,000, and are very rich; but many of them fear the Christians. They have very beautiful and very holy churches with crosses and images in honour of God and of the saints. They receive from the said emperor several offices and he grants them many privileges, and it is thought that if they would consent to unite with these Minorites and with other good Christians who reside in this country, they might convert the whole of this country and the emperor to the true faith."

But jealousies kept them apart and in the end both the Nestorians and the Franciscans suffered.

In addition to the above mentioned causes for the failure of the Nestorians to take root and thrive must be mentioned the political reason. This does not appear to have been a vital factor in the first period of Nestorian history in China. Yet even then the Nestorians were looked upon as a foreign religion.

This reason was perhaps the most important factor contributing to the final overthrow of the faith at the close of the Mongol dynasty. From the very beginning the Syrian priests were closely linked with the court. Kublai Khan, himself a foreigner, had conquered China by force of arms. As long as his successors held the throne it was by virtue of the same right. Foreigners, many of them Nestorians, occupied high positions. Both Nestorians and Franciscans enjoyed imperial favors. It is easy to see how the Chinese would identify the Christian religion as an integral part of the hated foreign rule. When the Chinese rebelled and the turnover came, all foreigners were banished, the priests from the west as well as the princes who had favored them. The Mongol rulers and the Nestorians were partners both in fortune and in misfortune. The spiritual message of Christianity got lost in the

political upheaval.

Mohammedanism had by this time become thoroughly indigenous. It was free from these political alliances, and thus it escaped the fate which was meted out to both the Nestorians and the Franciscans at the time of the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty.

At the very beginning of our study of the Christian movement in China in the light of its political affiliations we see how such an alliance brought disastrous results to the Christian cause.

The Franciscan - 1293 - 1368

Contemporary with the second effort of the Nestorian missions in China was the Franciscan effort to evangelize that land. John of Monte Corvino reached Peking in 1293. After only seventy-five years labor the Franciscans were obliged to cease their efforts in 1368, when the Mongol dynasty came to its end. Thus both the Nestorians and the Franciscan missions came to the same end at the same time and for the same reason.

Perhaps it might be said that the Franciscan effort began in 1245, when Pope Innocent IV sent John of Plano Carpini, who was an immediate disciple of St. Francis, to Karakorum to urge the Mongol ruler to become a Christian. John and his companions reached their objective but did not enter China.

The first known Europeans to enter China were not missionaries but merchants. About 1265 the Polo brothers,
Nicolo and Maifeo, reached the court of Kublai Khan at Peking. They returned to Venice in 1269, taking about three years to make the return journey. They brought with them an official request from the Chinese Emperor for one hundred Christian missionaries. The Pope was dead when the Polo brothers got back. The election of a new pope was delayed for about two years by ecclesiastical politics. After waiting this long the Polo brothers started back for China, taking with them Marco, the son of Nicolo. Hearing of the election of Gregory X, the Polos turned back to see if the new Pope could do anything to answer the Emperor's request. All that Gregory X could do then was to send two Dominicans. The Polos with the friars started out again, leaving in November of 1271. The two friars became frightened because of a war, and perhaps also at the prospect of such a long trip, and so turned back. The Polos were obliged to go on without missionaries, and thus the church lost for the time being a great opportunity.

About twenty years after the

John of Monte Corvino delivery of the request of Kublai Khan for missionaries, the Roman see made another effort to send missionaries to China. In 1288 Pope Nicholas IV sent John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan, to Peking. John writing of his trip states that he left Tarsus, a Persian city in 1291 and went by way of India. He remained in India about thirteen months before continuing on to China. He arrived at the court of Kublai Khan in Peking in 1294, shortly after the death of that great emperor. Kublai Khan was succeeded by his grandson Timur Khan or Ch'eng Tsung (1294-1308), and to him John presented the pope's letter. John of Monte Corvino has the honor of being the 42. See p. 11 and footnote 34 of this treatise.
first Roman Catholic missionary to reach China.

John met with considerable success. He was highly honored and favored by the Emperor. Within six years after his arrival he had erected a church in Peking which had a bell-tower with six bells. Several of John's letters are extant from which we can gather some very interesting information. John makes special mention of the opposition he received from the Nestorians. In a letter written in 1303 or 1304 he said:

"In the same city (Peking) I have baptized hitherto, as I suppose, about 5,000 persons; and had it not been for the calumnious charges before mentioned, I should have baptized 30,000."

And here is the story of the charges which the Nestorians brought against him:

"Certain Nestorians who, though pretending to be Christians, conform but little to the Christian religion, have acquired much authority in this country, and will scarcely allow Christians of another creed to establish an oratory or a church . . . . These Nestorians . . . have raised the most determined persecutions against me. They produced false witnesses who maintained that I had killed a foreign ambassador, in India, who had been entrusted with a treasure to take to the emperor, which I had myself seized upon. This persecution lasted for nearly five years, during which time I was often in the hands of justice, and was threatened with an ignominious death; but at last, by the grace of God, the testimony of a certain individual proved my innocence to the emperor, and at the same time showed him the malice of my enemies who were then exiled with their wives and families."

John was very eager to win the Emperor to the faith and once mentions in his letters that if he could have but two or three companions to assist him "perhaps the Khan, the Emperor, would have been baptized." In a letter dated January 8, 1305, he makes mention of the fact that he had been living in the court:

"With a letter from his Lordship the Pope, I

invited him (the Emperor) to embrace the Catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. He is, however, too hardened in idolatry. Nevertheless he confers many favors upon Christians; and I have been staying with him for more than two years."

John trained some one hundred and fifty boys whose ages varied from seven to eleven to assist him. Eleven of these were taught to chant in Latin. This, he claims, often brought pleasure to the Emperor. In the same letter, John speaks of having translated the whole of the New Testament and the Psalms. Among his converts was King George, a descendant of Prester John, a prince of the royal household, and one who had been a Nestorian. He proved to be a most influential convert. Marco Polo makes mention of him. We find that many of the Nestorians were received into the Roman Catholic Church. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Nestorians were so bitter against John.

During most of John's thirty-five years residence in Peking, he labored alone. After his first eleven years, Brother Arnold of Cologne arrived to assist him. Brother Arnold stayed for two years. The news of John's success created much interest in Europe. In 1307, the Pope created John the first Archbishop of Peking. In that year seven suffragan bishops were sent out, three of whom arrived in Peking. These three consecrated John in 1308. In 1311, Pope Clement V sent out three more bishops, of whom only one succeeded in reaching his destination.

John died in 1328. At that time he is reported to have had some thirty thousand converts. Shortly before his death he wrote:

"It is now twelve years since I have had any news from the west. I am becoming old and grey-headed, but it is rather through labors and tribulations than through age, for I am only fifty-eight years old."

His death revealed the great affection in which he was held by the citizens of Peking. Christians and non-Christians alike joined in the funeral service.

After the death of Archbishop John, reinforcements sent by the Pope John XXII commissioned another Franciscan by the name of Nicholas, who was a member of the theological faculty at the University of Paris, to occupy the post at Peking. We have a record of the departure of Nicholas in 1333 with twenty-six companions, twenty of whom were priests. It is to be doubted that they ever reached Peking. Emperor Shun Ti (1333-1369), the last of the Mongol Emperors, in his eagerness to have someone succeed Archbishop John, sent an ambassador to the Pope asking for another missionary. This ambassador arrived in Europe in 1338 and laid his appeal before Benedict XII at Avignon.

The Pope sent a legate, John of Marignolli, who arrived in China in 1342. Cordier speaks of the martyrdom of James of Florence in 1362, perhaps during the strife which preceded and accompanied the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty.

Among the visitors to China during this period was the Franciscan friar, Odoric of Pordenone, who was in China for three years sometime between 1322 and 1328. He is reported to have baptized "20,000 heathen" including many nobles. Odoric died in 1331.

China gave to Europe some exceedingly valuable gifts. Among these should be mentioned the silkworm, the mariner's compass, gunpowder, and possibly the art of block-printing. In later centuries it was by using the compass that the

47. Cordier, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 245, states that the party arrived in China. See also Parker, "China and Religion" p. 187 who says that they arrived in 1342. Latourette, op. cit., p. 72 feels that Nicholas died before he got to China.
Europeans were able to find a sea route to China after the overland route had been blocked. And later still, it was by use of gunpowder that China was reluctantly forced to permit foreigners to dwell within her borders. And partly by means of the printed page the missionaries sought to spread abroad the knowledge of the gospel.

When the Mongol dynasty was superseded the Franciscans by the Ming, Christianity in China disappeared almost as completely, if not more so, as it had at the close of the T'ang dynasty. Like Nestorianism, Roman Catholic Christianity was unable to survive the political upheaval that took place about 1368. As far as the history of the Christian Church in China is concerned, the first two hundred years of the Ming dynasty is practically a blank.

We hear of a few efforts that the Roman Catholic Church made to keep in contact with the work which the Franciscans had started. In 1370, Pope Urban V sent a mission consisting of an Archbishop and twelve companions to Peking, but nothing more is heard of them. Even as late as 1472, we read of one, Alexander de Caffa, being sent to Peking. He too failed to reach Peking for he was captured by the Turks.

The overland route to China was closed by the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Egyptian-Indo route was closed by the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Sultan Selim conquered Egypt. Europe was cut off from China until the beginning of the sea trade which was started by the Portuguese about the middle of the sixteenth century.

52. Gowen and Hall, op. cit., p. 105.
Therefore, as we analyse the reasons for the failure of the Franciscans, we must remember the difficulties connected with transportation and communication. Such difficulties meant more to the Roman Catholic church than they did to the Nestorian church. Most of the reasons set forth to explain the failure of the Nestorians apply to the Franciscans as well. The most important of all of these reasons was the political reason.

The fortunes of the Franciscans were so closely identified with those of the Mongols that when the rebellion came, the Christian work suffered because of that alliance. It was a foreign religion, propagated by foreigners, and supported by the hated Mongols. Need any one wonder that the Hinges were not sympathetic?
PART ONE
635 - 1842

CHAPTER II

CHRISTIANITY UNDER THE MINGS
1562 - 1644
CHAPTER II
CHRISTIANITY UNDER THE MINGS
1582 - 1644

More than two hundred years passed after the failure of the Franciscans in China before the Roman Catholic Church was able to resume her labors in that land. This was due partly to the fact that the overland routes to China were made unsafe by wars or by the hostility of the Moslems.

A new route discovered his trip around Cape Good Hope. Others ventured where he led. Vasco da Gama reached Malabar in 1498. In 1511, the Portuguese had pushed further east and had taken Malacca. China viewed this as an infringement upon her sovereign rights. Five years later the first European flag, the Portuguese, was borne by a ship off the China coast. With the discovery of this new route to the East, a whole new world of possibilities was opened to the Europeans, for both the merchant and the missionary.

The Chinese of the sixteenth century were suspicious not friendly to the foreigner. Japanese pirates had repeatedly ravaged the coast and had aroused suspicions and fears of the foreigner. Unfortunately the Portuguese only made matters worse. As early as 1581, we read of a Portuguese leader being expelled from Canton because of his atrocities. Because of his lawlessness and avarice, the foreigner was called the barbarian. The Chinese continually used this term, even in their official correspondence, when speaking of the foreigner until 1842, when a clause in the Nanking treaty was inserted to forbid its further use.

1. Koo, "Status of Aliens in China", p. 21. "In 1511, the Sultan of Malacca reported to the Emperor of China that the Portuguese had taken his island by force."
Trading points were opened at a number of places along the coast, but by 1550 the Portuguese had been expelled from all of these except the island of Shangch'uen just south of Canton. Williams gives us the story of how the ill conduct of the Portuguese at Ningpo drew upon them the vengeance of the Chinese in 1545. He claims that the Chinese killed 12,000 Christians, including eight hundred Portuguese, and in addition burned thirty-five ships and two junks. The survivors of this tragedy went to Shangch'uen. This record seems to indicate that some of the Portuguese at Ningpo had been doing some missionary work and had met with considerable success. It also appears that the unconverted natives identified the Christians with the hated foreigners and directed their vengeance against both. The number of ships destroyed and the size of the Portuguese colony indicate that by 1545 a flourishing trade had been established.

In 1557, the Chinese officials permitted the Portuguese to occupy a peninsula, which had a fine harbor on it, near Canton. Here the Portuguese built Macao, which played a most important part in the commercial, diplomatic, and ecclesiastical relationships between China and the western powers for nearly three centuries.

These early contacts that the Chinese had with the foreigners were of such a nature as to prejudice the Chinese against all foreigners. The fact that a foreigner might wish to expound the doctrines of a new religion did not differentiate him from the foreigner who was there to trade. All foreigners were barbarians. Unfortunately for the Christian cause, the attitudes and deeds of the foreign

3. The name means three hills. The island is sometimes called St. John's Island.
traders especially, continued to be such as to confirm the Chinese in their fears and suspicions.

Francis Xavier was the forerunner of the Jesuit mission in China. He first preached in India and there had the joy of seeing his labors bring forth much fruit. He then went to Japan, where he met with further success in the years 1549-51. Xavier noticed in Japan the great respect the Japanese had for the Chinese. He became convinced that China occupied the key position in the evangelization of the Orient. He felt that if China could first be won for Christ, then Japan would soon follow her example.

About that time, China was expelling the Portuguese from their trading-posts and confining such trading activities as were permitted to St. John's Island. Foreigners were not permitted entrance into the Empire. Moreover, Xavier faced the opposition of his own countrymen, who felt that any missionary activity would only make matters worse in that it might cause the Chinese to cancel even the right to dwell on St. John's Island. However, Xavier persisted in his hope of opening China for the gospel.

In these hopes and desires Xavier had the cooperation of a Portuguese merchant by the name of James Pereria. From Japan, Xavier went to Goa, a Portuguese colony in India, and there perfected his plans. Pereria was to be appointed by the Viceroy at Goa the head of a Portuguese embassy to visit the Chinese Emperor. The objects desired by the embassy were the release of certain Portuguese
captives, the securing of better commercial relations, and the opening of China for the Christian gospel. Francis Xavier planned to go with the embassy for the purpose of securing the latter objective. At Goa, Xavier secured the necessary co-operation of the Portuguese Viceroy, who not only gave the expedition his sanction by appointing Pereria the official representative of the King but also showed his approval by providing a ship.

Pereria was to take costly gifts as presents for the Chinese Emperor. In a letter to the King of Portugal dated April 10, 1552, Xavier makes mention of a gift which he intended to take. It was

"a precious gift, such as I doubt whether ever King sent to King with in the memory of men, namely the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which, if the King of China knows its value, he will place far above all his treasures, however great."

In April, 1552, the expedition left Goa. At Malacca, the ship was seized by the Governor, who was then Don Alvaro de Ataide, a son of Vasco da Gama. Don Alvaro, for some reason, was bitterly opposed to the expedition. Some feel that Don Alvaro was jealous of the merchant who was made a royal representative. Others feel that Don Alvaro shared the suspicions of the Portuguese merchants who felt that such an expedition would only make matters worse.

One authority writes of the Portuguese merchants:

"They expected to see themselves exposed to the anger of the Chinese authorities, who would not fail to make it a pretext for robbing them of their merchandise, and forbidding all future commercial intercourse with China. They therefore entreated the missionary to abandon his project."

However, Xavier refused to give up the expedition. He did everything within his power to secure the release of the ship. He tried to bring punishment to Don Alvaro.

by reporting his actions to the Viceroy in India and to the King of Portugal. He sought ecclesiastical vengeance as well as civil. To one friend in Goa he wrote:

"Take special care that the Bishop sends to his vicar at Malacca, a formal communication, by which the Governor of Malacca, and all others who have contributed to frustrate so good and Christian a work, may be publicly, and by name, interdicted from sacred things."

James Pererio did all that he could to aid Xavier. One of his ships, the Santa Cruz, was leaving Malacca for St. John's Island near Canton, and Xavier was given passage on it. Xavier boldly pushed on alone to seek an interview with the Emperor of China, having with him no companion other than a native interpreter. At St. John's Island, Xavier learned that not only were foreigners forbidden to enter China but also that the death penalty would be meted out to any who attempted to smuggle a foreigner into the country. Nevertheless, Xavier sought to bribe some Chinese to run the risk. He writes of the bribe demanded as being "enormous". A Chinese merchant was found who, for $300, was willing to run the risk. Xavier's interpreter however forsook him. The Portuguese merchants entreated him to wait until their ships had sailed for Malacca. This Xavier consented to do. After the ships sailed, Xavier was taken ill. He died December 2, 1552, within sight of the land he so much wished to occupy in the name of Christ.

These words, "Oh rock, rock, when wilt thou open to the Lord?" have often been attributed to Xavier. In reality they were spoken by Alexander Valignani, the Superior of the Jesuit missions in the Orient, at least twenty years after the death of Xavier.

This story of the opposition of the merchants to the Christian missionary cause is but the beginning of a series of such stories. Time and time again obstacles were thrown in the path of the missionaries because the merchants felt that the missionary program would endanger commercial relationships. This was a difficulty which the Nestorians and the Franciscans of an earlier period did not have to face. The fortunes of the trader and the missionary were interwoven. Both left their impress upon diplomatic affairs.

Matteo Ricci

Toward the close of the sixteenth century, the Spanish as well as the Portuguese had established themselves in the Orient. Spain took possession of the Philippines and in 1571 established her capital at Manila. The islands were opened to missionary work and soon Spanish Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits began activities. Several efforts were made both by the Portuguese and the Spanish to open mission work in China following the death of Xavier. However, all such efforts failed until Ruggerius and Ricci in 1582 or 1583 succeeded in establishing a residence at Chaoch'ing, the capital of Kwantung province. This city was not far from Canton.

In 1674 Valignani visited the Orient and picked out Macao as a base for missionary activities. He sent to Macao three missionaries, Ruggerius, Ricci, and Pasio. Pasio soon joined the mission in Japan. Matteo Ricci was by far the most influential in this band of three and is justly looked upon as being the real founder of this second effort of Rome to plant Christianity in China. The dates of this period extend therefore from 1582 when Ricci arrived to 1644 when the Ming dynasty was superseded by the Manchu, and when Christianity was both proscribed
and persecuted throughout the bounds of the Empire.

Reinforcements arrive

Ruggerius arrived in Macao in 1579. Ricci came three years later. In the latter part of 1582 or in the early part of 1583, these two missionaries were able to take up residence in a Buddhist temple at Chaoch'ing. The missionaries were well acquainted with the sciences of their day. Ricci had studied astronomy under one of the greatest teachers of Europe. All of this knowledge was to be of great value to them.

Hue tells of a simple trick which the Jesuit missionaries used on the Chinese while they were still living at Chaoch'ing. The Chinese in referring to their nation as the Middle Kingdom sincerely believed that they did occupy the central position on the earth's surface. They believed the earth to be flat and square. Therefore, when they saw the foreign maps with China placed off in a corner, they were troubled. Ricci discreetly altered the maps so as to bring China in the center "to their great satisfaction".

Hue quotes these words from Father Trigault:

"Truly one could not at that time have found an invention more calculated to dispose the people to receive the mysteries of our religion. In truth by this decoy, many Chinese were drawn into the bosom of the church."

There is a record of a trip that Ruggerius and a companion took which carried them as far north as Hangchow in 1588. However they had to face many difficulties. All was not well at Chaoch'ing. In 1588, Ruggerius left for Europe with the hope of securing an embassy to go to the Emperor to arrange for more tolerant conditions. In this he was unsuccessful. In 1589, Ricci and his companions were obliged to remove to Ch'aochou.

9. Williams, "Middle Kingdom", Vol. 2, p. 239 states that he arrived in 1580.
The missionaries were convinced that no permanent success could be secured so long as the work was at the mercy of the local officials. Ricci was determined to make his appeal direct to the Emperor and to his court. Xavier had wanted to do this same thing. Ricci felt that he could reach the educated classes through literary and scientific channels. So, wearing the dress of a scholar, Ricci set out overland in 1595 for Nanking. Up to this year the missionaries had worn the garb of the Buddhist priesthood, but they learned that such a dress did not command the respect that the dress of a scholar did. Ricci's great learning harmonized with his new disguise. The Chinese philosophers welcomed him as a brother.

Ricci visited Nanhang and Nanking on his northward pilgrimage, and finally on January 4, 1601, together with Father Dioces, he arrived in Peking. Ricci had with him a number of foreign presents, such as clocks, which he gave to the Emperor. He willingly performed the required kowtow which was required of all who came into the presence of the Chinese monarch. Shan Tang, also referred to as Wen Li (1573-1620), was then ruling.

The kowtow ceremony later became an important factor in international relations. To kowtow one had to get down on his knees and bump his forehead against the floor nine times, in series of three bumps each. Between each series of three bumps one had to stand erect. The worshippers in the temple performed this ceremony before the idols. The foreign diplomats refused to perform the service because they felt that it was humiliating, that it carried with it the idea of worship, and that it implied the recognition of
the Chinese Emperor's claim to superiority. The Chinese had real difficulty in understanding why the foreign diplomats refused to observe what was to them an inflexible rule. They referred to the example of the Jesuit priests who kowtowed as willingly as did the Chinese themselves.

It is well here to review the 'Rules of Prudence' by which the Jesuits were guided, for an understanding of these principles not only explains much of the progress that the Jesuits made but also throws much light upon the serious controversy which later existed between the Jesuits on the one hand and the Franciscans and Dominicans on the other. Mosheim gives the following summary:

"1. A missionary, who hopes for success must assume the character of a Divine, or Philosopher, of the country in which he preaches. . . . A Jesuit, therefore, as soon as he enters upon his office in a heathen country changes his character. In India he becomes a Brahman; in Birm, a Talapoin; in China either a Bonze (i.e. a Buddhist priest) or a Confucian and Philosopher. . . ."

"2. A missionary must make it his earnest endeavour to be favoured at Court. . . ."

"3. He must, if possible, insinuate himself so far into the confidence of the great and powerful, that he may be consulted in matters of state and government."

"4. A missionary must conform to the opinions and customs of the people he is sent to; provided that they be not manifestly inconsistent with the faith he is commissioned to preach."

"5. He must make use of whatever has the appearance of truth and piety in the religion of the country where he preaches; and endeavour to reconcile it with his own doctrine. It is not material, that this cannot be done without distorting the heathen, as well as the Christian religion. The little sin committed upon such an occasion is amply atoned for by the benefits it produces."

"6. He must not abolish or prohibit ancient customs and ceremonies, to which an ignorant people is generally much attached. Let the people retain the custom of their fathers. It

is sufficient to sanctify them; that is, to separate all that is manifestly idolatrous and superstitious; and, with a good design, to make the rest consistent."

Mosheim summarizes the character of Ricci in these words:

"Ricci was a man of no common abilities. Besides a natural complacency, discretion, and benevolence, he had great sagacity and learning; and was patient and indefatigable to a high degree; ready in conforming himself to every one's opinion and views; and had an unbounded zeal to promote the interests of the church."

One of the most important contributions that Ricci made to the Jesuit work in China was the system of rules which he promulgated in 1603 for the guidance of the Jesuit missionaries in China. These rules were modeled upon the rules of the Jesuit order above summarized. In this formulation of policy, ancestor worship and those rites which were performed in honor of Confucius were permitted to the converts to Christianity. Ricci claimed that these were political and not religious customs. To justify his position he pointed to the Mohammedans who are noted for their firm stand on monotheism, who yet observed these Chinese customs. He further claimed:

"These customs were established in China before idolatry took place there; therefore they are not idolatrous."

By faithfully following these rules of procedure, Ricci soon ingratiated himself into the favor of the Emperor. In the same year in which he arrived in Peking he was taken into the service of the state. For the next nine years Ricci lived and worked in Peking. He became a master of the Chinese language. With the aid of Chinese scholars, he did much translating, especially along scientific lines. He translated Euclid into

Chinese. Ricci was more of a scientist than a theologian. His most important work along theological lines was a treatise on God entitled: "Proofs of the existence of the Lord of Heaven." According to the testimony of certain Protestant missionaries, including a Bishop, Ricci revealed in this work his ignorance of the first principles of theology.

In this scientific work Ricci won for himself and his brethren the sympathy and co-operation of the Emperor. Ricci formulated policies which became the charter for Jesuit activities for more than a hundred years. In these policies special emphasis was placed upon the scientific labors which were pleasing to the Chinese. The translation and circulation of the Scriptures held a subordinate place in his program.

Ricci died on May 11, 1610, at Peking at the age of 58. The Jesuits secured a burial plot of several acres outside the wall of Peking. This land is reputed to be the first real estate acquired by Europeans in China. As an interesting side-light upon his policy of adapting the Christian faith to Chinese customs, it is said that to this day his grave has before it the usual stone altar found before the Chinese graves for the offering of sacrifices to the spirit of the departed.

First fruits When Ricci reached Peking, all traces of the once flourishing Franciscan mission had entirely disappeared. Indeed the Jesuits were not sure that the Cathay of the Franciscans was the same country as China. This was not definitely proved until 1602.

Ricci's willingness to accommodate himself to the

popular customs of the land was most pleasing to a people who cling so tenaciously to old customs as the Chinese do. His work met with a hearty response. He became celebrated.

Among the most outstanding of his converts was the Mandarin Paul Hsu, who came from a prominent Shanghai family. At the southwestern corner of the French concession in Shanghai is the present-day village of Zikawei, which is the ancestral village of the Hsu family. An important Catholic center is located there today, and very fittingly so. Paul Hsu became a minister of the cabinet and for a time occupied a position analogous to that of prime minister. He was a tower of strength for the infant church.

His daughter Candida, who was left a widow at an early age, likewise became an earnest Christian. She is still affectionately remembered for her zeal. She is reported to have used her fortune to erect thirty-nine churches in many provinces and also for the printing of one hundred and thirty varieties of Christian books.

Other prominent officials were converted. By 1606 the missionaries were able to count more than two hundred converts in Peking. Additional workers arrived. A college was established at Macao for the training of a native clergy. By 1610 through the efforts of Paul Hsu work was opened in Shanghai.

Ricci was succeeded by Nicolo Longobardi, under whose leadership the mission continued to prosper. In 1611 the missionaries were asked to reform the calendar. It is difficult for us today to appreciate the importance of such a request. But for the Chinese the calendar was of the greatest importance, for the superstitions regarding lucky

15. Zikawei literally means the village of the family of Zi of Hsu.
and unlucky days, which controlled all of the major events of life, had to be governed by it. It also possessed a political significance, for its acceptance by all conquered peoples was required by China. The opportunity of the Christians came when the Muslim astronomers made a mistake in forecasting a certain eclipse. The Jesuits were able to make a correct forecast.

In 1605, the city of Canton was greatly stirred over a rumor to the effect that the Jesuits were plotting against the Government and that they planned to make Cansano, a disciple of Ricci, emperor. The rumors also stated that the Dutch, who were then in the Orient, and the Japanese were to support the Jesuits.

There is some evidence to believe that the rumors were started by Portuguese merchants at Macao. Some persecution broke out around Canton, with the result that a convert by the baptismal name of Martinez was martyred. Some unrest was felt even in Peking. The incident indicates the ease with which such falsehoods, regarding the foreigner and the Christian religion, could circulate.

However, in 1616 matters looked more serious for the missionaries. In May of that year a Mandarin submitted a memorial to the Emperor in which he made serious charges against the Christians. One of these charges, which is typical of others, was that the missionaries were in the habit of tracing on the heads of their converts "a particular character, doubtless intended as a rallying sign for the time of insurrection; and that finally their houses are filled with arms and munitions of war."

By the 20th of August of that year couriers were galloping in all directions from Peking bearing orders from

the Emperor to the effect that all missionaries were to be arrested and thrown into prison.

Father Longobardi and Paul Hsu did what they could to ameliorate conditions, but they had little success. Missionaries were imprisoned and sent to Canton or exiled to Macao. The persecution was especially severe around Nanking, which was the home of the Mandarin making the complaint. There the mission work had greatly prospered. Eight missionaries had residence there and the number of converts rivaled the number in Peking. In some places the missionaries found refuge in the homes of their converts, as for instance in Shanghai, where the missionaries found an asylum with Paul Hsu.

After three years the Jesuits gradually returned to the scene of their labors and resumed their work. Their number was reinforced by the arrival of new workers. As far as the imperial edict was concerned, its enforcement seems to have been left to the option of the local officials. In case of trouble they were accountable.

21 In 1622, the persecutions of 1616 broke out anew, having been stirred up by the same antagonists. Again the missionaries were imprisoned, the missions looted, and the churches desecrated. Through the intercession of Paul Hsu the edict against Christianity was revoked. Soon afterwards Hsu was elevated to the dignity of prime minister, taking the place of one by the name of Kio Tchin, who had been especially hostile to the new religion.

The Christians were known as the worshippers of the

"Lord of Heaven", which was the name the Jesuits gave to God. The presence of Paul Hsu, a worshipper of the "Lord of Heaven", at the head of the government was a powerful argument to the Chinese in favor of the new faith.

Converts increase in number. Beginning with the elevation of Paul Hsu, the mission cause enjoyed a period of prosperity never before known. More workers arrived and new churches were erected. In 1623 the Catholics reported 5,000 converts. It is believed that the discovery of the Nestorian stone in 1625 gave a great impetus to the Christian cause. China is a land where the people place much value on the authority of the past. The stone came with its testimony that from ancient times Christianity had been preached in China. Two years after the discovery of the stone, or in 1627, the Catholics counted 15,000 converts in seven different provinces. These provinces were Kiangsi, Chekiang, Kiangnan, Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, and Chihli. Ten years later, in 1637, the Jesuits claimed 40,000 converts, which meant a three-fold increase in a decade. Records of this period speak in the highest terms of Paul Hsu and his daughter Candida. Surely much of this rapid extension of Christianity at this time was due to their wealth, influence, and zeal. About this time the Jesuits had as many as thirty mission stations scattered through thirteen of the provinces.

The last emperor of the Ming dynasty was Tsung Ch'ung Cheng (1628-1643). This emperor committed suicide on Coal Hill in Peking at the time when his capital was taken by the Manchus in 1644.
During the years 1630 - 1664 the Ming dynasty was in the process of breaking up before the Tartars or Manchus. Here was a problem which threatened the life of the mission. The change of dynasty had spelt disaster for the Franciscans. Again the conditions were very much the same. How did the Jesuits meet the situation, and why were they able to surmount this obstacle which the Franciscans could not?

In general, it can be said that the Jesuits were usually loyal to the party in power. When occasion demanded, or when they deemed it expedient, they shifted their loyalty. It took several years for the new dynasty to bring all of China under its rule. The old dynasty kept control of the south for a while, establishing its capital in Kwantung province. During this period when the country was divided, we find the Jesuits in the north being true to the new rulers, while the Jesuits in the south were faithful to the old. Hus says that the missionaries "had the prudence not to entangle themselves during these revolutionary times with any political party."

The Manchus were able to seize the throne when they were called in by the last ruling Ming emperor to assist him in putting down an insurrection. The Tartars responded with enthusiasm, but instead of being content to be auxiliaries, they became conquerors. Peking was taken and the Manchu or Tsing dynasty founded. The first emperor of this dynasty was a six year old boy known as Shun Chih (1644 - 1662), who was the son of the victorious Tartar general.

Adam Schaal

Ricci had some brilliant successors. Among these, two deserve special mention. They were the German Jesuit, Adam Schaal and the

Belgium Jesuit, Ferdinand Verbiest. Schaal arrived in
China in 1622. He was presented to Emperor Szu Tsung by
Paul Hsu in 1623. He was soon placed at the head of the
Jesuit work and became one of the most distinguished men
in the whole empire. His fame rivaled, if it did not excel,
the fame of Ricci.

In 1630, Schaal and Jacques Hio were appointed to the
Astronomical Board at Peking. They were asked to correct
certain mistakes in the calendar. This office is but an
indication of the high favor with which the Jesuits were
regarded by the Emperor.

When threatened by the Tartars, Schaal was ordered to
cast cannon. Schaal had conscientious scruples on this
matter, for he felt that his position as a Christian
missionary hardly harmonized with that of being a maker
of cannon. However, feeling that a refusal on his part
might endanger the favorable position that the Jesuits
then enjoyed, he complied and cast twenty cannon, most of
which were capable of throwing a forty-pound shot. It is
also reported that the Jesuits sent to Macao for auxiliaries
and gunners to drill the imperial soldiers.

During the transition period,
Mission work in the
transition period mission work was seriously affected.
Some missionaries found it necessary to seek places of
safety outside the troubled area. The native church,
left leaderless, suffered considerably in consequence.
Local persecutions broke out in Fukien, where Capellas, a
Spanish priest, was killed. However, fortunately for
the cause of missions, the Manchus bore no ill-will against
the foreigner. Schaal remained in Peking during the turn-
over. He was the only one of the Jesuit band to do this.

25. Ibid., p. 318.
Behaw1 was very soon installed in the good graces of the Manchus. He became very friendly with the young Emperor and was made the boy's tutor.

The Last Ming Emperor is reported to have had 2,000 women in his harem and 10,000 eunuchs. The missionaries won an eunuch to their faith, who took the name of Joseph. Joseph became a successful missionary to the women of the harem, and by 1639, thirty-eight of these women were said to be Christians. At the time of the capture of Peking, the court fled to the friendly south and there kept up a resistance against the Manchus for a number of years. Some of the Jesuits continued with the Ming court. Two of them were given official rank and became most influential. They were Andrew Koffler and Michael Boym. Several of the royal family became Christians.

Although the Ming claimant to the throne, Kuei Wang or Yung Li, never accepted the faith, his mother, his wife, and his heir were all baptized and given the baptismal names of Helen, Mary, and Constantine. The Jesuits in the south hoped that the young heir would some day be the Constantine of China. It is reported that one hundred of the imperial clan and forty high officials also received baptism. Two of the generals who fought for the Ming and who for a time checked the advance of the Tartars, were Christians.

Under date of November 4, 1650, Helen wrote to Pope Alexander VII, pleading for his assistance and that of western Christian princes in the Ming cause. Commenting on this letter, Gutzlaff writes:

"The Pope, Alexander VII, had the happiness of receiving a letter from the empress in which she humbly lays down her empire at his feet."

The Jesuits who were supporting the Ming felt that the urgency of their cause warranted the sending of an embassy to Europe. In 1652, this embassy, consisting of Fathers Dominic and Boyin and two Chinese Christians of high rank, reached Venice. Since the Jesuits were proscribed in Venice at that time, Boyin found it necessary to address his appeal to the French ambassador. This proved to be a momentous decision, for it marked the beginning of the claim of the French Government to be the special protector of Roman Catholic missionaries in China. The claim found reinforcement in the fact that in 1665 a Jesuit band of five was sent out to China under the patronage of King Louis XIV.

Prior to 1665, Portugal claimed the right of being the special protector of the Jesuit work in China. This claim was based on a papal bull granted by Pope Nicholas V. on January 8, 1454, which right had been renewed by other popes. Due to her waning influence in China, Portugal gradually and reluctantly relinquished this claim, though as late as the nineteenth century she sought to nominate bishops for Nanking and Peking. France never developed a great trade with China as compared with the United States and Great Britain. Her interests were chiefly ecclesiastical. France's claim to be the special protector of all Roman Catholic missions was not seriously challenged before 1898, when Germany took aggressive steps to punish China for the murder of two German Roman Catholic missionaries.

It was not until January, 1906, that the French Government officially declared that it no longer was to be the protector of the Catholic missions in China.

Boym and his companions journeyed on to Rome from Venice, but were not able to have an audience with the Pope until in 1655. The Pope, however, was not in a position to render any material assistance to the Hings. The Manchus were finally successful in their campaign against the Hings, and gradually the southern provinces were brought under the control of the northern government.

Before this chapter is brought to a close, mention should be made of the Protestant missionary work which was carried on by the Dutch on the island of Formosa. Formosa is now a part of the Japanese Empire, but then it was a part of China.

The first foreign nation to establish outposts in the Orient was Portugal. Then came Spain, and then Holland. In 1622, the Dutch tried to take Amoy but were repulsed. They then went to Formosa, where they secured a foothold. They caused much annoyance both to the Chinese and to the Portuguese. While the record of the Dutch is not marred with the stories of such atrocities as blackened the record of the Spanish at Manila, still it is of doubtful color.

The Dutch remained in Formosa for about forty years. During this time about twenty ordained Dutch ministers and twenty-one catechists labored for the Dutch who lived in Formosa and also for the natives. We usually think of Robert Morrison, who landed at Canton in 1807, as being the first Protestant missionary to China. But if we

35. Williams, _op. cit._, Vol. 2, p. 432. Soothill, _China and the East_ , p. 84, states that in 1639 the Spanish massacred 22,000 Chinese at Manila out of a population of 33,000.
consider Formosa to be a part of China, which it was at that
time, then the honor of being the first Protestant missionary
to China goes to George Candidus. He anticipated Robert
Morrison by one hundred and eighty years. Candidus landed
at Formosa in 1627. He began at once to work among the
natives. At the end of sixteen months he had instructed
one hundred and ten in the Christian faith.

The work continued to progress. In 1635, the zeal of
the two Dutch missionaries, Candidus and Junius, added seven
hundred converts to the church, all of whom received baptism.
The Dutch company itself contributed liberally to the work.
The company even exercised a close supervision over the
missionaries. Later on the company became more cautious
and conservative in this matter of rendering aid to the
missionaries, for they were afraid that such acts would
give offense to the Japanese, for at that time the
Japanese were persecuting the Christians most severely in
Japan. Again the cause of Christ was sacrificed on the
altar of mammon.

In 1639, we read that the missionaries counted 2,014
natives as members of the church. The Dutch were strong
in educational work. Candidus reduced five dialects to
written form.

In 1662, the Dutch occupation of Formosa came to an
unfortunate end and all missionary work ceased. When the
Ming dynasty was superseded by the Manchu, resistance on
the water was kept up by a Ming naval chief who was half
pirate and half patriot. His name was Koxinga. Out of his
own fortune, he equipped a fleet to wage war against
the Manchus. He himself was captured, but his son carried
on the struggle. In 1662, the remnants of this force
turned covetous eyes toward Formosa. They took the island, murdering the Dutch inhabitants, including the clergymen. The converts, in the course of time, relapsed into idolatry and superstition. In 1715, a Jesuit priest visited the island and claimed to have found no Christians there. Thus ended the first Protestant effort to introduce Christianity into China.

Summary of gains secured but sixty-nine years. Remarkable progress was made during that time. In 1682, Ricci secured a very uncertain residence on the mainland. By 1644, Schaal had so demonstrated his ability that he became the favorite of the last emperor of the Ming dynasty and also of the first emperor of the Manchu dynasty. It is to be doubted if the Catholics had any converts on the mainland when Ricci took up his residence there. By 1657, the converts numbered over 40,000. Ricci outlined a definite policy, the working out of which contributed to the rites controversy of the next period. Under the leadership of such a strong man as Adam Schaal, the outlook for the mission cause in China from the Jesuit point of view was especially bright in the early days of the Manchu dynasty. The political alliance which he, and others of his group, established, was for many years the secret of the success of the Jesuits.

PART ONE
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CHAPTER III
THE RITES CONTROVERSY
1644 - 1747
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1644 - 1747

From the viewpoint of this treatise, the major event of this period was that controversy among the missionaries usually referred to as the rites controversy. In brief, the question at issue was the propriety of permitting the native Christians to take part in those rites or ceremonies which were closely associated with deep rooted Chinese customs, such as ancestor worship.

The period opens with the establishment of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 and extends to 1747, when China closed her doors to merchant and missionary alike. The unfortunate controversy which extended during these years was one of the contributing causes which led China to exclude the foreigners.

The Reign of Shun Chih, 1644-1662.

The Manchu dynasty began with a six year old boy on the throne. He was Shun Chih, the son of the victorious Tartar general who captured Peking.

During the transition period, Adam Schaal, alone of the missionary band, remained at his post in Peking. Schaal's abilities were soon recognized by the new royal household. He was made the tutor of the young Emperor and received the freedom of the palace. Christianity, being thus honored at the court, was respected through the land. Additional workers arrived. New churches were erected, including two churches in Peking. Schaal laid the foundations of the first church

In Peking in 1650. This was the first church to be erected in Peking since the days of the Franciscans. Previous to the completion of this church the Jesuits had conducted worship in their homes or in the pagoda which was in the burial-ground of Rich. The ground for this building was given by the Emperor and was near the imperial residence. When the church was completed, the Emperor gave four great inscriptions, which were hung in the building, sounding the praise of Christianity. The Emperor raised Schaal to the rank of the first aristocracy of the empire. Even the father and mother of Schaal, who were then dead, received in good Chinese style the rank of nobles.

Permission was soon secured for the erection of the second church within the imperial city. Orders were issued that the churches destroyed in the persecutions of 1616 and 1632 were to be rebuilt. In 1653, Schaal was appointed superintendent of the Astronomical Board in Peking.

In spite of the earnest endeavors of Schaal, the Emperor himself never embraced Christianity. He found the Christian morality too exacting. He told Schaal that perhaps he would become a Christian if Schaal would omit one or two of the ten commandments from the standards of Christian morality. His affection for a concubine, who was an ardent Buddhist, drew him away from Christianity in the closing years of his life.

Other Catholic orders became established and his associates at Peking were regarded by the Emperor made it easy for missionaries of other orders than the Jesuit to become established in China. Strictly speaking, the Dominicans

and Franciscans became established in China before the days of the Manchu dynasty. As early as 1630, Coqui, a Dominican, arrived in Fukien and succeeded in eluding the officials. In 1633 Morales, a Franciscan, arrived. He figured prominently in the rites controversy.

These missionaries came from Spain. They used the Philippines as a base, and also Formosa until 1642, when they were evicted by the Dutch. The antipathy of the Portuguese was such as to make it practically impossible for the Spanish to use Macao as a base. This antagonism which existed between the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries was a contributing cause to the rites controversy. The Jesuits wished to occupy China by themselves and resented the coming of the Dominicans and Franciscans.

Huc maintains that the antipathy of the Jesuits was not due to jealousy but rather because a difference of opinion had already arisen among the Jesuits regarding certain issues which became prominent in the rites controversy, and that the majority of the Jesuits were fearful that the new orders would side with the minority of their band and thus cause trouble.

The Spanish missionaries faced not only the opposition of the Portuguese missionaries but also official opposition. Frequently they were obliged to go into hiding. In 1647, Capellas was martyred.

However, at the introduction of a new dynasty better days came to the Spanish workers. Around 1655 the Dominicans were able to build a church in Foochow. A few years earlier the Franciscans had succeeded in erecting a church at Tsinanfu, in Shantung. It is pleasant to relate that the success of the Franciscans in Shantung

was due in part to the friendly services of Schaal.
Before the death of Shun Chih in 1662 the Dominicans and
Franciscans were well established especially in Fukien and
Shantung, with promising work in Chekiang and Kwangtung.

Beginning with the middle of the seventh century France
began to show an interest in mission work in China. The
seal of the French missionaries found helpful co-operation
in the political and commercial ambitions of French rulers
and ministers. In 1663 the Société des Missions Étrangères
was established. These various Catholic orders were
authorized and supervised by a department of the papal
curia known as the Congregation for the Propagation of
the Faith, which was established in 1622. The Propaganda,
as it is often called, correlated the work of the different
missionary orders.

The Reign of K'ang Hsi, 1662 - 1723.

Before Shun Chih died, his successor was appointed.
According to Chinese custom, it is not necessary for the
rule to pass to the eldest son. A younger son who may be
more capable than the eldest has often been chosen to
carry on the dynasty. So it was in this case. K'ang Hsi
was only eight years old when he ascended the dragon
throne. He ruled for more than sixty years, passing away
in 1723. He was one of the most powerful and most
famous of all of China's many rulers. His reign closely
paralleled that of Louis XIV of France. K'ang Hsi became
well educated. He was versed in Latin as well as in his
native tongue.

In 1669, K'ang Hsi, who was then fifteen or
sixteen years of age, became ruler in fact.
as well as in name. During the seven years from 1662 to 1669 China was ruled by four regents. It appears that these regents at first were friendly to Schaal and his associates. Schaal was made the tutor of the young Emperor.

It was not long, however, before the opponents of the Jesuits began to express themselves. In 1664, a Mohammedan astronomer by the name of Yang Quang-sien submitted a memorial to the regents in which he advocated the suppression of the Christian religion. The Jesuits, because of their superior scientific knowledge, had incurred the deep hostility of the literati, who were thus deprived of honors and official position.

The memorialist accused the missionaries of conspiring to overthrow the government. He pointed to Japan where "nothing but intrigue, schism, and civil war was heard of." He prophesied that such calamities would be China's lot if the "criminal eagerness of enlisting people of all classes was not stopped". In his memorial Yang made special mention of the presence of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Fukien and of how their presence there had been resisted by the Jesuits. He referred to the differences of opinion which were then existing between these orders. Here is one of the first indications of the existence of a controversy of so serious a nature as to arouse the suspicions of the Chinese officials. Regarding this controversy, Yang says:

"The strife between these orders about the meaning and worship of tien (heaven) and shangti (supreme ruler) revealed the important secret that the principles of the new doctrine were made to subserve the purposes of those who were aspiring to influence."

Huc maintains that the memorial was "full of

blasphemies against Christianity, and of calumnies against the missionaries."

The memorial evidently struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the regents, for in 1665 they issued a decree which proscribed Christianity.

Before we review the history of this persecution, it would be well to have a clear understanding regarding the issues involved in this controversy. We must begin with the days of Ricci. In matters of ancestor worship, Ricci was most tolerant. However, not all of his own group agreed with him. Longobardi, his successor, was one who felt that the rites of ancestor worship were definitely anti-Christian. As long as Ricci lived, Longobardi withheld his opinions out of his respect for Ricci. However, when he assumed the duties belonging to the head of the mission, Longobardi felt obliged to give utterance to his convictions.

After thoroughly studying the matter, Longobardi wrote a book in which he maintained that the rites of ancestor worship were tainted with superstition, materialism, and atheism. His conclusion was that such rites should not be permitted to the Chinese Christians. The majority of the Jesuits differed from him. Thus we see the beginning of the rites controversy in the Jesuit order itself before missionaries of other orders or nationalities had become settled in China.

There were two main issues at stake. The first had to do with the Chinese term which should be used for God. This question was one which was to agitate the minds of the Protestants two centuries later. It was an important question for the Chinese words for deity often had

polytheistic or pantheistic meanings. The second issue centered about the propriety of the Chinese Christians taking part in such rites as ancestor worship. It was the aim of the Jesuit order to Christianize such rites.

The issues were first clearly defined by Longobardi. When the Spanish missionaries arrived, they were astonished to see the converts won by the Jesuits bowing down before the tablet of Confucius and before the tablets of their ancestors. At once they denounced such practices. Perhaps the Dominicans and Franciscans were not as tactful as the Jesuits, but certainly they were more faithful to the genius of the Christian faith.

The leader of the opposition was the Spanish Dominican, Morales, who first reached China in 1633. Morales refused to allow the Christian converts under his care to participate in such rites as ancestor worship. For this he suffered imprisonment and banishment. He resolved to lay the matter before the Pope. He reached Rome in 1643 just before the Manchu dynasty was established and in his presentation before the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith he claimed that the rites permitted by the Jesuits were sinful and idolatrous and therefore inconsistent with Christianity.

The Propaganda straightway condemned such practices and forbade them. This decree was confirmed by Pope Innocent X. on September 12, 1645. The position of the Dominicans and Franciscans was officially maintained. All missionaries in China were ordered to "conform to this decree, till the Holy See should determine otherwise." The Jesuits at once were aroused and set about to secure a revision. They

deputed one of their number, Father Martin Martini, to present their side of the question directly to the Pope. They did not wish the matter to be discussed by the Propaganda. The question was referred to the Holy Office, or the Court of Inquisition, which finally confirmed the Jesuit position. Pope Alexander VII. on March 23, 1656, approved a decree which sustained the Jesuits. By this decree the missionaries received a wide latitude of power, and the Chinese Christians were allowed to indulge in all rites which were of a political or civil nature.

These two decrees from Rome are irreconcilable. The second decree permits what the first prohibits. It is true that the decree of Alexander is somewhat ambiguously worded. The Pope took care not to contradict directly the decree of Innocent X. The second decree pleased the Jesuits, who felt that they were vindicated, while it displeased the Dominicans and Franciscans, who felt that the Jesuits had misinformed the Pope. Morales submitted a new memorandum to Rome, but before it could be acted upon, he died (1644). The controversy remained dormant for a few years, only to break out again in 1693.

When the disgruntled Moslem astronomer persecuted wrote out his memorial to be presented to the four regents, he made special mention of the controversy which was dividing the forces of the missionaries. In the decree issued by the regents in 1665, Christianity was proscribed. The decree declared that:

"Schaal and his associates merited the punishments of seducers, who announced to the people a false and pernicious doctrine."

Schaal was degraded and imprisoned. Orders were sent out to the governors of all the provinces to arrest all

missionaries and preachers of the Christian religion.

After a trial, the missionaries, with the exception of Schaal, were condemned to be scourged with rods and then banished to the "remotest wilds of Tertia ry". Schaal, as the leader of the Jesuits, was condemned to the worst form of punishment that a refined cruelty could devise. He was sentenced to be put to death by the slicing process which is still practiced in certain sections of China. The victim is 'cut into a thousand pieces'. Sometimes, after each amputation, quicklime or a red hot iron is applied to the wound in order to stop the flow of blood.

On the day set for the carrying out of this dreadful sentence, April 16, 1665, Peking was shaken by an earthquake which was followed by a disastrous fire. The greater part of the Court of Justice was burned. The superstitious people interpreted such events as signs of the displeasure of some god or gods and released the missionaries. Three Dominicans, one Franciscan, and twenty one Jesuits were sent to Canton. Four Jesuits including Schaal were retained in Peking because of their scientific abilities.

The exiled missionaries had an excellent opportunity to get together and talk over their difficulties. This they did at Canton. While they were able to dissolve some of their differences, still on the matter of permitting the Christians to observe certain Chinese ceremonies, they could come to no agreement.

In 1669 Pope Clement IX issued a decree in response to an appeal made by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who wanted to know whether or not the decree of Innocent X was annulled. In reply the Pope said:

15. Huc, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 35. Le Comte, op. cit., p. 362 says that Schaal was condemned to be strangled.
"The former decree of Pope Innocent was by no means annulled by that of Pope Alexander; that both were to be observed, each according to the circumstances, and according to the tendency and doubts which occasioned it."

This meant that each missionary was to act as he thought best.

In 1669, the precocious young Emperor Kang Hsi assumed control assumed control of the Government. It was evidently shortly before this event that Adam Schaal died. Huc states that Schaal passed away in 1669 at the age of seventy-eight. He was broken by the severe experiences through which he had to pass in his old age. Kang Hsi was much displeased with the harsh way the regents had treated Schaal and his associates; Schaal's name was cleared. His titles of honor were restored. Ferdinand Verbiest was made president of the Astronomical Board succeeding Schaal. Verbiest succeeded in winning the confidence of Kang Hsi through a series of tests with the Moslem Yang. In these tests Verbiest clearly demonstrated his superior scientific knowledge.

Kang Hsi restored to the Christians

The decree of 1671 the rights and property which they had gradually lost. By an imperial decree of 1669, Verbiest and his companions were given the right to practice their religion. However, the provisions against the propagation of their religion were not removed, but partly through the increasing regard which Kang Hsi had for Verbiest, a decree was issued in March, 1671, which granted to the Christians liberty of worship and which ordered the restoration of confiscated property. Full freedom was not gained, for the decree forbade any more Chinese embracing Christianity. Huc tells us that despite

17. Mosheim, op. cit., p. 75.
this prohibition "more than twenty thousand new converts received baptism" in 1671. The converts included many of high rank. In 1673, the Emperor's maternal uncle was baptized and received the baptismal name of Paul.

In spite of the opposition from some activities of Verbiest officials, Verbiest secured more and more freedom for the missionaries and their converts. When Verbiest and his companions in Peking were so highly honored in the imperial court, it was easy for the officials in the provinces to be lenient to the Christians. Again and again we see how the fortunes of the Christians throughout the empire rose and fell with the fortunes of the few missionaries at Peking.

In 1674, an interesting incident occurred which further illustrates how the favorable regard of the Emperor for the missionaries in Peking helped the mission cause throughout China. In that year the Emperor was faced with an insurrection. Verbiest constructed a foundry and succeeded in cast three hundred and twenty cannon of various calibres which were used by the imperial forces. Like Schmal, Verbiest was a bit doubtful about the propriety of manufacturing cannon. Yet he feared that a refusal on his part might prejudice the cause of missions.

Huc gives us a most interesting account of the trial of the first pieces cast. The Emperor feared that they would not work, so the finished pieces were taken a half day's journey from the capital and tried out. Verbiest had an altar prepared

"on which, in the presence of all the great dignitaries of the empire, he placed a cross; then, clothed in his surplice and stole, he worshipped the true God, prostrating himself nine times, and striking the earth nine times with his forehead.

22. See page 36 of this thesis.
in the Chinese manner of expressing adoration; and after that he read the prayers of the church, and sprinkled the cannon with holy water, having bestowed on each of them the name of a male or female saint. . . . After this religious ceremony, which produced a good impression on the assembly, the firing began."

The trial was successful and the Emperor greatly pleased. Verbiest received added honors.

Verbiest was considerably criticized in Europe for doing this. In justification of his act, Verbiest pointed out the fact that "by such means he had obtained for the European missionaries liberty to preach the gospel through-out the empire of China."

Pope Innocent XI. in a letter dated December 20, 1681, also declared Verbiest to be free from blame. In this letter we find this statement:

"How wisely you have availed yourself of the profane sciences... for the advancement of the faith, and the salvation of this people. . . . By that means you have not only delivered yourself from the grievous persecutions you suffered so long, with so much fortitude and courage; but you have got the missionaries recalled from exile, and restored our holy religion to as much liberty and honour as it formerly enjoyed."

Verbiest wrote interesting letters to friends in Europe which awakened much new interest in Christian missions in China. One of these letters induced Louis XIV, whose reign so closely paralleled that of K'ang Hsi, to establish a French mission in China. It was Verbiest who induced the Chinese Emperor to receive and to treat this first band of French Jesuits with great distinction. In 1685, this band of six left France. They reached Ningpo July 23, 1687. In this group was Gerbillon, the successor of Verbiest, and le Comte, whose memoirs constitute an important source for the understanding of conditions in China at this time.

25. Ibid.
In 1888 Verbiest died. K’ang Hsi conferred upon him and his ancestors the post-thomous title of Ta-jin. No other missionary had ever been so honored. A few days after Verbiest died, the Jesuit band of reinforcements arrived in Peking, reaching that city in March of 1688. Gerbillon became the recognized head of the work.

Gerbillon’s ministry place during Gerbillon’s ministry. Two things of major importance took place during Gerbillon’s ministry. The first was the signing of the treaty between China and Russia in 1689. The second was the publication of the first imperial edict of toleration for Christianity in 1692.

The treaty signed with Russia is known as the Treaty of Nertschinsk. It was the first treaty that China signed with an European power. It was slightly altered in 1727 and again in 1768 but with those exceptions remained unchanged and in force until 1858. Some claim for it the honor of being the longest observed treaty in history.

Gerbillon and a Portuguese Jesuit by the name of Pereira played important parts in the negotiations which produced the treaties. The official copies were made in Latin. An important clause in this treaty recognized the principle of extraterritoriality. In striking contrast with later treaties in which such a right was written, this treaty made it a reciprocal privilege. China enjoyed the right as well as Russia. Another contrast with later treaties is to be found in the fact that under the provisions of this treaty the districts in which extraterritoriality was to be observed were limited to a certain distance from the international boundary line.

26. Ta-jin, or Great Man, or Your Excellency.
27. One out of the original band of six remained in Siam. The five who reached China were Gerbillon, Le Comte, Visdelou, Fontenay, and Bouvet. Some authorities say that they reached Peking in February of 1688.
Chinese subjects guilty of crimes in Russia within this area were to be returned to China for judgment, and vice versa in the case of Russian citizens.

Edict of Tolerance. About two years after the signing of this treaty, K'ang Hsi, partly as an expression of his appreciation for the services rendered by the missionaries in the negotiations with Russia, issued an edict under date of March 22, 1692, in which he gave full toleration to the Christians.

The immediate occasion for the edict was the persecution which broke out against the Christians in Chekiang province. In the year 1669, the Viceroy of that province had enacted some laws against the Christians. Christian churches were converted into heathen temples. Native converts were summoned before judges and punished.

The anti-Christian persecution died down but was revived in 1691, when one of the missionaries purchased some land. The officials brought up the decree of 1669, which strictly prohibited the purchase of land by Christians for the purpose of erecting Christian churches thereon. The trouble was especially acute in Hangchow with Father Intorcetta as the chief sufferer. Again persecution broke out. Christian edifices were desecrated, converts imprisoned and tortured, and the foreign missionaries persecuted. The missionaries appealed to the Emperor and in doing so rehearsed the various ways in which the missionaries had been of service to the Empire.

The Emperor referred the appeal to the Tribunal of Rites, which at first returned a negative reply. K'ang Hsi then became more definite. He expressly declared that he wanted all old edicts against Christianity annulled. He

too made mention of the good services rendered the Empire by the missionaries. Le Comte very clearly states that that which won the sympathy of the Emperor:

"was the peace which Father Gerbillon had but just concluded three hundred leagues from Pekin, between the Chinese and Muscovite."

In referring the matter back to the Tribunal of Rites K'ang Hsi recommended that:

"all those who were willing to embrace it (i.e., Christianity) may freely go into the churches, and make public profession of the worship there performed to the Supreme Lord of Heaven."

The Tribunal of Rites contained some conservative members who were suspicious of the missionaries and of the new religion. The position of the opposition is most interesting, for the political aspect of the new religion looms up again. Some felt:

"There was still some danger lest this new sect might occasion some disorder in the process of time. And that it was the part of good policy to stifle these little monsters of rebellion and discord in their very birth. That in short they were foreigners, whose spirit and secret designs were capable of administering some suspicion."

Others felt that if the doors of the Empire were opened, the greater part of the land would become Christian. The Christian religion was a foreign religion taught by aggressive foreigners. Already Christianity had become stigmatized as being a 'foreign religion'.

Prince Sosan, one of the most powerful of the ministers of the government, spoke in favor of the Christians. He referred to the fact that the Chinese Government did not persecute the Lamas of Tartary or the Mohammedans. These too were foreign religions. He is reported to have said:

"And now when the Europeans sue to us for liberty to preach a doctrine, that contains no other than

31. Ibid., p. 456.
32. Ibid., p. 465.
33. Ibid., p. 466."
maxims of the most refined virtue, we do not only repulse them with disdain, but think we do good service to condemn them."

The discussion was carried on for nearly a year. In March, 1692, K'ang Hsi issued the first imperial decree granting toleration to the Christians. This was a most important victory for the Christian cause.

This period opens with the establishment of the church of the Manchu dynasty in 1644. In spite of the disturbances attendant upon a change of dynasty and also the ill will with which the regents, during the minority of K'ang Hsi, looked upon Christianity, the Christian cause grew by leaps and bounds. In 1644 the Christian converts numbered between forty and fifty thousand. Schaal, who so soon secured the goodwill of the first Manchu emperor, found it comparatively easy to continue with his missionary labors. It is reported that he soon had some 12,000 converts about him. Between the years 1646 and 1663 the Christian community more than doubled, growing to 110,000. By 1680, the Christians numbered around 240,000, again increasing 100% in twenty years. In 1692, the three provinces of Kiangsi, Kiangsu, and Nganhwui had over 100,000 converts. In one year, 1671, the missionaries reported 20,000 baptisms.

In 1656, we hear of the ordination to the priesthood by the Dominicans of the first Chinese, known as Gregory Lopez. In 1679, Lopez was elevated by a papal decree to Vicar Apostolic of Hankow. However, the Dominicans had come to suspect that Lopez was too lenient in regard to certain Chinese customs which were being debated in the rites controversy and so refused to consecrate him. He was not consecrated until 1685 and then by a Franciscan.

34. See Appendix No.1.
37. Monheim, op. cit., p. 76.
The Roman Catholic church did not repeat the experiment of elevating a Chinese to the episcopacy until in the twentieth century.

The number of foreign workers was steadily increasing. By 1691, the Franciscans had seventeen missionaries in China. The Dominicans had at least eight by 1674. The Augustinians, who entered China again in 1660, had seventeen workers in that land by 1722. The Jesuits had more than seventy representatives in China before the end of the seventeenth century. The French were taking an increasing interest in mission work in China during this period. In 1663, the Société des Missions Étrangères began activities and in 1667 the first French Jesuits arrived.

Regarding the total number of missionaries sent out to China Le Comte declares:

"Since the year 1580, about 630 Jesuits, and 200 priests of other orders have been sent out of several parts of Christendom to China; half of which never landed in that Kingdom, and but few of them ever returned, being taken off by diseases, or intercepted by the Dutch in the Straits of Sunda, and Malacca, or else by the Civil Powers for disturbing the public peace."

Ripa gives a similar statement when he says that between 1580 and 1724 about 500 different European missionaries had been sent out to China. Evidently he was referring only to those who succeeded in reaching China. This meant an annual average of about four for nearly a century and a half.

Surely the Christian workers in China were enjoying greater opportunities than had ever before been theirs. The good will of K'ang Hsi reminds us of the favor with which

40. Latourette, op. cit., p. 118.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
44. Le Comte, op. cit., see translator's note in introduction. His work first appeared in 1699.
45. Ripa. op. cit., p. 94.
T'ai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty and Kublai Khan of the Mongol dynasty regarded the Christians. The publication of the Edict of Toleration in 1692 made matters even brighter for the missionaries. In spite of all the privileges which they had been enjoying, the missionaries were still laboring under adverse conditions in some places. Now all such conditions were removed. The Christian religion was officially recognized. An immediate beneficial effect was noticed by the missionaries upon the publication of the Edict. Throngs of catechumens sought instruction.

One of the missionaries wrote:

"Never has this vast empire of China . . . been so favourably disposed to receive the light of the gospel."

Shortly after the publication of the Edict the Emperor fell ill. It is thought that he had malaria fever, for the priests prescribed quinine, which gave a much appreciated relief. As another token of his good will, the Emperor gave the Jesuits a house in Peking near the palace. In 1699 he donated a valuable piece of property also near the palace grounds for the erection of a cathedral. He also assisted with financial gifts.

Louis XIV of France likewise contributed to the erection of this cathedral which was known as the Pei T'ang.

The decade following the publication of the Edict of Toleration was a decade of prosperity for the church. Reinforcements came in increasing numbers. Between the years 1694 and 1705 the Jesuits received eighty-eight new workers. The other orders received accessions in like manner. By 1701 there were 117 missionaries in China, divided as follows: fifty-nine Jesuits, twenty-nine Franciscans, eight Dominicans, six Augustinians, and fifteen

47. Or North Church. This is not to be confused with the present Pei T'ang in Peking, which is a different building located on a different site.
secular priests. By 1707 every province of China except Kansu had either foreign missionaries or native Christians in it. The Christians were most numerous in the Yangtze river valley. One authority estimates that by 1705 the Christians numbered around 300,000. In 1700, the French Jesuit mission and the Portuguese Jesuits separated. The French influence was growing stronger and stronger, while the Portuguese were becoming weaker and weaker.

Enjoying imperial patronage, as they were, the missionaries were in a golden era. Never before had the rainbow of promise for the Christian Church in China been so beautiful. However, there were elements which threatened the security of the missionaries. K'ang Hsi himself was not a Christian. In spite of the best efforts of the missionaries closest to him, the great Emperor refused to come within the pale of the church. He praised the Christian doctrines; he even attended some of the services; he offered encouragement by his gifts; and he issued the famous Edict of Toleration. And yet he refused to take the step so much desired by the foreigners.

But more ominous than this was the undercurrent of dissatisfaction which existed among the various orders in China in regard to the former settlement of the rites controversy. At the beginning of the eighteenth century this controversy flared forth anew, alienating the goodwill of the Emperor and bringing reverses and persecution to the Christian cause.

The Second Phase of the Rites Controversy.

The controversy over the correct name for God and over the propriety of Chinese converts taking part in certain
Chinese customs began in the days of Ricci. For the most part we find the Dominicans and Franciscans opposing the policies and practices of the Jesuits. The Dominicans and Franciscans started the trouble by appealing to the Pope. In a decree issued in 1645, the Pope, then Innocent X, supported their side. In 1656 the Jesuits secured from Pope Alexander VII another decree which sustained their position. The death of Morales, the leader of the Dominicans and Franciscans, in 1664 may be one reason why the controversy was allowed to lie dormant for a number of decades. In 1669, Pope Clement IX issued a decree which virtually gave all missionaries in China the right to act as they saw best.

Old issues brought up again 1665, which came partly because of the rites controversy, the missionaries gradually went back to their stations and resumed their labors. During the years up to 1693 the Dominicans and Franciscans preached a different gospel from that preached by the Jesuits.

In the year 1684, Charles Maigrot of the Missions Étrangères, a doctor of the Sorbonne at Paris, arrived in China. He was the Apostolic Vicar for Fukien province. Shortly after he arrived, the Dominicans and Franciscans, who felt that in the wide latitude allowed in the papal decree of 1669 that the Jesuits really had the best of the argument, laid their case before him. Maigrot proceeded slowly and cautiously. After studying the issues for several years, he decided in favor of the Dominicans and Franciscans.

In March 1693, Maigrot issued a mandate to the priests
within his jurisdiction in which he forbade the practices sanctioned by the Jesuits. Maigrot condemned the use of the words 'tien' (heaven) and 'shang-ti' (supreme ruler). He felt that such terms were either too indefinite or else referred to the visible heavens. He favored the word 'tien-chu' (Lord of heaven) which was used by the Dominicans and Franciscans, which term had also been used by Ricci. Maigrot also decided that "no Christian could with a safe conscience comply with the Chinese custom of honoring Confucius and their ancestors."

In issuing the mandate Maigrot was boldly challenging those who were enjoying imperial favor. It created a sensation. The Jesuits, thoroughly alarmed and doubtful of the support they would receive at the papal see, laid their case before the Emperor. They asked for his opinion regarding some of the issues involved, so that they might lay their case before the Pope and have it reinforced by the very highest authority possible.

K'ang Hsi fully agreed with the Jesuits. He said that the sacrifices offered to Tien were not to the visible heavens but to the Lord of the heavens. Other ceremonies rejected by Maigrot because of their religious significance were declared by K'ang Hsi to be nothing more than political ceremonies. This testimony appeared as a public statement in 1700. A thousand others, Christians and non-Christians, under oath confirmed the testimony of their monarch. The Jesuits then issued a proclamation in which they maintained that the whole nation should concur in the interpretation of the terms and ceremonies which K'ang Hsi had given to them.

52. Mosheim, op. cit., p. 81.
53. Ibid., p. 83.
As early as 1697 the Pope ordered the Inquisition to study anew the whole question. The two parties in China were diligent in the presentation of the facts as they saw them to this body. On November 20, 1704, Pope Clement XI. issued a decree in which he sustained the position taken by Maigrot. He declared that 'tien-chu' was the correct name for God.

The Pope had spoken. The question now remained as to how the decision could be given so as not to bring disaster upon the mission work in China. Some delicate issues were involved, among them being the attitude of K'ang Hsi. The decree was virtually an affront to the Emperor, because it presumed to tell him what was the correct term to be found in his own mother tongue for God. In other matters, also the Pope had taken issue with the Emperor.

To carry out this most difficult and delicate mission the Pope chose Charles de Tournon and consecrated him Patriarch of Antioch, with no territorial jurisdiction, late in 1701 or in 1702. We see that the Pope was awake to the difficulties which were before him for, Tournon was selected and consecrated before the decree of 1704 was issued. He was made special papal legate to India, where some other matters needed settlement, and to China. It was felt that his high rank would be of assistance in the settlement of difficulties. He was given almost unlimited powers.

Tournon arrived in China in April

K'ang Hsi defies the pope of 1705. He reached Peking in December of that year. Tournon had a most difficult task. He was charged to proclaim an unpopular decree in Peking. The Jesuits at Peking, while giving him a polite
welcome, were still able to place many difficulties in his way. His greatest difficulty was with K'ang Hsi. The Emperor was not a man who would receive dictation from any foreign prince, not even the greatest prince of the Christian church.

K'ang Hsi had both Tournon and Maigrot before him. The Patriarch of Antioch did all that was within his power to smooth over the difficulties, yet he was under orders from the Pope to forbid that which K'ang Hsi declared to be correct. K'ang Hsi became exasperated, especially with Maigrot. In arguing with Maigrot the Emperor said:

"We honour Confucius as our master, thereby testifying our gratitude for the doctrine he has left us. We do not pray before the tablets of Confucius or of our ancestors for honor and happiness. These are the three points upon which you contend. If these opinions are not to your taste, consider that you must leave my empire. Those who have already embraced your religion, perceiving the perpetual conflicts that reign amongst you, begin to doubt its truth, and the others are rendered every day less disposed to embrace it. For myself I consider you to be persons who are come to China, not to found or establish your religion, but to break down and destroy it. If it should come to nothing, you can only impute it to yourselves."

In August, 1706, K'ang Hsi ordered Tournon to return to Europe. K'ang Hsi's favorable attitude to the Christian cause began to undergo a change. Could he afford to permit foreigners to remain in his land and teach a religion to his subjects, when they and their converts recognized the authority of the Pope as being superior to that of the Emperor?

In December, 1706, K'ang Hsi issued a decree in which he ordered the banishment of Maigrot and two other missionaries. He declared that he would countenance only those missionaries who preached the doctrines of Ricci.

Those missionaries who would take an oath to teach "nothing contrary to the worship of Confucius and the ancestors" and who promised never to return to Europe were allowed to remain in China.

The Patriarch of Antioch happened to be in Nanking when he learned of this decree. Under date of January 15, 1707, he had the indiscretion to issuing a mandate which further raised the ire of K'ang Hsi. This mandate repeated the papal decision of 1704. All who disobeyed were threatened with excommunication. The issues could not be more clearly delineated. The missionaries had either to obey the Pope or obey the Emperor.

Commenting on Tournon's pronouncement Mosheim writes:

"Here a stranger... boldly and publicly opposes the Emperor; and, in his own dominion, without his knowledge, makes a law, to prohibit his subjects from practices enjoined by the laws of the Empire."

No wonder K'ang Hsi was angry. No wonder that Tournon was arrested and sent to Macao. To further complicate matters, the Pope on August 1, 1707, made Tournon a cardinal.

At Macao Tournon fell into the hands of the Portuguese, who kept him in semi-confinement. The Bishop of Macao refused to recognize the authority of Tournon. Tournon in turn excommunicated the Bishop. This excommunication was sustained by the Pope in a bull dated March 15, 1711.

Father Ripa, who arrived at Macao on January 2, 1710, on route to Peking, where he entered the Emperor's services as a painter, states in his memoirs that he visited the Cardinal and about forty missionaries of different orders who had also been banished to Macao. On June 8, 1710, the Cardinal died while still at Macao.

55. Mosheim, op. cit., p. 86.
56. Ibid., p. 86.
57. Ripa, op. cit., p. 32.
In the meantime the Jesuits had appealed to Rome for a modification of the papal decree of 1704. The Inquisition under date of September 25, 1710, rejected the plea of the Jesuits and confirmed the decree of 1704 together with the injunctions of Tournon. It also prohibited any further discussion of the controversy.

The news of this decree reached Pekin in January 1714. The Jesuits there informed the papal delegate who brought it that if he divulged the contents of the decree in any way they would report him to the Emperor. The delegate, not wishing to become a martyr, quickly and quietly retired.

Pope Clement XI was deeply provoked. On March 19, 1715 he issued the bull "Ex illa die", in which he commanded, in the strongest possible terms, that all the clergy in China should observe the decrees of the Inquisition and the injunctions of Cardinal Tournon. The fullest possible penalties were threatened to the disobedient.

A papal delegate read this bull in three churches in Peking on November 5, 1716. Three days later, by the Emperor's order, the delegate was "fettered with a chain of extraordinary weight and strength and thrown into a dungeon as a traitor who had dared to introduce foreign laws into the empire." The Emperor issued another edict in which he warned all priests that he would immediately banish any who paid more regard to the Pope than to him. Moreover he would put to death without distinction all Chinese converts who did likewise.

The bull had been worked with extreme caution. Yet the Jesuits discovered a method of evasion. In the title

of the bull were the words "Præceptum de omnimodis". "A precept is not a law" they said and therewith decided not to obey it. The Pope was amazed when he heard this.

Another legate was chosen. This time it was Charles Anthony Mezzarbarba, who was made Patriarch of Alexandria. Mezzarbarba arrived in Peking in December, 1720, and had audience with K'ang Hei.

Meanwhile, things were happening in China. In 1716, a military mandarin submitted a memorial to the throne which reveals quite clearly the attitude of mind which was common among the Chinese of that day. The memorialist began with the subject of commerce. He warned the Emperor of the dangers which might result from the increasing number of European ships which were coming to China. He recommended the stoppage of all trade.

Turning to the subject of Christianity, he pointed to the events which had taken place in Manila and Japan. He saw the missionaries as political agents who, on the pretext of spreading Christianity, really sought to conquer the country. In view of the fact that they were building churches in all parts of the land and winning many converts, the memorialist asked if it would not be wise for the Emperor to consider the possible dangers which might arise out of such a condition of affairs. He recommended to the Emperor that the Christian religion be suppressed.

The plea of the mandarin reached K'ang Hei when he was receptive for just such an argument. The challenge to his authority was disturbing. The claim of the Pope was virtually a political encroachment.

K'ang Hei took no hasty steps. He first, in April, 59, Steiger, "China and the Occident" pp. 15, ff.
1717, submitted the memorial to a committee composed of the heads of various administrative departments. This committee recommended the repeal of the Edict of Toleration and the republication of the anti-Christian decree of 1685. The Jesuits made desperate efforts to save the situation. They appealed to K'ang Hsi. Twice during the month of May the Emperor referred the matter back to the committee, which returned the same answer each time.

Then the Emperor in an imperial rescript ordered the recommendations of the memorialist to be carried out. However, a loop-hole was provided. Those missionaries who promised to follow the rules of Ricci were allowed to remain in the country, but those who followed this course did so in direct opposition to the papal commands.

There are many points in common between the anti-Christian edict of 1717 and that of 1616. In each case fear was expressed that the foreigner would use the mission work as a shield for conquest. Christianity was not objectionable on doctrinal grounds as much as on political grounds. This suspicion has ever remained with Christian mission work in China, even to modern times. Certainly the rites controversy had an adverse affect upon the mission cause. Mosheim claims that the controversy was more prejudicial to the propagation of Christianity than the "most violent persecutions of the Mandarins."

This was the situation which existed when the papal legate Mezzabarba arrived in China in the latter part of 1720. On the last day of the year he had audience with the Emperor. A number of other interviews followed. K'ang Hsi became angry over the attitude of the Pope. The

60. An imperial rescript is the answer to a memorial.
61. See page 35 of this treatise.
Jesuits in Peking were much alarmed, fearing the end of their work. In November of 1721, Mezzabarba while at Macao issued a pastoral letter in which he granted certain concessions to the Jesuits. These concessions permitted participation in ceremonies which had only a civil or a political character. While the pastoral letter was open to various interpretations, still it was unsatisfactory to K'ang Hsi. Though Mezzabarba was more diplomatic and tactful than some of his predecessors, still he was unable to secure from the Emperor the privileges desired for the mission, nor was he able to satisfactorily settle the old rites controversy.

The Reign of Yung Cheng, 1723-1736.

On December 20, 1723, the great K'ang Hsi passed away. He was the friend and protector of Christian missions. Even when he had cause to banish the foreign missionaries, still he did not persecute the native Christians. Never again was the Christian cause in China to have so powerful a monarch for its friend. We can only speculate as to what might have been the outlook for the Christian cause at the time of his death had there been no rites controversy.

One of his last official acts was the selecting of Yung Chen, his fourth son, to be his successor. The new Emperor was less favorably inclined toward Christianity than was his father. Some of this dislike may be due to the fact that some prominent native Christians had lent their support to a plot to put Yung Seu, a brother of Yung Cheng, on the throne. It was the general belief that Yung Seu was himself a Christian.

63. K'ang Hsi had thirty-five sons of whom twenty-four attained manhood.
The accession of Yung Chen to the dragon throne was the signal for the renewal of the old accusations against Christianity. Memorials were presented to the throne in which protests were made against the favor which had been shown to the new religion. Among these memorials was one submitted by the Viceroy of Fukein province. In that province the literati had taken the lead in the persecution of the missionaries. The Viceroy had seized a number of Christian churches and had converted them into other uses.

Under date of January 10, 1724, Yung Chen ordered all missionaries to be banished to Macao with the exception of those skilled in the sciences, who were to remain in Peking. The edict also ordered the confiscation of church property and ordered the native Christians to renounce their faith. More than 300 churches were destroyed or converted to other uses. More than 300,000 Christians were deprived of their foreign leadership. The missionaries who remained in Peking were not allowed to engage in missionary activities. Some of the missionaries remained in hiding but were always in constant danger of arrest. A few prominent native Christians were banished. It does not appear that any blood was shed in this persecution. The most that the Jesuits at Peking could do through their intercession was to permit the missionaries to go to Canton instead of to Macao.

An interesting side-light on these times is found in a record in the annals of the East India Company. The following entry was made at Macao under date of July 21, 1724:

"The Emperor Yungching's persecution of the Roman Catholic Church had also begun, and they

65. Backhouse and Bland, op. cit., pg. 245.
(i.e. the crew of a ship which arrived at Macao at that time) found the missionaries temporarily allowed to remain in the city of Canton, but under orders to vacate their stations in all other parts of the Empire."

The East India Company was interested in the persecution for it directly affected their trade. The entry refers to the 'friendly help, advice, and information' which the missionaries had been able to give the traders.

Every effort was made by the missionaries to restore toleration. Even the pope, then Benedict XIII, in 1725 submitted a memorial to the Emperor. In reply to this the Emperor said:

"I cannot permit missionaries to live in the provinces. Why does your pope wish them to be in the provinces? If I sent Bonzes (i.e. Buddhist priests) to Europe, how would you treat them? As fanatic disturbers of the peace and public mind deserve."

In 1728 the King of Portugal sent an embassy to the Emperor to intercede for the Christian cause. The embassy arrived in Peking the following year and was given imperial audience. Gifts were exchanged but as far as the removal of the ban was concerned, nothing was gained.

The Sacred Edict During the latter part of his reign, K'ang Hsi issued a collection of sentences which became known as the Sacred Edict. This collection contained sixteen maxims, each maxim containing seven characters. The edict was meant for the instruction of his people.

The seventh maxim was:

"Degrad strange religions, in order to exalt the orthodox doctrine."

Yung Cheng published in the second year of his reign an amplification of these maxims which was ordered to be read publicly twice each month in every city and village.

A mandarin, Wang Yew Po, superintendent of the salt revenue for Shensi province, later wrote a paraphrase for the benefit of the people who were unable to follow the high classical style of Yung Cheng. In the amplification of the seventh maxim, Yung Cheng passed all religions in review and condemned them all. Confucianism was not considered. The maxims as a whole exalted Confucianism.

In reference to Christianity the document said:

"The sect of the Western Ocean which honours Teen Choo ranks also among those that are corrupt; but because the men (i.e. the missionaries) understand the mathematics, therefore the government employs them; of this you ought to be aware. To walk in these by-roads and deceive the people is what the law will not excuse.

"Soldiers and people! Act conformably to these sacred injunctions; and stop the progress of these strange sects as you would that of torrents, flames, robbers, and thieves."

In the paraphrase by the mandarin, the intolerant spirit was carried even further.

"Even the sect of Teen Choo who talk about heaven, and chat about earth, and of things without shadow, and without substance; -- this religion is also unsound and corrupt. But because (the European teachers of this sect) understand astronomy, and are skilled in mathematics, therefore the government employs them to correct the calendar. That, however, by no means implies that their religion is a good one. You should not by any account believe them. The law is very rigorous against all the left-hand-road and side-door sects!"

In virtue of their authorship and the wide publicity and frequent reading given to these maxims, they were most influential in creating and sustaining an anti-Christian attitude. Missionaries a century later were finding the reading of the Sacred Edict an obstacle in their work.

During the reign of Yung Cheng, such secret societies secret societies as the White Lotus,

70. Ibid., p. 128.
71. Ibid., p. 151.
the Triads (later prominent in the Tai Ping rebellion), and the Heaven and Earth, rose to importance. They were semi-religious and also semi-political in character. Most of them were definitely anti-Manchu. Critics of Christianity began to point out the similarity between the Church and these societies. Both had a sworn membership, mysterious rites, and an authoritative priesthood. China to this day is permeated with secret societies. More than one emperor has had reason to fear them. Thus, when the Christian Church was accused of being a secret society, the Government had cause to take such an accusation seriously.

The beginning of the reign of Yung Cheng marks the beginning of a new era for missions in China. From 1723 to 1842 the Roman Catholic church lost both in influence and in numbers. For the most part the emperors were antagonistic to the Christian cause and suspicious of foreigners. We find a few instances which are exceptions to this rule. It is reported that Yung Chen in 1734 gave 10,000 taels towards the building of another church in Peking. Then, too, in spite of this general antipathy to missionaries, a small group of scientists were allowed to remain in Peking. However, for the most part, active missionary work was practically impossible. Much property was confiscated. Under a decree of 1846 and the French-China treaty of 1858 this property was ordered to be restored. As we shall see, this process of restoration caused an endless amount of friction. It brought considerable reproach upon the Christian cause in the nineteenth century which was only too often justly deserved.

The End of the Controversy.

In 1736, Ch'ien Lung, a son of Ch'ien Lung Yung Cheng, ascended the dragon throne at the age of twenty-five and ruled China for nearly sixty years. His reign rivals the glory of the reign of his grandfather, K'ang Hsi. These two monarchs were among the most powerful of those who ever sat upon China's throne.

Since the period under review in this chapter extends from 1644 to 1747, we have but eleven years of the reign of Ch'ien Lung to study at this time. At first Ch'ien Lung was favorable to the missionaries. He began his reign with various acts of clemency toward them, such as restoring some of their churches and revoking some of the more stringent orders against them. However, such favor did not last long.

Ch'ien Lung issued a new edict forbidding the Chinese to accept the new religion and calling upon all converts to renounce their faith. As with previous edicts, this was not enforced throughout the empire with the same degree of regularity or intensity. In 1738, we hear of three churches being open in Peking and a number of the Jesuit band there continuing with their missionary duties.

When the papal legate, Mezzabarba, reported to the Pope the condition of affairs in China, the Pope called upon the General of the Jesuits to secure full obedience from the members of his order. In 1733 the Bishop of Peking made public the eight concessions granted by Mezzabarba. This was contrary to orders. Pope Clement XVI began a new inquiry

regarding the merits of the controversy. He died before the inquiry was completed. He was succeeded by Benedict XIV., who happened to be unfriendly to the Jesuits. On July 11, 1742, the bull *Ex quo singulari* was issued, which is usually regarded as containing the final word on the rites controversy. While the bull does not specifically mention the Jesuits, yet the reference to them is clear when mention is made of "a disobedient, crafty, malicious, and insidious set of men." The bull reviewed the history of the controversy. It confirmed the bull *Ex illa die* and revoked the eight concessions granted by Alexander. Regarding these concessions, it said that they were "extorted from the Patriarch under the apprehension of a violent death". The bull prescribed an oath which was to be required from all missionaries obliging them to adhere strictly to the bull of Clement XI. and to other papal decrees. All disobedient missionaries were to be returned to Europe.

Thus the controversy which began in the days of Ricci officially came to a close. K'ang Hsi's successors were not interested in the merits of the controversy. We read of some echoes of the controversy continuing as late as 1786, when the Bishop of Peking found it necessary to instruct the Christians of Peking regarding the decrees of the bull of 1742. In 1792, the Propaganda issued some rules governing the decoration of graves by the native Christians in China. The ancient custom was permitted only when it was done on some other day than that used by the non-Christians.

The persecution of 1747

In 1747, a particularly severe persecution broke out in Fukian which cost the life of the Vicar Apostolic of that province.
Peter Sanz, and in the following year four other Dominicans were also martyred. Native Christians were also killed; churches decorated and confiscated, and other drastic steps taken. The persecution spread to the other provinces. Other lives were taken. The anti-Christian sentiment was so strong that the Portuguese in Macao in an agreement reached with the Chinese authorities in November of 1749 forbade the missionaries there to carry on any missionary activities even in Macao.

The enforcement of the anti-Christian edicts in 1747 and the years following seem to have been more thorough throughout the empire than had been the enforcement of any previous attempt. The gates of the empire were being closed to all foreigners. China under the broad minded K'ang Hsi had tried the tolerant attitude. Being dissatisfied with the results obtained, she now decided upon the intolerant attitude.

Reasons for China's In attempting to analyse the intolerance reasons for this growing intolerance of the foreigner by China we find a variety of causes. In the first place, China was suspicious of the aggressive attitudes of the traders. European powers, which were supposed to be Christians, had left black records in such neighboring countries as Japan and the Philippines. Added to this was the series of barbarous and piratical acts which were frequently perpetrated upon the Chinese by the foreign traders. S. Wells Williams writes concerning this:

"These characteristics of avarice, lawlessness, and power have been the leading traits in the Chinese estimate of foreigners from their first acquaintance with them."

Soothill gives a similar testimony:

"It was the buccaneering spirit of the Portuguese and Dutch as well as perhaps the later forceful methods of the English which closed China to the West."

There is little wonder as to why the proud citizen of the Middle Kingdom, who gloried in a civilization already thousands of years old, should look with disdain upon the rude foreigner and call him a barbarian.

In addition to the attitude of the traders there was the question of the missionary. Why was he in China? The very fact that he came from the same country from which came the aggressive trader brought the missionary under suspicion. The Chinese had difficulty in understanding the motives of love and of unselfish interest which has always moved the Christian missionary. Such motives are unknown to the native faiths. Hence, the Chinese could easily suspect the Christian missionaries of being parties to some deeply laid plot in which these motives of love and unselfish interest were but clever disguises. Such simple acts as making the sign of the cross were misinterpreted by the suspecting natives as being some secret sign.

Another reason for the growing antipathy for the foreigner was the rites controversy. K'ang Hsi would probably have permitted the quarrel to go on indefinitely if the Pope had not challenged his authority. That marked the climax. K'ang Hsi would receive dictation from nobody. K'ang Hsi outlined his position when he replied to a memorial from the Pope.

"You wish to make the Chinese Christians, and this is what your law demands, I know very well. But what in that case would become of us? The subjects of your kings? The Christians whom you

75. Soothill, "China and the West", p. 80.
make, recognize no authority but you; in times of trouble they would listen to no other voice. I know full well enough that there is nothing to fear at present; but when your ships shall be coming by thousands and tens of thousands then, indeed, we may have some disturbances."

Religion and politics were being mixed together. It was hard to tell where religious obedience ended and political obedience began. China found it difficult to dissociate the missionary from his government. Hsu maintains that:

"The Chinese, therefore, are thoroughly convinced that, under the pretense of religion, we are really maneuvering for the invasion of the empire and the overthrow of the dynasty."

The Chinese government quieted its fears by proscribing the Christian religion. That seemed to be the best guarantee of freedom from internal disturbances. To the government, proscription was an act of self defense. But for Rome it meant disappointment and perhaps failure.

Status of the church dynasty to the Edict of Toleration, i.e., from 1644 to 1692, the Christian cause prospered exceedingly. The number of Christians grew from forty or fifty thousand in 1644 to around 300,000 in 1705. During this first period of the rites controversy the political aspect was not prominent. The controversy was among the missionaries themselves.

Beginning with the decree of 1704, the controversy entered its political phase when the pope defied the authority of K'ang Hsi. The attitude of the Emperor toward the church changed. Anti-Christian edicts appeared. Persecutions came. Emperors unsympathetic to the Christian cause succeeded K'ang Hsi. The result of these events upon the growth of the church is at once apparent.

77. Huc. Ibid., p. 155.
The missionaries themselves were ordered out of the country. Many were imprisoned and tortured. Some suffered martyrdom. Fewer reinforcements arrived. During the reign of Yung Cheong, we hear of twenty-six Jesuits, some of whom were Chinese joining the Chinese mission.

Following the death of Y'ang Hei, the native Christians themselves suffered persecution. Some were banished. Some imprisoned. Some recanted. It is believed, however, that the majority remained true to their faith in the face of persecutions. Certainly the church suffered a decrease in membership. It is reported that around 1738, when missionary activities were most difficult in the provinces, in Peking the missionaries were still baptizing about a thousand annually. The persecutions of 1747 and the years following were especially severe. One report is that by 1754 "there were in the whole empire and including all orders but about 7,000 Roman Catholic members." However, such an estimate appears to be much too small.

Some interesting side-lights on the methods and results of the mission work from 1710 to 1732 are to be found in the memoirs of Father Ripa, who was attached to the band of missionaries in Peking as a painter to the Emperor. Father Ripa arrived at Macao on January 2, 1710. While at Macao he visited Cardinal Tournon and about forty missionaries who were imprisoned there. After some delay, Ripa set out for Peking. He stopped off at Mu kia n g where on January 1, 1711, he wrote concerning his observations:

"Unfortunately our missionaries have adopted the lofty and pompous manner known in China by the appellation of 'Tu-mjen'. Their garments are made of the richest materials, they go nowhere on foot, but always in sedans, on horseback, or in boats with numerous attendants following them, with a few honorable exceptions, all the

76. Ibid. p. 162.
81. Ripa, "Memoirs" p. 43.
missionaries live in this manner; and thus, as they never mix with the people, they make but few converts. The diffusion of our holy religion in these parts has been almost entirely owing to the catechists who are in their service, and to other Christians, or to the distribution of Christian books in the Chinese language."

He also refers to the fact that the language barrier had proved to be too formidable for most of the missionaries. "I also knew that, however numerous and zealous the European missionaries might be, they could not produce any satisfactory results, in consequence of the formidable barrier of the language, which up to my time none had been able to surmount so as to make himself understood by the people at large."

An interesting sidelight on mission methods in Peking as told both by Ripa and Le Comte was the practice of the missionaries of baptizing the abandoned babies which were found in the streets of Peking. Carts were sent through the city daily to collect the castaways. These were taken to a temple, where they were nursed at the Emperor's expense. About 10% survived. The Jesuits appointed a Chinese Christian to baptize all infants brought there. In order to do this the Christians were obliged to give the local priests some money. Ripa says: "In this manner not less than three thousand children are baptized every year."

Le Comte, describing conditions about ten years earlier declares that four or five thousand were baptized annually. He speaks of how the Jesuits would join in the search looking for children

"every morning from door to door, where we find them half perished with cold and hunger, nay, sometimes half eaten up by dogs."

This practice of abandoning children has not died out in China, though it is to be questioned whether the practice in such cities as Peking today equals the conditions here described.

82. Ibid., p. 94.
83. Ibid., p. 45.
84. Le Comte, op. cit., p. 438.
One of the great accomplishments of this period was the establishment of a theological seminary for the training of a native clergy. Ripa was the prime mover in this. He succeeded in getting two or three youths to live with him. Finding conditions increasingly difficult in Peking, Ripa left for Naples, taking the youths with him. The seminary was opened in 1732 in Naples with five students.

With the publication in China of the papal bull of 1743 and the persecution of 1747 this chapter comes to a close. These events can be looked upon as marking the close of Rome's second effort to evangelize China. The period began with much promise. As time passed, the missionaries gained more and more influence at court. They were able to surmount the difficulties attendant upon a change of dynasties. During the reign of K'ang Hsi they basked in imperial favor. Never before had their work been so prosperous or the outlook so promising. And yet the period closed in the midst of storm and strife. Dissension and persecution had spelt out in tragic events the word, 'failure'. The events of this period had a very direct bearing upon the missionary activities of both the Roman Catholics and the Protestants of the nineteenth century.
PART ONE
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CHAPTER IV
THE CLOSED DOORS
1747—1843
By 1747, the doors of China which once had opened wide to welcome all foreigners, and particularly the Christian missionaries, had swung shut. For nearly one hundred years they remained closed. When finally opened, it was not because of the freewill of the Chinese people, but because they were blown open by foreign cannon.

In this chapter we shall review the status of Christian mission work in China as carried on by the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the Eastern Orthodox churches during the years 1747 to 1842. We shall study the events leading up to the Treaty of Nanking which was signed in 1842. China's modern history begins with the signing of that treaty.

The Roman Catholics Carry On.

Despite the edicts against Christianity and the series of persecutions which came within this period, the Roman Catholics were able to carry on with a remarkable fidelity, and, considering the obstacles, with fair success. The anti-Christian spirit varied throughout the provinces. The enforcement of the anti-Christian edicts was left to local officials, who were sometimes quite tolerant.

During the reign of Ch'ien Lung missions in the provinces of Szechuan and Shansi were the heaviest sufferers. In the former province all foreigners were driven out and but one Chinese priest remained, Andrew Li. In 1756, Francois

Pottier left Macao for Szechuan, where he contrived to remain until about 1792. During his first ten years he was the only foreigner in that vast province. In 1767, he was appointed Bishop. Pottier, like other missionaries who managed to get into the interior, was sometimes obliged to go into hiding. He was always dependent upon the good-will of the native converts and partly also upon the tolerance of local officials.

The uncertainty of the times discouraged missionary efforts, so that but few reinforcements arrived in China. In 1767, some reinforcements for Pottier reached China. One of the members of this band, Gleyo, started a college for the education of native clergy at Lo-yang-chow on the borders of Yunnan in 1780. This institution rendered a notable service until 1840, when it was destroyed during a persecution.

In 1775, one of the Christian churches in Peking was destroyed by fire. Ch'ien Lang was sympathetic enough to make a contribution toward its restitution.

In 1773, Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Jesuit order. After the dissolution of the order, a number of Jesuits continued their labors both in Peking and in the provinces without taking any further heed of papal bulls. Not receiving reinforcements, their numbers gradually diminished. The last of the Jesuits died in 1814. The order was reorganized in 1822. Altogether, four hundred and fifty-six members of this order, both Chinese and Europeans, had labored in China.

The Jesuits sent frequent appeals to Europe for help. Their patron, Louis XVI. of France, passed on these requests. Somebody had to be found to take over the property and to

assume control of the work. No order was eager for the responsibility. However, on December 7, 1783, the Lazarists were formally assigned by the Propaganda. Three Lazarists arrived in China the following year and were received in Peking by the Emperor. Conditions in Europe were most unfavorable for the mission cause. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars made both men and money for mission work scarce. During the thirty-five years, from 1784 to 1820, only thirty-five priests were sent out. Another four were sent out from 1820 to 1830. Out of this number, fourteen appear to have remained in Macao. After deducting those who were to remain in Peking, it appears that very few were designated for work in the provinces.

In 1784, another persecution broke out against the Christians. In September of that year, four priests, on their way from Macao to their work in Shensi, were betrayed by an apostate Christian and discovered by the officials in Hupeh. The procureur of the mission at Canton, M. de la Tour, who sent the missionaries into the country was arrested and taken to Peking. The Chinese hong merchant at Canton, who had guaranteed his good conduct, was obliged to pay a ransom of 120,000 taels.

The discovery of the priests aroused the government to do some intensive searching. As a result sixteen European and ten Chinese priests were apprehended. Some of the Europeans, such as Pottier, escaped detection. A few others managed to get to Macao. Those arrested were thrown into prison, where the conditions were terrible. Seven Europeans and two Chinese died because of the treatment received. The others were not released until

4. Ibid. p. 169.
5. The Emperor had assigned the responsibility of looking after the commercial relationships with the foreigners to a group of ten or twelve merchants at Canton known as the 'hong' merchants or the 'co-hong'.
1785. The foreign priests then received the alternative of entering the Emperor's service in Peking or leaving the country. Three chose Peking, the others accepted deportation. A number of Chinese lost their lives in this persecution and some were banished.

During the reign of Chia Ch'ing favor of his son, Chia Ch'ing, who ruled until 1820. The new Emperor was much more antagonistic to Christianity than even his father was. Perhaps this can be explained in part by the increasing activities of the secret societies, which were seeking the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the restoration of the Ming. The Manchu dynasty had begun to decline with the reign of Chia Ch'ing. Revolts were more common. The Christian church with its secret rites was often confused with the secret societies and suffered accordingly.

In 1796, some missionaries, including a bishop, were imprisoned. That trouble appears to have been local. The next persecution that was general throughout the empire came in 1805. It started with the capture of a map of Shantung which was being sent by an Augustinian in Peking by the name of Adeodat to the Propaganda at Rome. An Italian and a Portuguese priest had become engaged in a dispute regarding the boundaries of their respective parishes. The map with accompanying letters was being sent to Rome for the purpose of informing the Propaganda regarding the merits of the case. Unfortunately for the missionaries the letters contained some frank criticisms of the Chinese authorities. The Chinese saw a confirmation of their suspicions in the fact of the map. The priests were hatching a plot to capture China.

7. Soothill, "China and the West." p. 95.
Adeodat was arrested and exiled to Jehol. The Christians in Peking were ordered to recant and many were tortured. The missionaries were carefully watched. This persecution does not appear to have been very severe outside of Peking, although references are made to persecutions elsewhere. The records of the East India Company speak of the arrest of an Italian monk in July, 1805, who had attempted to enter the province of Shensi. He was returned to Canton and closely confined for several months, "and in considerable danger of being ultimately condemned to death, for the attempt to introduce himself clandestinely to the interior of the Empire." On March 31, 1806, he received a sentence of three years' imprisonment.

When we recall the state of the Chinese prisons at that time, we can understand this further statement in the company's records:

"It is considered hardly possible for the unfortunate prisoner to survive so long and severe a confinement."

In 1811, another general persecution broke out, with the publication of an imperial edict against Christianity. The following paragraph taken from this edict shows that the propagation of Christianity was made a capital offense:

"From this time forward, such Europeans as shall privately print books and establish preachers, in order to pervert the multitude, and the Tartars and Chinese, who, deputed by Europeans, shall propagate their religion, bestowing names, and disquieting numbers, shall have this to look to;— the chief or principal one shall be executed;— whoever shall spread their religion, not making much disturbance, nor to many men, and without giving names, shall be imprisoned, waiting the time of execution; and those who shall content themselves with following such religion, without wishing to reform themselves, they shall be exiled..."

The custom of bestowing names refers to the Roman Catholic

practice of giving the convert a new name at the time of baptism.

As a result of this edict four priests were sent from Peking, among them being Adeodat. The Peking Gazette of December, 1811, makes mention of nineteen Chinese who recanted in order to avoid punishment.

Robert Morrison makes mention of the efforts the Catholics were making to re-enter China. He writes:

"The Portuguese are repeating their applications, in the name of the Prince of Brazil, which they made in vain for three years past, to send an embassy; and for a bishop and priest to reside at Peking. Their petitions are, as usual with the Catholics when they aim to carry a point in favour of the religion of the church of Rome, in a very humiliating strain, describing their prince as a tributary to China, and the immense benefits heaped upon him; but the principal idea is their being astronomers, selected by the prince, and sent out on purpose to manifest his gratitude."

The mission in Szechuen flourished during these years more than did any other mission in China. One explanation of this condition is that at first the officials in Szechuen were negligent in stamping out the foreign faith. Then when the numbers grew, the officials were fearful of the imperial wrath, if Peking ever learned the true state of affairs. Therefore, the officials sought to prevent Peking knowing. Any wholesale arrest of priests would amount to an indictment of the local authorities, for it would testify to their negligence. Therefore, the authorities were tolerant.

However, in 1814, a persecution broke out in Szechuen in which Bishop Dufresse was beheaded. Morrison, in a letter dated January 1, 1816, refers to a persecution in Szechuen which had taken place in June the year previous. In this same letter Morrison claims that the Viceroy of that province reported that 3000 families renounced the

11. Ibid. 297.
Christian faith in 1810 and since then more than two hundred additional families. In the persecutions of 1814-1815, the Viceroy apprehended seventy-two persons and seized a number of Christian articles, such as books, pictures, rosaries, and crosses. The Emperor ordered the death of two Chinese. Thirty-eight were sent into exile. More than seven hundred recanted. Although the presence of foreigners was suspected, none was seized.

During these persecutions, the authorities found that they could discover who were Christians by asking the suspected parties to trample upon a cross. This the Christians would not do. From the viewpoint of the Chinese Government, the missionaries and native Christians were criminals, in that they were continually and persistently breaking the laws which had repeatedly been promulgated against them.

During the closing years of the reign of Chia Ch'ing we hear of a few isolated cases of persecution. In 1816, John Lanrun of Triora, a Franciscan, was strangled in 15 Hupeh. In 1817, a Tartar Secretary was apprehended with sixteen others.

During the reign of Tao Kuang in 1821 and ruled through the troublesome period of the first Anglo-Chinese war to 1851. From his ascension to the signing of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, we read of no general persecution of the Christians. However, there were individual cases. In 1822, the Lazarist, M. Clet, was strangled in Hupeh. There were cases of persecution in Szechuen in 1824, 1830, and 1835. Fukien suffered in 1836.

17. Hue, "Chinese Empire" Vol. 2, p. 239. Latourette, op. cit., p. 179, states that M. Clet was strangled in 1820.
One bright spot is found in this series of persecutions. A record of the East India Company under date of July 1, 1827, states that the value of both French and Portuguese mission property had been paid for out of the Imperial Treasury.

"which, as the greater part of it consisted of gifts from former Emperors in houses and land, is a measure of liberal justice which could hardly have been expected."

Perhaps the reference referred only to the situation in Peking.

An interesting imperial edict appeared in 1836 which was directed against both Roman Catholic and Protestant mission activities. The edict refers to the efforts the Catholics had made during the preceding two centuries to gain admittance into the country and states that as a result several Europeans had been put to death. It also refers to the English ships which had gone up and down the coast distributing Christian literature intended for the diffusion of that faith "which was formerly persecuted and banished." Special mention was made of native Chinese in and about Canton and Macao who must have assisted the foreigners in the making of these books. The edict closed with a demand that all such Christian literature be given up.

Gutzlaff refers to the edict in these words:"

"A furious edict has lately been issued commanding all native Christians on pain of death to renounce their faith, and allowing them six months for repentance. Anybody who is conversant with the nature of Chinese edicts will be easily convinced that these injunctions will not be carried into effect according to the letter, yet many converts will doubtless suffer very severely."

In addition to the antagonistic attitude of the Chinese Government, the Roman Catholic missionaries who were not

19. MeGhuret, op. cit., p. 300. This edict is perhaps the first to refer to the activities of the Protestants in China. The distribution of Christian literature along the coast was a Protestant activity.
Portuguese, were forbidden residence at Macao. The Governor of Macao, influenced, no doubt, by the anti-Christian attitude of the Chinese government, ordered all non-Portuguese priests to leave the settlement before December 21, 1833. Three Frenchmen and one Italian were obliged to leave.

In the decade before the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, the Chinese watched the movements of the Europeans very closely, especially at Canton and Macao. Gutzlaff declares that this vigilance was so great:

"that little access can be had to the natives without giving umbrage. Hence only a few Chinese were found, who, by embracing the Gospel, were ready to venture all for Christ."

In 1840, the Lazarist, Perboyre, was put to death by order of the Emperor on the public square of the capital of Hupeh.

The Peking Band Special mention should be made of the fortunes or misfortunes of the band of Scientists who remained in the Emperor's services at Peking. They were favored when their comrades in the provinces were persecuted. Beginning with 1747, when residence in the interior was extremely precarious, the missionaries at Peking were able not only to carry on their scientific labors but also to engage in some missionary work. However their numbers gradually diminished, especially following the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773.

In 1783 three Lazarists arrived in Peking. In 1793, the English embassy under Lord Macartney visited Peking. At that time the missionaries claimed 5,000 followers in the capital city. In 1800, two French missionaries arrived at Canton with the intention of proceeding to Peking.

Permission to go did not come until 1805. The priests started out in June of that year accompanied by a Chinese officer. Upon reaching the borders of Chihli, the province in which Peking is located, they were turned back by imperial order and told to return to their native country without loss of time. They reached Canton again in December. It was in 1805 that Adeodat’s map was discovered.

In 1803, there were but two European Lazarists in Peking. The persecution of 1811 sent four priests out of Peking. Six Lazarists and one ex-Jesuit, who died in 1814, remained. On July 1, 1827, Padre Serra, a Portuguese missionary arrived at Macao from Peking. Padre Serra had applied to the authorities for permission to go to Europe to see his aged parents. So highly did the Chinese think of such an example of filial piety, that at times this excuse was practically the only way by which a missionary might leave the Emperor’s service. Ripa used the same excuse to get away from Peking. Perhaps in Serra’s case the permission was given only too willingly, for he was told not to return. When he left Peking, only one missionary remained, and he was “enfeebled by age and infirmity.”

Under date of February 28, 1830, David Abeel, a Protestant missionary wrote:

"I am informed that at present, there is but one Catholic priest employed in the emperor’s service, and for the last twenty years no others have been invited."

The last of the Peking band was Fipec, who died in 1838.

Thus, ever since the days of Ricci, for more than two hundred and twenty-five years, the Roman Catholic church was able to keep in Peking a notable band of scientists. The first half of this period was more glorious.

25. Latourette, op. cit., p. 175.
26. Ibid., p. 178.
27. Morse, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp., 155 ff.
than was the last half. We can mark the beginning of their decline with the publication in Peking of the papal bull of 1715.

Status of the church of persecutions, when but few foreign priests were able to remain in the country? Definite statistics are lacking, yet, in general, it must be said that the church maintained itself in an admirable manner during this troubled time. During this period under review, 1747 to 1842, the church just about held its own.

In 1705, the church had around 300,000 converts. Persecutions brought this number down by the year 1747, though how much is not known. In 1810, we have more accurate information. In that year a chart was presented to the bishop of Macao by Marchini which showed how China was divided into ecclesiastical districts and gave the strength of each district. At that time there were six bishops, two coadjutors, twenty-three foreign missionaries, eighty native priests, and 215,000 Christians. The expenses then amounted to £40,000 annually. All of the European missionaries in the interior, with the exception of those in Peking, were in concealment.

During the years 1810 to 1842, there was awakened in Europe a renewed interest in China. The church in China was passing through dark days, but a brighter day was dawning. In Europe, new societies, interested in the mission work in China, were being formed, and old societies revived. In 1822, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith was founded for the purpose of checking the downward course of Christian missions.

30. See Appendix 2.
According to statistics published in the Chinese Recorder, in 1839, the number of foreign workers in China increased to eighty-five, which means that there was more than a 100% growth over the number reported by Marchini in 1810. The number of native priests increased from eighty to one hundred and fourteen, and the number of Christians from 215,000 to 303,000. Another estimate for 1839 gives 313,000. By 1843, the year after the Nanking Treaty was signed, one hundred and fifty-eight foreign workers were reported. This means a 140% increase in three or four years. The number of native Christians increased to 320,000.

The year 1842 marks the beginning of a new era for missions in China, as well as a new era in political and commercial relationships. The Roman Catholic church was much better prepared to take advantage of the new conditions than was the Protestant church. The Catholics had a nucleus of over 300,000 Christians scattered throughout all the provinces. She also had about two hundred and seventy foreign and native priests. For nearly a century and a half the Catholic church in China had barely been able to hold its own in the face of adverse conditions. Now, with the conditions about to change, Rome was ready.

Protestant Beginnings.

The arrival of Robert Morrison at Canton on September 7, 1807, marks the real beginning of Protestant mission work in China. In accepting this date as marking the beginning of the Protestant work, we overlook the labors of the Dutch missionaries in Formosa during the early part of the seventeenth century. However, we feel justified in doing this because Formosa is an island, later lost to China, and also because of the temporary nature of the work of the

32. Latourette, op. cit., p. 185.
33. See Appendix 2. Abeel, op. cit. p. 52, states that the Catholic church had about 200,000 converts in 1830.
Robert Morrison was sent out to China by the London Missionary Society in 1807. Because of the hostility of the East India Company to missions, Morrison was unable to secure passage in England for China. Morrison first went to America. At New York he boarded the American vessel, Trident, for Canton. He carried a letter of introduction from James Madison, then Secretary of State, to Mr. Carrington, the American consul at Canton.

At Canton Morrison lived for a year in the factory of the American firm, Messrs. Milner and Bull of New York. During this time he was taken for an American. In a letter dated December 29, 1807, he writes:

"I am sometimes called the 'American missionary', which I perceive is not grateful to some of the American gentlemen."

Morrison found opposition to his missionary labors coming from three different sources. They were, namely, the East India Company, the Roman Catholics, and the Chinese government. Of these three the opposition of the government was by far the most serious. The Protestants were obliged to share with the Roman Catholics the consequences of the mistakes of the Roman Catholic missionaries of earlier years.

On the eve of Morrison's arrival at the attitude of the Canton, the East India Company was enjoying the monopoly of British trade in the Far East. In regard to the religion of the natives of the lands in which the Company had commercial dealings, it was the policy of the Company "to leave the inhabitants of these dominions in the full, free, and

34. A 'factory' was a trading station; the place of residence of the 'factors'.
undisturbed exercise of their respective religions." Their records show that they even paid out money to various temples in India for the support of non-Christian religions. In the early days of Protestant missionary work in India, this policy of the Company was a decided hindrance to missionary progress.

Following the Parliamentary debates of 1793, the directors of the Company replied to a suggestion that missionaries be sent out to India in these words:

"The sending out of missionaries into our Eastern possessions is the maddest, most extravagant, most costly, most indefensible project which has ever been suggested by a moonstruck fanatic. Such a scheme is pernicious, imprudent, useless, harmful, dangerous, profitless, fantastic. It strikes against all reason and sound policy; it brings the peace and safety of our possessions into peril."

As far as India was concerned, the Company's regulations forbade the presence of missionaries. If some missionaries succeeded in landing, they were to be "deported by force". William Carey, the noted pioneer missionary to India had to face such an attitude. He was not able to get passage on an East Indianman, but instead went out to India on a vessel flying the flag of Denmark. Carey and his associates were obliged to establish their work in 1799 at Serampore, which was then under the jurisdiction of Denmark. In 1801, Serampore passed into the hands of the British and for a few years the mission work already established was unmolested.

However, in 1807, a few months before Morrison landed at Canton, Carey got into difficulties with the East India Company over the publication by the mission press at Serampore of a pamphlet addressed especially to the Moslems. In the opinion of the Company the pamphlet was "injudicious.

36. British State Papers, Vol. 8, Papers H.I.C. Part. II
and improper" to the highest degree. The British authorities issued an order forbidding the missionaries to publish any books "directed to the object of converting natives to Christianity". In 1812, the Company ordered the missionaries Judson and Newell to leave India.

The attitude of this powerful Company to any missionary work in China may be understood by this brief review of its attitude to missionary work in India. It is true that in China the Company did not have the same degree of authority over British missionaries that it had in India. Yet the Company could and did forbid travel on its vessels by missionaries, and it could forbid residence in British establishments in the limited factory area in Canton. Knowing these facts, we can understand why Morrison went to China on an American vessel, and why he permitted himself to be taken for an American for about a year.

In 1808, Morrison was obliged to go to Macao along with other foreigners at Canton, because of trade difficulties with the Chinese. There he continued his language studies. During his sojourn in Macao he became acquainted with Miss Mary Morton, the daughter of a British merchant in the employ of the Company. On February 20, 1809, they were married. This matrimonial alliance greatly helped him, for, on the day of their marriage, he received an invitation to join the staff of the East India Company as an interpreter at a salary of £500 per annum.

Morrison rendered most faithful and valuable services to the Company. In 1811, they raised his stipend to £1,000 per annum. In 1830, it was increased to £1,300. Morrison continued his connection with the Company until its dissolution in April 1834. He died on August 1st of that year.

40. An interesting parallel can be drawn between Morrison and Carey. Both were Britisiers, both worked in the shoe manufacturing business, both were pioneer missionaries, both became great linguists, and both faced similar obstacles.
42. Ibid., p. 315.
43. Morse, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 27.
Morrison's official connection with the Company brought many benefits which were deeply appreciated. In a letter dated December 4, 1809, to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, Morrison gave his reasons for accepting the position with the Company.

"I stated to you my reasons for accepting this situation; they were briefly—that it secured my residence; that its duties contributed to my improvement in the language... and thirdly, its salary would enable us to make our labour in the gospel less chargeable to the churches of Britain. These appeared reasons sufficient to warrant the measure. I have little doubt but that they would also appear the same to you. It might also tend to do away any aversion of the Directors of the East India Company to missionaries, when they found that they were ready to serve the interests of the Company."

Morrison carried on what missionary activities he could while in the employ of the Company. He was especially interested in translating the Bible. It is interesting to note that the Directors of the Company remonstrated with Morrison regarding the publication of the New Testament and some religious tracts in Chinese. In a letter dated October 14, 1815, the Directors said to Morrison in part:

"having further understood that the circulation of these translations has been effected in defiance of an edict of the Emperor of China, rendering the publisher of such works liable to capital punishment, (we) are apprehensive that serious mischief may possible arise to the British Trade in China, from these translations, and have in consequence directed that your present connexion with the Honourable Company should be discontinued."

Morrison in his reply pointed out the fact that the edict, which they referred to, was directed especially against the Roman Catholics. He felt that his activities along the line of Christian work were wholly unknown to the Chinese Government. He was taking the utmost precaution in the circulation of his books. If, however, the attention of the

government were directed to him, he did not expect to receive the protection of the Company. Moreover he had not changed his private pursuits after his employment by the Company.

In spite of their declaration, the Directors of the Company did not sever their relationship with Morrison. He was far too valuable to them for that.

The East India Company rendered invaluable assistance to Morrison in the publication of his Chinese-English dictionary and grammar. The Company undertook to print these works and brought out from England a complete printing outfit together with a printer, Mr. P. P. Thomas. The six quarto volumes of the dictionary were completed in 1823 at a cost to the company of about £12,000. The Chinese grammar was printed at Serampore in 1815 at the Company's expense. Of course, such works as these were as valuable to the merchant as they were to the missionary.

The attitude of the East India Company to Morrison is well summed up by the authors of Morrison's Memoirs:

"It was not only by the authorities in England that Mr. Morrison's missionary pursuits were frowned upon: those of their representatives in China, who, though they esteemed his character, appreciated his talents, and cherished through life a sincere friendship towards himself, still considered, at best, his efforts to introduce Christianity into China as a visionary enterprise; while some even viewed it as iminal to the commercial interests of the Company."

The attitude of the Roman Catholics objected to the introduction of the Roman Catholic faith into China, so the Roman Catholics objected to the introduction of Protestantism. We find traces of this opposition even before Morrison arrived in China.

46. Williams, op. cit. Vol. 2, p. 320. Medhurst, op. cit. p. 268 states that the cost was £15,000.
In 1793, Lord Macartney was sent by the British government to Peking to secure, if possible, more favorable conditions for commerce. In the points submitted to Emperor Ch’ien Lung, Lord Macartney said nothing about Christianity. However, in the Emperor’s reply we find the following interesting passage:

"For ages past you have followed what you esteemed the true religion. In the Chinese Empire, from its earliest Period to this Day, through the wisdom of its Emperors, a Doctrine had been established, and transmitted to posterity, in which the four parts of the Empire have been brought to concur for several centuries. It is not right, therefore, to disturb them in the Exercise of their ancient Religion. As to those Europeans who dwell at Pekin and profess Christianity to me, they have created no Division on these accounts; nor indeed are they allowed an unrestrained communication in all Places. It is not difficult to distinguish the Well from the evil-intentioned; now your Ambassador seems to have it in contemplation to propagate your English religion, which is a Thing I will by no means permit."

It appears that one of the priests in Peking, Joseph Bernard, a Portuguese, prejudiced the mind of the Emperor against the British. The Portuguese were beginning to feel the competition that the British were giving in the commercial world. It appears also that the priests at Peking communicated to the Emperor their fears regarding the possibility of the English Protestants securing a foothold in China.

When Robert Morrison’s presence became known to the Roman Catholics, they were much alarmed. Since 1557 the Portuguese had been at Macao, which place was about ninety miles from Canton by water. Macao was the base for the Catholic missions in China. It was a refuge for the missionaries in times of persecution, for there the Portuguese shared with the Chinese in the government of the colony.

48. Morse, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 251. In this letter, dated October 3, 1793 and addressed to King George, is found this statement: "It behooves you, O King, to respect my sentiments and to display ever greater devotion and loyalty in the future, so that, by perpetual submission to our Throne, you may secure peace and prosperity for your country."
In November, 1807, Morrison wrote: "The Roman clergy at Macao have it amongst them that I am come out to oppose them." In December he wrote: "The Roman Catholics are much alarmed." In January of 1808 he made another reference to them: "The Roman clergy at Macao are considerably alarmed by my coming out. There is every reason to fear that their influence will be exerted against me."

During most of 1808, when he was obliged to go to Macao, he found it prudent to remain in retirement a good part of the time, so as not to attract the attention of the priests. Of his residence there he said: "The residence at Macao is especially difficult owing to the jealousy of the Roman bishops and priests."

His official connection with the East India Company afforded him protection whenever he went to Macao in later years. However, the Catholics were able to put a number of petty annoyances in his way. For a time Morrison had two Chinese for his tutors who were Roman Catholics. When this fact came to the ears of the Chinese bishop, immediate steps were taken to stop such an arrangement. Morrison writes:

"One who aided me in Canton, where he was not noticed by them, did not dare to call upon me when in Macao." And again, this time under date of December 12, 1812: "Abel Yun, a Roman Catholic Chinese, says that the Bishop of Macao issued an anathema against those who should have intercourse with me or give Chinese books to me." The Bishop of Macao burned a translation of the gospel of Luke which Morrison had made, as an heretical work.

In July, 1813, Morrison's first colleague, the Rev. Robert Milne and his wife, arrived at Macao. For six years Morrison had labored alone. Of the coming of Milne,
Morrison wrote:

"On Mr. and Mrs. Milne's arrival, their coming became the news of the day everywhere, both amongst the English and the Portuguese. A general feeling of hostility manifested itself. I believe the church (Roman Catholic) wrote to the Governor; the Senate met, and it was decreed in full council 'that Mr. Milne should not remain'.

Morrison tried to get the East India Company to engage the services of Milne as his assistant. This the Company refused to do. After Milne and his wife landed at Macao, the government there gave him eight days in which to leave. Morrison took Milne with him to Canton. Mrs. Milne remained with Mrs. Morrison at Macao.

In other ways the Roman Catholics were able to embarrass the Protestants. This incident might be mentioned: In May, 1833, J.R. Morrison, the son of Dr. Robert Morrison, began the publication of the "Evangelist or Miscellanea Sinica" on a press in his home at Macao. J.R. Morrison was then in the employ of the British Free Merchants in China as translator, which was a position similar to that held by his eminent father in the East India Company. The nature of his publication attracted the attention of the Catholic Bishop of Macao, who felt that it contained teachings contrary to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. The matter was laid before the Senate at Macao:

who decreed that such heretical proceedings must be immediately arrested." In June, the company which employed Morrison was notified that "the use of the press is prohibited in the Portuguese territories", and the company was asked to see to it that that order was obeyed. Dr. Morrison protested against what he termed the usurped authority of the Portuguese, but to no avail.

56. Ibid., p. 365.
57. Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 497 ff.
The first indication that the Chinese Government made a distinction between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants is to be found in an imperial edict issued in 1846. An edict issued in 1836 made reference to the distribution of Christian literature along the coast, which is a clear reference to Protestant activities. So, therefore, during this period under review, 1807-1842, the Protestants were subjected to the same proscriptions and persecutions as were the Roman Catholics. Hence, in reviewing the opposition which the Protestants faced from the Chinese Government during this period, we need but to supplement what has been said in a previous section.

The decree of 1811 seems to have been inspired by Roman Catholic activities. This decree did not deter Morrison, who wrote to his mission society telling them that he would be careful not to invite the notice of the Government. Morrison refers to the edict of 1814 in his journal and says of it: "The Chinese magistrate at Macao published an edict forbidding natives to receive religion of foreigners." Of course the hostility of the Government to the Christian faith made it difficult to win converts.

The Directors of the London Missionary Society once wrote to Morrison asking him regarding the possibility of American missionaries residing in the interior. To this inquiry Morrison replied:

"I think that it is utterly impracticable to any but a Roman Catholic missionary, who has persons in the interior already attached to his cause, and ready to receive him. I do not suppose that the life of a missionary entering the interior would be taken. I think he would soon be stopped, chained, and thrown into prison, sent to Canton, and ordered away. If any natives were found harboring him, they would be in danger of losing their lives."

59. Ibid., p. 352.
The conditions of residence for the foreigners, merchants as well as missionaries, was very trying. They were confined to a small area in Canton and placed under many restrictions. In addition to these conditions, the missionaries faced added obstacles. In the diary of Bridgman we read this entry under date of June 10, 1831:

"As a place of residence, especially during the summer months, Macao is decidedly better than Canton. In another point of view, the two places, though the one has a pagan and the other a Christian government, are not very unlike. A missionary of the American Board, or of any other Protestant society, is not recognized or tolerated as a missionary (italics Mr. Bridgman's) in one place or the other; he is obnoxious to the powers that be, and exposed to the most rigorous penalties of their laws. His property and person are proscribed, and the injunctions of his Lord and Saviour to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature are countermanded."

The Government made it difficult for the Protestant missionaries to master the language. Before leaving London, Morrison had made the acquaintance of a Cantonese by the name of Yüng Sam Tak, and from him learned something of the Chinese language. Morrison also made a copy of a Chinese manuscript which was in the British Museum. This manuscript proved to be a translation of part of the New Testament, evidently made by the Roman Catholic missionaries at some earlier date.

Upon his arrival in China, Morrison applied himself immediately with diligence to language study. He learned that the Chinese Government had made it a capital offense for any Chinese to teach the Chinese language to foreigners.

Under date of December 5, 1809, Morrison wrote:

"We experience great difficulties from the Chinese officers of government. We have to learn in secret and have often had to hide our books, etc. My assistants have again and again run from me through fear."

60. Bridgman, "Life of Bridgman" p. 51.
One of his tutors carried with him a bottle of poison so that if apprehended and charged with the crime of teaching Chinese to a foreigner, he could quickly put himself out of the reach of the tortures which would certainly be administered. Other missionaries during this period experienced the same difficulty. One of the Chinese teachers of Wells Williams always brought a foreign lady's shoe with him: "so that if any one he was afraid of, or did not know, should come in, he could pretend that he was a Chinese manufacturer of foreign shoes."

Protestant reinforcements arrive

Robert Morrison and his wife labored alone until July, 1813, when they were joined by the Rev. and Mrs. William C. Milne, who were likewise under the London Missionary Society. Due to the opposition of the Roman Catholic authorities at Macao and the refusal of the East India Company to offer protection to Mr. Milne, the two men found that they could not live and labor together as they so much desired. Milne spent four months with Morrison at Canton, where he was initiated into the mysteries of the Chinese language. Then Milne left for a tour of inspection of the Chinese settlements in the Malay Archipelago. This tour resulted in his decision to settle in the Dutch settlement at Malacca, which was the Singapore of that day. This decision marked the beginning of those missions under the L.M.S. for the Chinese outside of China in nearby countries, known as the Ultra-Ganges missions.

The Dutch at Malacca gave Milne every encouragement, even donating land for the Anglo-Chinese college which was established there in 1818. Milne also set up a

62. Williams, "The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams" p. 59
63. Ibid.; p. 38.
printing press there. He worked in Malacca until the time of his death in 1822. The L.M.S. sent out other workers who carried on the work started by Milne and also worked in such centers as Batavia, Singapore, Penang, Pulo and Borneo. However, the work in these centers among the Chinese was not successful, mainly because of the migrant character of the people among whom they were working. The Anglo-Chinese college was moved to Hongkong after that island came under British control in 1842.

The first American missionaries, the Rev. E.C. Bridgman and the Rev. David Abeel, reached Canton in February, 1830. The former was sent out by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. The latter represented the American Seaman's Friend Society. Bridgman has the honor of being the first American missionary assigned to the Chinese. Abeel was to serve as chaplain for American sailors in China. At the time of their arrival they found that the foreign population of Canton numbered about seventy-five. The number of annual visitors at that port who spoke the English language was around 4000. Abeel was obliged to return to the United States in May, 1833. He was instrumental in arousing much new interest in America in mission work in China. In 1839 he returned to China for a short time.

In 1833, the A.B.C.F.M. sent out a printer by the name of Samuel Wells Williams, who through his gifts and untiring industry became the leading authority on China. The year after Williams arrived, Dr. Peter Parker, the first medical missionary to China landed at Canton. He also was sent out by the A.B.C.F.M. He reached China shortly after the death of Robert Morrison and found only two

64. Bridgman, op. cit., p. 40.
65. His work "The Middle Kingdom" remains today as one of the standard authorities on China. There are two other American missionaries who came out about this time, although they are little known. Edwin Stevens succeeded David Abeel. Ira Tracy came in 1833 under the American Board.
missionaries at work with the Chinese. They were Bridgman and Williams. Dr. Parker first began his medical work in Singapore, but in 1835 he transferred his activities to Canton. It was not long before Howqua, one of the Chinese co-hong merchants, gave free quarters for the hospital.

A new board, the American Baptist Missionary Union, entered China in 1833, when it sent out the Rev. J.T. Jones. Jones first settled at Bangkok, Siam, where he was joined by others from the same board. A church was organized there in 1835 which has the honor of being the first Baptist church organized among the Chinese. The Baptists organized another church at Macao in 1837, which later moved to Hongkong. In 1837, the eccentric Issacher J. Roberts, an independent missionary, arrived at Macao. He later became an appointee of the Baptist Board and played a very important part in the T'ai P'ing rebellion. Of this we shall hear more later.

The American Church Mission (Episcopal) was the third American board to open up work in China. In 1835, two of their missionaries, Lockwood and Hanson, reached Canton. Finding conditions there unsatisfactory, they left for Batavia. They retired because of ill health in 1838. The real founder of the work of this board in China was William J. Boone who arrived at Batavia in 1837. Following the signing of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, Boone removed to Amoy and later to Shanghai.

The fourth and last of the American bodies to begin work in China before the Treaty of Nanking was signed was
the Presbyterians. In reality the Presbyterians began earlier, for prior to 1837 they constituted a part of the A.B.C.F.M., having co-operated with that board since 1812. Even after 1837, about one half of the Presbyterians, the new school branch, continued to work through the A.B.C.F.M. until 1870 when the two branches of the Presbyterian church effected an union. In 1838, the newly formed Presbyterian board sent out its first missionaries to China. The first missionaries, two men and their wives, Messrs. Orr and Mitchell, settled at Singapore. Mitchell died in 1838, and Orr went home the next year because of ill health.

Turning our attention now from the American boards to the European boards, we see that in 1836 the British and Foreign Bible Society sent out Mr. G.T. Ley. He went to Macao and served until 1839. This society renewed its work in 1843.

In 1827, the Netherlands Missionary Society sent out the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff to Batavia. There he met Walter Medhurst, a printer who had been sent out by the L.M.S. in 1817. Medhurst became a prominent figure among these early pioneer missionaries. Gutzlaff was a genius in many ways. He secured a remarkable knowledge of languages, including many of the dialects of China. As an indication of this knowledge we have but to glance over the list of his eighty-five published works and see in the list books in the following languages: "Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, German, English, Siamese, Cochinchinese, and Latin."

He was an individualist, and so in 1828 he severed connection with his home society and launched out upon a long career of independent mission work. He was a great believer in the necessity of distributing Christian literature.

66. His real name was Karl Frederick August Gutzlaff, although he is usually known as Charles Gutzlaff.
68. See article "Gutzlaff" Enc. Brit.
He made seven trips up and down the Chinese coast for this purpose. The first three are the best known, because the account of his experiences on these three trips was published in 1854 in a book entitled "Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China 1831, 1832 & 1833."

This book "struck most of the English readers with amazement," declared Medhurst. It showed that China was not hermetically sealed for:

"Here was a man who had gone and returned unhurt; had maintained an extensive intercourse with the people; had resided for months together in their cities and provinces; had met the far-famed and most dreaded mandarins; and instead of being arrested, imprisoned, and sent back in a cage to Canton, had been, in every instance, treated with civility, ami, sometimes, with respect."

Gutzlaff gives some vivid pictures of his experiences. Here is an account of the way the mandarins obeyed the letter but not the spirit of the law:

"The mandarins never directly interfered with my distributing books or conversing with the people. After having issued the severest edicts against having any commercial dealings, they gave us full permission to do what we liked."

This book certainly played a great part in the stimulation of missionary interest in China both in America and in Great Britain. Among the readers was David Livingston, who was so inspired by it that he wanted to go to China as a missionary. However, when he was ready to go, China was in the midst of a war with Great Britain, and so Livingston was obliged to change his plans. He went to Africa instead.

These three trips are important enough to call for an outline of them. Gutzlaff embarked June 3, 1831, on a Chinese junk at Bangkok. The junk went as far north as

Tientsin, which was reached in November of that year. It returned to Macao on December 13th. On February 26th of the following year, Gutzlaff went as interpreter on the British ship, "Lord Amherst", which was sent north on an experimental commercial voyage. The vessel carried no opium. It visited several places in Fukien and Chekiang provinces on its way to Shantung. From Shantung it went to Korea and returned by way of the Lewchow archipelago, reaching Macao, September 4th, 1832.

Shortly after his return from this second trip, Gutzlaff secured a new lot of Christian literature and embarked on the "Edith" an opium vessel which was in the employ of Jardine, Matheson & Co., a leading British firm at Canton, on November 20th, 1832. This vessel went as far north as Manchuria, returning to Canton on April 29th, 1833. Later we are to study the propriety of this voyage on an opium vessel. At present it is sufficient to point out that on these trips Gutzlaff distributed thousands of tracts, portions of Scripture, and other Christian literature. Gutzlaff had a limited knowledge of medicine which he used to good advantage. For the most part he was well received, though he did not venture far inland. Of the three voyages, the third was the most important in the matters of direct intercourse with the peoples and of observations. His remarkable ability as a linguist undoubtedly was of supreme value to him in the happy art that he had of making friends with the natives.

Gutzlaff was later engaged for a time in the employ of the British Government. He continued his independent missionary labors until he died. On his visits to Europe he was instrumental in stirring up great interest in missions.

71. Morse, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 332.
73. Morse, ibid.
and when the two German societies were organized, they
looked to Gutzlaff for advice and assistance.

The first British medical missionary, Dr. William
Lockhart, was sent out by the L.M.S. in 1838. He took
charge of a hospital at Macao.

Another independent mission agency of this period was
the Morrison Education Society, which was founded at
Canton in 1835 as a memorial to Dr. Morrison. Many of the
merchants gave liberally to this society as a testimony of
the respect and esteem in which they held the great pioneer
of Protestant missions. The Society later moved to Hongkong,
and in 1849 ceased activities.

Very early in the history of the Protestant
movement we read of the activities of women
missionaries. As early as 1825, a Female School for Girls
was founded at Singapore by Miss Grant. In 1827, Miss
Newell was sent out to Malacca, by whom we do not know. It
was in the same year that Charles Gutzlaff was sent out by
the Netherlands Missionary Society. He and Miss Newell met
and were married, but soon afterwards she died. It is
thought that Gutzlaff inherited a sufficiently large sum
of money from his wife to enable him to continue missionary
work on an independent basis. Some Scotland ladies sent out
a Miss Wallace to take over Miss Newell's work. Miss
Wallace also married Mr. Gutzlaff.

Probably the most famous of these early women workers
was Miss Aldersay, who was sent out by the Society for
Promoting Female Education in the East, which was organized
in London in 1834. Miss Aldersay settled in a Dutch
settlement in Java in 1837, where she spent six years.

When the treaty ports were opened following the

113

75. Ibid.
76. According to Dean, "The China Missions", Gutzlaff married
a Miss Warnstall in March, 1834. She died in April, 1849.
In September, 1849, Dean reports Gutzlaff marrying for a
'third' time a Miss Gabriel, while on a visit to England.
See Appendix, 3, for a list of women workers.
signing of the Treaty of Nanking, she went to Ningpo, where she opened the first school for girls in China. This she conducted there for eight years.

D.W.C. Olyphant

No record of the missionary activities of this period is complete without reference being made to Mr. D.W.C. Olyphant, an American merchant at Canton who was a member of the American firm Talbot, Olyphant & Co. His name is frequently mentioned in the missionary records of that period, and always with affection. Morrison states that Olyphant was an elder in a church in New York. Of him Williams writes:

"American missions to China owed their origin in 1829 to the suggestion of Mr. Olyphant. He supported and encouraged them when their expenses were starting and the prospect of success faint. He and his partners furnished the mission a house, rent free, in Canton for about thirteen years."

Olyphant further induced the church of which he was a member in New York to send out a fully equipped printing press in 1832. This brought the famous S. Wells Williams to China. On this press was printed the Chinese Repository. In Canton the press was housed in a building erected by Mr. Olyphant, where it remained for twenty-four years. Fifty-one free passages were given to missionaries or to members of their families who were going to or coming from China, by this devoted merchant. He named one of his vessels after Morrison. He entertained the early missionaries, such as Bridgman and Abel, in his home. Dr. Peter Parker wrote:

"To few in China, or out of it, does the Society owe so much for its existence and prosperity, under Providence, as to that distinguished merchant and Christian."

In 1835 Olyphant put a brig, the "Huron," at the

79. Williams, "Life of Williams", p. 78.
disposal of Medhurst for the distribution of Christian literature along the coast. This trip lasted three months.

Mr. Stevens, the successor to David Abed, accompanied Medhurst. Of this trip Williams writes:

"They went through various parts of four provinces and many villages, giving away about eighteen thousand volumes, of which six thousand were portions of the Scriptures, among a cheerful and willing people, without meeting with the least aggression or injury; having been always received by the people with a cheerful smile, and most generally by the officers with politeness and respect."

Years after the voyages by Gutzlaff and Medhurst, Methodist missionaries at Foochow found natives who had read and remembered the contents of some of these books and tracts. Thus we see how this wholesale distribution of Christian literature did serve to help prepare the soil for a later sowing of the Word.

In 1837, the firm to which Mr. Olyphant belonged brought the brig "Himmaleh" to China to be used solely for the distribution of Christian literature along the coast. However, the conditions were such at her arrival that she could not be used for this purpose, so she was sent back to the States.

Prior to 1842, we find that nine different bodies had sent missionaries to China. Of these, two were British, one Continental, one International, one independent, and four were American. This list does not include the American Seaman's Friend Society, which sent out two workers to minister especially to the English-speaking sailors in China.

83. See Appendix 4.
out of the total of sixty-two workers sent out to China by these boards or by other agencies, the British sent twenty-nine, the American thirty-two, and the Continent, one. Out of the total, about fifty per cent, had either died or returned home by 1842, so that the total Protestant force available for the new conditions which opened up in 1842 was around thirty-one workers. Out of the sixty-two workers sent to China, only about one-fourth had been able to work in China, and these for the most part for a short time only. The others had labored in the Chinese settlements in near-by countries, waiting for the day when they should be permitted to work in China.

A comparison of the relative strength of the Protestant forces with that of the Roman Catholics at the close of this period shows that the Catholics were much better prepared to take advantage of any new opening. In addition to the fourteen bishops and coadjutors which the Catholics had, they also claimed 144 foreign priests.

Protestant Methods and activities Due to the restrictions placed by the Chinese government upon all Christian missionary activities, the Protestant missionaries who remained in the vicinity of Canton were greatly handicapped. Robert Morrison laid the foundations upon which all succeeding Protestant missionaries have built. He realized the importance of language study and gave himself fully to his literary labors. The debt which Protestant Christianity owes to his prodigious labors in this field can never be adequately measured.

In most of his works of translation, Morrison found great help in consulting the works of some of the earlier Roman Catholic missionaries. In the case of the dictionary
he had for his guide a work of that nature. Before leaving England, Morrison succeeded in getting a copy of a Chinese manuscript which was owned by the British museum. The manuscript contained a harmony of the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, all of Paul's letters, and the first chapter of Hebrews. On the basis of this translation, Morrison brought out the Gospel according to Luke as a tract in 1810 or 1811. The whole New Testament was ready for publication in 1814. Milne, who arrived in 1813, made remarkable progress in the Chinese language and was, therefore, able to render some assistance in the translation of the Old Testament. In November, 1818, the complete Bible was ready for publication. There is no evidence that the Roman Catholics had published their translation of the New Testament outside of the portions printed in their lessons.

The early Protestant missionaries were strong believers in the power of the press. Many portions of the Bible, tracts and other forms of Christian literature were printed. A missionary magazine, "The Gleaner", was started, which apparently came to an end when Milne died. In addition to the mission press at Malacca, on which most of the first work was done, another press was started at Java under the direction of Dr. Medhurst of the L.M.S. Morrison was able to get some work done on the East India Company's press at Macao. With the coming of Gutzlaff and Williams, this phase of missionary work was greatly accelerated.

Gutzlaff believed in distributing other literature as well as that which bore the Christian message. So he printed and distributed works on geography, history, and the sciences. We have evidence to prove that some of the tracts written by the missionaries reached the Emperor and

84. This interesting manuscript was taken to England in 1739 by Mr. Hodgson of the East India Company. Foster, "Christian Progress in China.", p. 38.
were read by him.

The missionaries of this period relied much on the labors of such converts as Liang A-fah for the distribution of their printed works. In 1833, Morrison sent in the following report to his home society:

"The unremitting labors of Afa meet with a favorable reception from his countrymen. The Government of China patronizes education, and confers honors and office as the result of literary merit. A general public examination is triennially held in each of the provincial cities of the Empire. At these seasons the students from the towns and villages of the province repair to their chief city, to compete for distinction and rewards. The population of the province of Canton is 19,000,000. An examination of candidates for literary honor was held at the provincial capital (i.e., Canton) in October, 1833. Leang Afa, and two of his companions, urged by the motives which the Gospel supplies, entered the city at this time, distributing portions of Scriptures and tracts among the assembled multitudes of students who had come to the provincial capital, from towns and villages a hundred miles distant. In the most public manner Afa and two of his pupils presented them with religious books, which they received with great avidity; and many, after examining their contents, came back for more."

Some of the books and tracts distributed at that time came into the possession of one aspirant for honors whose name was Hung Hsin-ch'uan. Hung took them home, laid them aside, and then years later studied them. Upon the basis of the teachings found in those tracts, Hung launched a religious movement which soon assumed a political character and finally developed into the great Taiping rebellion. This movement began with great promise around 1850, but ended as a pestilence in 1865, after having devastated a large part of southern China. A later chapter will deal more fully with this movement.

The first Protestant convert to be won in China proper was Tsai A-ko, who was baptized by Robert Morrison on July 16, 1814, "at a
spring of water issuing from the foot of a lofty hill by the seaside, away from human observation." Tsai A-ko did not live long to serve his new Master, for he died in 1818.

The most influential of these early converts was Liang A-fah, who was induced to accept the Christian faith by Milne. He received Christian baptism at the hands of Milne on November 3, 1816. Liang was ordained by Morrison in December, 1823, thus becoming the first ordained Protestant Chinese minister. When Morrison left on his first furlough after sixteen years of work in China, he placed Liang in charge of the mission activities.

Liang was a most industrious worker. He wrote a number of Christian tracts. He was especially efficient in the distribution of Christian literature. The fact that he was a Chinese made it possible for him to enter the city closed to the foreigners and do that which the foreigners, therefore, could not do. In 1828, Liang baptized his first convert. By 1832 he had baptized seven. In 1830, Liang with a companion, Kew A-gang, itinerated two hundred and fifty miles into the interior, distributing some seven thousand tracts. He followed in the train of one of the public examiners, thus meeting especially with the student class.

Encouraged with the response of the students in the 1830 examinations, Liang was enthusiastic over this method of mission work. He began to get ready for the 1833 examinations by preparing and printing nine tracts of about fifty pages each. These tracts contained long sections of Scripture with other passages which Liang wrote himself. The tracts were revised by Dr. Morrison. These were evidently the tracts that fell into the hands of the student.

90. Ibid.
91. Ibid. p. 178.
who later became the leader of the T'ai P'ing movement.

In 1834, Liang met with hostility from the authorities at Canton, and was obliged to flee to Singapore. He dared not venture back until Hongkong came into the possession of the British. He then returned to China, where he resumed his evangelistic labors. He died in 1855 "full of years and faith".

In 1835, the first Protestant church was organized at Canton with three charter members. Outside of what the Dutch accomplished at Formosa, this church has the honor of being the first Protestant church to be organized in China. In 1837, the Baptists organized a Baptist church at Macao.

In 1832, Morrison drew up a summary of the results of twenty-five years of Protestant mission work among the Chinese. Measured in numbers of converts won, the results were pitifully few. He could account for but ten.

According to another authority, the number of Protestant converts at the close of the first Anglo-Chinese war "might have all been counted on the fingers of one hand." Perhaps the reference here was only to the converts then alive.

The failure of the Protestants to win more cannot be laid at the door of the missionaries themselves. Surely no men could have been better qualified for this pioneer work than were Morrison or Gutzlaff or Williams. The truth is that they faced obstacles which were too powerful to permit them to do their best.

With the beginning of a new era in 1842, the Roman Catholics were much better prepared than were the Protestants to take advantage of the new situation. Not only did they have a larger force of workers, they also claimed some three

95. Smith, "Rex Christian" p. 140.
hundred thousand converts who were scattered throughout the provinces of China.

The Russian Mission in China

Although, as far as the issues discussed in this thesis are concerned, the Russian mission in China has a very minor part to play, still some mention should be made of its work.

During the seventeenth century Russia was pushing out across Siberia. Her advance alarmed the Chinese, who by the treaty of Nerchinsk, which was signed in 1689, came to an agreement with the Russians. In 1685, when the Chinese were seeking to check the Russian advance, thirty-one Russian prisoners were captured by K'ang Hsi's forces and taken to Peking. Among these was a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church by the name of Maxime Leoniev.

Continued intercourse with the Russians necessitated a new treaty, which was negotiated in 1727 and known as the Treaty of Kiankha. In this treaty China formally recognized the presence of the Orthodox Church in Peking and granted permission for the residence there of four priests and six lay students. The support of this ecclesiastical mission was borne jointly by the Russian and Chinese governments. It was felt that the priests and the lay students would be useful in commercial and political relationships between the two governments. Until 1860 this mission was in reality the Russian legation. Spiritual care was exercised over the descendants of the original band of prisoners and over other Russians who visited Peking. Not until the twentieth century was much done for the Chinese themselves.

96. Sometimes spelt Mertschinsk. This was the first treaty China signed with a foreign power. Gerbillon and Pereira had important parts in the negotiations. See page 57 of this thesis.
97. Latourette, op. cit., p. 199.
Ripa states that in his day (he arrived in China in 1710 and stayed for about fifteen years) there were in Peking in the Russian mission an abbot and twelve priests "who had been sent by Peter the Great to administer spiritual comfort to the families of the Russian prisoners of war." Ripa was informed by this abbot that the mission then had scarcely fifty followers. Only one of the original prisoners was then alive; the others being the descendants of the prisoners.

At the end of the first 150 years of the history of this mission, it is reported that there were 200 Christians, which number included the descendants of the prisoners. These Russians had married with the Chinese so that the descendants were indistinguishable from the Chinese themselves. Following the treaty of Tientsin, the mission was deprived of its political functions. From 1860 to 1900 the clergy gave more time to literary and evangelistic labors, with the emphasis upon the former.

In 1897, the Archimandrite Innocent arrived at Peking. He instituted reforms and launched a vigorous program of missionary work. By 1916 the mission reported a force of twenty foreign priests, thirty-two mission churches; and a communicant roll of 5,078. The change of governments in Russia has seriously affected the present status of the mission. Practically all evangelistic work has ceased. The mission has ministered to thousands of White Russian refugees.

Events Leading Up to the Treaty of Hankow

The relationships between the missionary, trader, and

98. Ripa, op. cit., p. 89.
diplomat in such lands as China are inevitable and unavoidable. The fortunes of one group bear directly and indirectly upon the fortunes of the other two. This has been especially true in China. The ecclesiastical, commercial, and political interests in China are like the three strands of a braided cord. You might unravel the single strands, but like the separated strands of a rope, the individual strands would bear the impress of the others.

As far as the modern era of missions in China is concerned, which begins with 1842, the missionary followed the trader. The doors had been closed to all foreigners, until the trader enlisted the support of foreign governments and had the gates of the celestial empire blown open. Through the breach thus formed went the Christian missionary along with the trader and the diplomat. The missionary penetrated into the interior in advance of the trader, and oftentimes became the advance agent of commerce.

In order to appreciate the events that took place in the commercial world which lead up to the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and China, one must be acquainted with the outstanding events of China's foreign relations of earlier years. The Portuguese were the first to use the sea route to China. Their coming brought fear to China with the result that intercourse with the 'barbarians' was forbidden. In 1685, the broad-minded K'ang Hsi tried the experiment of throwing all ports open to unrestricted trade. However, in 1757, this action was rescinded by the Chinese Government. At that time, with the exception of trade with Russia, all foreign trade was confined to Canton.

100. Steiger, "China and the Occident", p. 18.
The Portuguese, Dutch, and Spanish were the first to establish trade relationships with China. Portugal more or less monopolized trade until the British came. She was much alarmed at the threat which the British ships gave to her shipping. The first British effort to establish trade relationships with China was in 1635, when Captain Weddell with four ships visited Macao. However, the British did little until K'ang Hsi threw all of the ports of his empire open to trade. In 1689, the East India Company sent its first ship to China. By 1709, this Company dominated all British trade to the far east, and held its domination for more than one hundred years.

In 1784, the first American flag appeared in Chinese waters. France never figured much in her commercial dealings with China. Her interests were almost exclusively ecclesiastical. Germany did not appear upon the scene as an important factor until in the latter half of nineteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century China's trade was largely in the hands of the British and the Americans.

The conditions under which trade was carried on were irritating and obnoxious to the foreigners. The Chinese Government looked upon commercial dealings as lacking dignity. Trade was regulated not by direct action of the Government but through trade-guilds. The Emperor assigned the responsibility of defining the conditions of trade to a group of ten or twelve merchants at Canton known there as the "Hong Merchants" or the "Co-hong". This body was organized as early as 1720. They alone had the right to trade with the foreigners. They collected the custom duties. In turn they were obliged to pay huge sums to local officials and national officials, including the Emperor.
In addition to the irregularity of custom duties and the various forms of extortions which the foreign merchants found it necessary to pay, they chafed under the conditions of residence. The foreigners were confined to the factory area, the dimensions of which were about 300 by 1000 feet. Within this narrow space were crowded residences, warehouses, offices, and the 'square'.

The opium trade Since opium played such an important part in precipitating hostilities, it is well for us to review the growth and extent of the traffic; foreign and Chinese responsibility; and also missionary opinion on the subject.

Opium had long been considered a medicine in China. In 1620, the Portuguese introduced tobacco into China. Soon after, the vicious habit of mixing tobacco and opium was first noticed at Amoy. The evil had assumed such proportions by 1729 that the Emperor, Yung Cheng, issued the first edict against opium smoking. At that time about two hundred chests were being imported annually.

Other authorities state that the custom of smoking opium came from Java in the early part of the eighteenth century, and that the edict of 1729 made specific mention of the evil being in Formosa. Amoy was the port of entry into China from Formosa. Hence, if the evil started first in Formosa, it is easy to account for its presence at Amoy.

Before the reign of Yung Cheng the opium which was imported for medical purposes was subject to a tax of two taels. Seeing the evils of opium smoking, Yung Cheng forbade its importation.

Huc gives us another account of the introduction of opium into China. He states:

101. Cowan and Hall "An outline History of China" p. 182
103. A tael is a Chinese ounce of silver, worth in 1925 about 72
"Two agents of the East India Company were the first who, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, conceived the deplorable thought of sending to China the opium of Bengal. Colonel Watson and Vice-president Wheeler are the persons to whom the Chinese are indebted for this new system of poisoning."

According to the records of the East India Company, we learn that as early as June 16, 1733, the Company issued an order which forbade the carrying of the drug to China on the Company's ships. This order appears to have been reissued during the years 1750, 1796, 1798, and 1800. Morse states:

"The prohibition of carriage of opium had been in force continuously since 1733. It had always been included in the sailing orders given to ships dispatched to China from Indian ports."

Regarding this customary injunction which was given to the ship's captains, Morse further states that it was as follows:

"You must take the most particular care that no opium be laden on your ship by yourself, your officers, or any other person, as the importation of that article at China is positively forbidden and serious consequences may attend your neglect of this injunction."

These orders reveal a hypocritical attitude on the part of the Company, for the cultivation of the poppy in India was encouraged by the Company for the express purpose of supplying China's demand. In India it was heavily taxed and was a most fruitful source of income. Moreover, even though the Company's ships were forbidden to carry the drug to China, these same ships could and did take it to near-by ports, where trans-shipment was easy. Facilities were also offered to non-Company ships to carry the drug.

At first the opium trade was in the hands of the Portuguese. In 1773, as a result of the victory of Clive at Plassey, the Company began to take a deeper interest in the trade. The Company experimented with a small shipment of opium to China. The experiment proved financially

successful. Under the Portuguese the importation of opium was never more than 200 chests annually. By 1767, under the direct auspices of the East India Company, the importation had risen to 1,000 chests annually. Later, opium became the most important article of trade. The Portuguese gradually lost control of the trade, it passing into the hands of the British. The East India Company anchored two store ships off the coast near Canton which served as receiving depots. By 1790, the amount of opium imported under the Company's direction had grown to 5,000 chests per annum.

Imperial edicts were issued against the importation of opium in 1796 and again in 1800. The latter was very strongly worded. Outwardly the East India Company sought to conform to these edicts. Following 1800, it does not appear that any of the drug was actually delivered in China by any of the vessels belonging to the Company. Yet the bulk of the trade remained in British hands for the drug was carried in non-Company British ships. Other vessels carrying the flags of nearly every European power having commercial relationships with China at that time, and American ships, were also involved in the nefarious trade.

In spite of the rigid decrees of the Emperor against the importation of opium, the traffic in the drug increased rapidly in the period under review, especially during the years 1820 to 1837. Between 1790 and 1820 the average per annum importation was around four or five thousand chests. By 1837, the importation had risen to around 39,000 chests, valued at twenty five million dollars.

Not all of the trade was confined to the port of Canton. In 1832, the "Lord Amherst" sailed north to investigate possibilities of trade along the coast. Upon

110. Lanning and Couling, "History of Shanghai", p.175.
111. MacNair, "Readings in Modern Chinese History." p. 85.
112. See Appendix 5.
113. As late as 1861 the Mexican dollar, used as currency in China, was worth 4/6 to 4/10, or about what the American dollar is worth now. Around 1925, the Mexican dollar was worth only half of what the American dollar was worth. Hence, all of these earlier figures indicate a sum equivalent to what it would be in U.S. money.
its return, two opium vessels, the "Sylph" (on which Gutzlaff went in order to distribute Christian literature) and the "Janesinie" were sent north in search of additional markets. In this they were very successful, for the "Janesinie" returned with $330,000 in specie, the proceeds of its sales. An opium depot was established at Macao. A brisk trade was also carried on on the islands of Lintin, Kapsingmoon, Kapsuimoon, and Hongkong.

From 1828 to 1834 opium made up 54% of the British imports into China, this in spite of the fact that the East India Company refused to have anything officially to do with the trade. The Indian opium sold in China around $600 to $700 a chest.

On the eve of the first Anglo-Chinese war, which is sometimes referred to as the Opium War, there were as many as fifty small vessels flying either the British or the American flag, dealing in the drug on the river between Canton and the sea. These were so well armed that even if the Chinese had wished to interfere, they would not have dared to do so. The enormous profits of the trade, combined with the connivance of the Chinese officials themselves, accounted for the enormous increase in the traffic of this drug.

While full responsibility for this nefarious traffic cannot be laid at the door of any particular nation, still special blame is due to England. The East India Company fostered the growth of the poppy in India, giving large subsidies to the cultivators. From the India end of the traffic, the Company derived an annual revenue from the drug that reached millions in sterling. Upon the dissolution of the Company in 1834, the British Government

114. Morse, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 334.
took over the supervision of this trade and therefore as a government became directly interested in the production and sale of the drug. Nearly all of the drug prepared in India went to China, since the Chinese preferred the Indian grown opium to that raised in its own land.

There were some in England who saw the evil and did not hesitate to speak out against it. Among these was William Ewart Gladstone. He is reported to have said:

"Now under the auspices of the noble Lord (Palmerston) that flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic, and if it were never hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with horror."

"We the enlightened and civilized Christians are pursuing objects at variance both with justice and religion."

While not at all seeking to lessen the degree of guilt which rests upon the foreigners, and especially upon the British, still it is only fair to point out that the smuggling could not have been carried on to the extent that it was without Chinese official co-operation. Of this Wells Williams says:

"The traffic was carried on at Whampoa and Macao by the connivance of local officers, some of whom watched the delivery of every chest and received a fee; while their superiors, remote from the scene of smuggling, pocketed an annual bribe for overlooking the violation of imperial orders."

Because of this habitual connivance of the Chinese authorities in the traffic, the British authorities were inclined to discount the official utterances of the Chinese government upon the subject. Some defending the British position have stated that from 1800 to 1839 the Chinese had given:

"no evidence of a practical kind capable of proving the existence of that burning moral indignation of which we hear so much."

120. Banning and Couling, op. cit., p. 205.
Again we read, this time in the life of Parkes:

"Opium was no more 'forced' upon China, than brandy upon England; nor have the Chinese authorities ever charged us with compelling the importation."

"The habit had become national long before England had anything to do with China, and it would have continued had there never been any British trade."

It is well to notice that China's objection to the traffic was not confined to moral grounds. It was noticed that the opium traffic was draining the country of its silver. Mention has already been made of the ship which sailed north from Canton and returned with $330,000 in specie. This was but an individual instance of what was happening all the time. In 1785, the Chinese government had first become alarmed because of the exportation of silver. Again in 1799, the Government again noticed how the imports were much larger than the exports, hence the necessity of exporting silver to balance accounts. Since opium was by far the largest single item of import, it is easy to see why the Chinese objected to it.

At the beginning of the Anglo-Chinese war, Viceroy Lin confiscated the opium on hand. He gave for his reason the desire to "extinguish opium smuggling and thus prevent the exportation of silver."

The connivance of the officials at Canton in the trade does not prove that the Chinese government was insincere in its objection to the traffic either on moral or financial grounds. Rather, it proves the inability of the Emperor to enforce his own decrees, and the corrupt state of official life. There is plenty of evidence to prove that the Emperor was genuinely alarmed at the spread of opium smoking and was doing all in his power to stop it.

122. Manning and Coulson, op. cit. p. 177 state that in 1836 the value of opium imported was $15,000,000 or about $1,000,000 more than the combined values of the tea and silk exported by China.
123. MacNair, op. cit. p. 148.
Missionaries and the opium trade manifests both an anti-foreign and an anti-Christian bias, links together the evils of the opium trade and the missionaries. He writes as follows:

"In Chinese eyes both evils were intimately connected. The early missionaries had either direct connection with the opium trade, like Robert Morrison and Charles Gutzlaff, or strongly advocated its introduction into China like Wells Williams. In return the opium trade financed the missionary enterprise. The firm of Talbot, Olyphant & Co., dealers, among others, in opium, for instance provided in 1836 a brig for the purpose of aiding missionaries in circulating religious books on China’s coast."

When we recall the constant protests that the missionaries, both as individuals and as organized groups, have made to this nefarious traffic, and when we remember also the enormous amount of work the missionaries have done to counteract the evils resulting from the use of the drug, it seems the height of ignorance and prejudice for any one to seriously bring forth this charge that opium and the missionary had friendly relations. Foolish as this charge may appear to be to the western Christian, still it was made in early days and is frequently met with in Chinese anti-foreign and anti-Christian literature.

Why should such criticisms and charges be made? It is true that Robert Morrison was in the employ of the East India Company, but, as we have already seen, the office in China had no official contact with the opium trade. Any accusation made against Wells Williams and the firm to which Mr. Olyphant belonged, such as the above, is a pure fabrication. The very opposite is true. Olyphant's firm has the reputation of being the only American firm to take a strong hand against the traffic.

The question of Gutzlaff's relationship with the trade, however, is more serious. On Gutzlaff's third voyage along the China coast, he was a passenger on the opium ship "Sylph." His first two trips had greatly inspired him with the possibility of doing missionary work along the coast. It appears from his journal that he himself doubted the wisdom of embarking on the "Sylph," for he writes:

"After much consultation with others, and a conflict in my own mind, I embarked in the Sylph, Captain W. commander."

When Medhurst arrived in China in 1835, he tells us that some urged him to take passage on an opium ship going north, for the purpose of distributing Christian literature. Some argued that another opportunity might not be offered; others spoke of the strong desire that existed in the home lands for fuller information regarding the attitude of the common people to the gospel. On the other hand Medhurst states that he felt the objections against such a trip were insurmountable.

"The single circumstance of the vessel being engaged in the opium trade, was enough to deter the propagator of Christianity from connecting himself with her."

Medhurst evidently refers to Gutzlaff when he writes "The connection of a missionary with a regular opium ship was found to be disreputable." He realized that should the missionary go on an opium ship the people would inevitably link up Christianity with the opium trade, to the hindrances of evangelization.

Gutzlaff's voyage on the Sylph furnishes the critics of Christian missions real ground for their criticism. All that the friends of missions can say in rebuttal is that this was a rare exception to the general rule that the missionary

137. Ibid., p. 371.
would have nothing to do with the traffic. We find also that Cutsalaff deeply regretted the particular trip. One reason why the brig "Himmalah" which was brought out to China for the purpose of being used in the distribution of the Christian message along the coast, was not used for this purpose was because Cutsalaff refused to go. Of his refusal Williams writes:

"This decision of Cutsalaff, who had again and again urged such a measure, and had himself ceased his voyages on the coast because of his implied connection thereby with the opium trade, was quite unexpected."

Regardless as to how baseless the accusation may be regarding the implied co-operation and interdependence of the missionary and the opium trader, still the fact is that the Chinese did identify the two. In their eyes both the missionary and the trader were foreigners. Since the opium traffic was bad, perhaps the gospel itself was. They reasoned that the apparent good of the gospel was but a blind to deceive the Chinese in order to gain some other objective.

In a tract written by a Chinese scholar directed against Medhurst special mention was made of the inconsistency of the foreigners trying to teach virtue to the Chinese people when their own countrymen were selling opium:

"It is monstrous in barbarians to attempt to improve the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire, when they were so miserably deficient themselves. Thus, introducing among the Chinese a poisonous drug, for their own benefit to the injury of others, they were deficient in benevolence."

We feel that the Chinese scholar was quite correct in his reasoning. Regardless as to whether or not the Chinese felt that the missionaries themselves were directly connected with the traffic, the very fact that the opium

trade was carried on by foreigners from these so-called "Christian" lands was enough in itself to stigmatize the gospel of love which the missionaries were preaching. This was a serious obstacle to the progress of Christian missions. It was a contributing factor to the prevalent anti-foreign spirit which made the work of the missionary so difficult.

In 1792, Great Britain sent an diplomatic world Embassy to China with Lord Macartney at its head. This Embassy was ordered to proceed to Peking to see if more favorable conditions for trade could be secured from the Emperor. The first difficulty was to find interpreters. After some searching, the services of two young Chinese theological students, who were studying in the seminary established by Ripa at Naples, were secured. The party arrived in Peking on August 21, 1793. A flag over their junk carried the inscription:

"A tribute bearer from the country of England."

Lord Macartney submitted a note embodying a number of points regarding which he wished to negotiate. Ch'ien Lung refused them all.

Various explanations have been put forth to explain Lord Macartney's failure to secure what was a very modest charter for trading purposes. Some declare that the inexperience of the Chinese interpreters in court etiquette brought about misunderstandings. Others affirm that one of the Jesuit priests in Peking, Joseph Bernard, a Portuguese, prejudiced the mind of the Emperor against the British, because he feared for Portuguese trade should the British be given special privileges.

Still others affirm that the primary reason why this

mission failed was the refusal of Lord Macartney to perform the ceremony of the kowtow before the Emperor. Lord Macartney, understanding the significance attached to the ceremony, stated that he would perform the kowtow if a Chinese official of equal rank would kowtow before a picture of the King of England, or if the Chinese government would promise that should ever a Chinese ambassador visit England, he would kowtow before the King. The refusal of the Chinese government to permit or promise this meant that should Lord Macartney perform the kowtow it would mean that he acknowledged the superiority of the Chinese Emperor over his own King. This Lord Macartney refused to do.

The persistent insistence by the Chinese upon the performance of the kowtow by the foreigners, and the equally persistent refusal of the foreigners to do this constituted the most formidable obstacle toward the establishment of more satisfactory commercial relationships. These relationships continued to be most irritating. The war of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States complicated matters. During this troublesome period British cruisers preyed upon American vessels in Chinese waters. China protested in the only effective way at her disposal, i.e., by the boycott. This greatly interfered with England's tea trade. Great Britain sent out another mission to the Chinese court which was headed by Lord Amherst, formerly Governor-General of India to discuss the situation.

On August 26, 1816, the party reached Peking, and departed the same day. Again the stumbling block was the kowtow. On August 20, the embassy was met by a delegation of Chinese officials one day's journey from Peking. A conference followed in regard to the kowtow.

134. A description of the kowtow is to be found on page 30 of this thesis.
135. Some Chinese writers maintain that Lord Macartney did perform the kowtow.
The Chinese demanded that Lord Amherst perform the ceremony if he desired an interview with the Emperor. Dr. Morrison, who was with the party as interpreter, pointed out the fact that the ceremony was "the strongest external expression of devotedness and submission, which this people, who abound in external forms of submission, have been able to invent." Lord Amherst refused. The result was that no audience was granted and the mission failed to accomplish its objectives.

The Chinese had some difficulty in understanding why the foreigners objected. In the first place, they had a sincere, though exalted, idea of their own superiority. In the second place, the Roman Catholic priests, ever since the days of Ricci, had willingly performed the kowtow.

The presence of Dr. Morrison with this mission is the first instance of a Protestant missionary's thus serving. As shall be seen, many others were called upon to perform a similar service. These instances are quoted frequently by anti-Christian writers as additional proof for their contention that the missionary was the agent of imperialism.

When the charter of the East India Company expired in 1834, the British Government decided not to renew it, but to allow freedom of trade. This decision brought up the very important question of the form of British authority which had to represent British interests at Canton. Previous to that date, the Chinese had dealt with the British through the Company. Now China would have to deal with the official representatives of Great Britain, and this was the very thing she had resolved not to do.

In December, 1833, Lord Napier was appointed Superintendent of Trade in China. Lord Napier arrived at Canton in 1834; and, since Morrison was released from his

duties as interpreter for the Company when the Company ceased to exist, he was asked to serve in the same capacity for Lord Napier. Of this Morrison wrote:

"I am to wear a vice-consul's coat. . . Pray for me, that I may be faithful to my blessed Saviour in the new place I have to occupy. It is rather an anomalous one for a Missionary. A vice-consul's uniform instead of the preaching gown."

However, before he could perform many of the duties of his new position, he died. On August 1st, 1834, he passed away at Canton. At that time there were only two other Protestant missionaries in China. They were Bridgman and Williams.

Lord Napier sought to communicate directly with the Viceroy in a manner befitting a British envoy. This the Viceroy of the Province felt he could not allow. In the fall of 1834, Lord Napier died. Two years later Captain Elliott was appointed to fill his position. The question of the opium trade was soon raised again. Captain Elliott felt that the matter could not be solved by the Chinese forbidding the importation. That policy had been tried and had failed to stop imports. Captain Elliott felt that the best way to handle the problem was to legalize its importation and place opium under a heavy tax. This on the whole sums up the British attitude toward the opium trade.

The first Anglo-Chinese war was resolved to stop the traffic. Regardless of the amount of smuggling that the Chinese officials at Canton were assisting in, we can believe that Tao Kuang was absolutely sincere. His own son had died in the imperial palace at Peking from the effects of opium.

Toward the end of 1838 the Emperor appointed Lin Tsse-su, formerly Viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan provinces, as Imperial Viceroy. 

High Commissioner with special powers to act as the Emperor's 'other self' at Canton. He received special instructions to stamp out the opium trade. He arrived in Canton on March 10, 1840.

Lin was a man of action. He was well fitted for the difficult task which awaited him. After studying the situation for a week, Lin demanded that the foreigners deliver up all the opium in their possession. Three days were given them in which to fulfill the demand. Upon the failure of the foreigners to comply, Lin issued orders which stopped all trade. This was on March 21st. On the 22nd, the British offered to deliver up 1,037 chests. Perhaps they thought that that amount would suffice as a bribe. But Lin was not to be bribed. On the 25th, the merchants signed a paper promising not to deal further in opium or attempt to smuggle it into the Empire. Many subsequently broke this pledge.

Beginning with the 22nd of March, the foreigners were virtually held prisoners within the narrow restrictions of the factory area. On the 23rd, all of the Chinese servants were called out and a blockade enforced which lasted for about three months. About three hundred foreigners were thus imprisoned, twenty-five of whom were Americans.

On the 27th of March, Lin issued another demand for all of the opium. Seeing the determination of the Chinese, the merchants delivered up a total of 20,283 chests. If we take the average weight of each chest to be 125 pounds, we see that the enormous amount of 2,535,375 pounds of opium was surrendered. The market price was then around $450.00 a chest, making a total value to be around $9,000,000.00.

139. MacNair, "Readings in Modern China History", p. 110, quoting from Morse's "International Relations," states (correcting the usual figures given by most writers) that due to a miscalculation the amount surrendered was virtually 20,219 chests. In "Life of Parks" by Lane-Poole Vol. I. p. 10, the value of the opium is estimated to have been about $2,000,000.00.
The Chinese officials in the most thorough manner destroyed every bit of this opium. Lin also demanded the banishment of sixteen foreigners who were more guilty than the others in the opium trade. Ten of these were Englishmen, the other six were Americans and Parsees.

Such a bold step by China aroused England. In June of the same year, a British fleet of seventeen men-of-war and thirty transports with 4,000 soldiers arrived from England and instituted a blockade of Canton. The Chinese forces, either on land or on sea, were no match with the well trained and well equipped forces of Great Britain. As far as military equipment was concerned, China was still in the middle ages, for most of her troops were equipped with nothing better than bows and arrows and spears. Even as late as May 20, 1843, the Peking Gazette recorded an account of reforms proposed by the Commissioner KIying in which KIying suggested that naval officers receive training in the use of the musket rather than in archery.

In 1858, when China was again at war with Great Britain, some of the Chinese soldiers were still using bows and arrows and spears.

Part of the British fleet sailed north and, on July 5th, took Ting Hai, a city on the chief island in the Chusan archipelago, near Ningpo. Dr. Lockhart, being obliged to discontinue his medical work at Canton, went with the British on this expedition and found opportunities to carry on his mission work under the protection of the British forces. He opened up a hospital toward the end of August in which he was able to treat some 3,500 patients before the British withdrew in February, 1841.

Negotiations with the Chinese dragged along slowly.
Lin was removed from office. His successor was Kishen. Kishen had a better understanding of the situation than did most of his countrymen. He realized his country's weaknesses and the strength of the British. On the whole, the Chinese were uninformed regarding the strength of the power which stood behind the ships and the soldiers. China was still blinded by false notions of its own superiority and glory. Lin and others who were clamoring for war quite misunderstood the position into which they were working themselves.

On January 6, 1841, the British took certain forts near Canton and on the 26th of the month, they took the island of Hongkong. Kishen was degraded and was sent to Peking in chains, leaving Canton March 12th. Lin's party and policy was in the ascendancy. After further negotiations which satisfied nobody, the British on May 17th moved their forces close to Canton. Fighting broke out on the 21st and continued for several days. In spite of the bravery and determination of the Chinese forces, the position of the Chinese was so hopeless that on May 27th, they agreed to ransom their city by paying a sum of $6,000,000.00.

The English Government, not being satisfied with Captain Elliott, replaced him by Sir Henry Pottinger. Sir Henry reached Macao on August 10, 1841. After his coming, Canton ceased to be the center of interest. Chusan was reoccupied in October. Both Amoy and Ningpo were taken. On May 18, 1842, Chapu was seized. Gutzlaff accompanied this expedition as interpreter. On June 19th, Shanghai was taken. The expedition then moved up the Yangtze river. Chinkiang fell on July 21st. Chinkiang occupied a most
strategic position, in that it marked the intersection of the Yangtze river and the Grand Canal. The Grand Canal has been likened to an alimentary canal, for the food supplies for Peking were carried on its waters. The control of this important trade route brought the Emperor to terms.

The Emperor sued for peace.

The Treaty of Nanking On August 29, 1842, Sir Henry Pottinger and Major Melcom, representing Great Britain, and Kiiying, Nipu and Miu Kien, representing China, signed what is known as the Treaty of Nanking. The signing of the treaty took place on a British war-vessel anchored in the river off of the city of Nanking. Among those present was a fourteen year old lad, Harry Parkes, a nephew of Gutzleff and a brother-in-law of Lockhart, who later became an interpreter for the British, then consul, and then Sir Harry Parkes. He played an important role in Anglo-Chinese affairs in after years.

The Treaty of Nanking threw open the ports of Canton, Foochow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai for foreign residence and trade; the island of Hongkong was ceded to Great Britain; and an indemnity of $21,000,000 (which sum included $6,000,000 as the value of the opium destroyed) was to be paid by China. The treaty stipulated that the islands of Koolangsoo and Chusan were to be held by Great Britain as security until the indemnity was paid. The final payment was made in 1845 and then the islands were turned back to China.

Nothing was said in the treaty about opium. After the treaty was signed, one of the Chinese commissioners asked: "Why will you not act fairly toward us by prohibiting the growth of the poppy?" To this question one of the

144. The exchange then was about 4/6 to the dollar. See Davis "China", Vol. 2, p. 136.
Britishers replied: "Your people must become virtuous and your officers incorruptible, and then you can stop the opium coming into your borders."

Both Gutzlaff and John Morrison, the son of the famous missionary, served as interpreters for these negotiations. The commissioners were faced with the difficult task of breaking to the Emperor the news of the concessions granted. In order to soften the harshness of the demands of the British, they explained to their Emperor that the opening of the five ports was not without its advantage to the Chinese.

"We may also remark that the barbarians are influenced by their women, and governed by natural affection. The presence of females at the ports would therefore soften their natures, and give us less anxiety as to outbreaks. If they settle at our ports with all that is dear to them, and with storehouses full of goods, they will be in our power, and prove more manageable."

Much has been written on the subject of the cause of the war. It has frequently been called the Opium War because the confiscation and destruction of opium at Canton by the Chinese authorities marked the disruption of friendly relations. Opium precipitated hostilities.

Attempts have been made, especially by British writers, to lessen Great Britain's guilt by arguing that had there been no opium there would still have been a war. Much can be said in favor of this point. There were many danger spots in China's foreign relations, such as the restrictions place upon legitimate trade; the haughty and superior attitude adopted by the Chinese; the disrespectful terms used in reference to the foreigners, such as the insistence...

by the officials of the word 'barbarian'; and the refusal of the Chinese government to enter into negotiations with foreign nations on the basis of equality. The foreigners objected to the kowtow. Had there been no opium question, the combination of these causes might soon have precipitated a war.

John Quincy Adams in a speech delivered before the Massachusetts Historical Society said:

"The cause of the war is the pretension on the part of the Chinese, that in all their intercourse with other nations, political or commercial, their superiority must be implicitly acknowledged, and manifested in humiliating forms."

Commenting on this statement, the editor of the Chinese Repository adds:

"While, however, we differ from the lecturer with regard to the influence the opium trade has had upon the war, for it has been without doubt the great proximate cause, we mainly agree with him as to the effect that other remoter causes springing from Chinese assumption, conceit, and ignorance have also had upon it."

Sentiment in England was not unanimous in favor of war. There was a strong feeling even among the officials that China was right and that the opium smugglers were not to be protected. Indeed, we find one report to the effect that orders were sent out from England to the effect that the opium smugglers were not to be protected. The orders arrived after hostilities had begun.

As far as the Chinese viewpoint is concerned, it must be admitted that they viewed the war and the Treaty of Nanking as means taken to force opium upon China. The opium trade is a blot upon England's record, and a constant reproach to the whole mission cause in China.

148. Ibid.
Missionary Outlook at the Close of the Period.

For the most part the Protestant missionaries felt that Great Britain was not justified in making war over the seizure by China of the contraband opium. They realized the injurious effects of the drug upon the users. In a joint letter written August 31, 1840, the missionaries of the L.M.S. said:

"We fervently hope and expect that the home Government is so convinced of the illegality and injustice of the opium trade, especially as conducted in the last two or three years, as to be prepared and determined to discountenance and suppress it to the utmost of its power."

Yet the missionaries viewed the war with the utmost interest, because they felt that war would inevitably bring about better conditions for the foreigners in China. In these improved conditions the missionaries would share. The closed door policy of the Chinese government was a most serious obstacle to both the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. A few Roman Catholic priests were able to remain in the interior, but their residence was dependent largely upon the faithfulness of their converts or upon stealth. As far as the Protestants were concerned, their labors had been confined to Canton and to rare itinerating trips along the coast, and to work among Chinese colonies in near-by lands. Robert Morrison had dismissed as being utterly inadvisable the idea of sending Protestant missionaries into the interior. Understanding China's weakness and British power, the missionaries found hope in the improvements and added privileges which they expected as the result of British interference. As soon as Hongkong was taken, the missionaries of the Ultra-Ganges missions gathered there ready to take advantage of the new day that

151. 1614, p. 445.
was about to dawn.

A few of the missionaries had doubts. In April of 1841 Wells Williams writing from Macao to his father declared:

"For my part, I am far from being sure that this turn up is going to advance the cause of the Gospel half so much as we think it is. England has taken the opium trade upon herself nationally, and can that be a cause to bless? For the success of her arms here would extend that wicked traffic ten thousand times more than the Church is ready to extend her stakes here."

Previous to the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, the foreigners remained in Macao and Canton purely on sufferance. The Treaty opened up residence in five coast cities, including Canton. Valuable concessions were granted. The treaty gave a definite legal status to aliens in China. The treaty specifically mentioned those engaged in commercial pursuits, yet the missionaries were quick to enter in upon those same rights.

Take the matter of residence in the five port cities opened for trade, for instance. The treaty granted to British traders and their families the privilege of residing in the ports specified for the purpose of "carrying on their mercantile pursuits." Yet the missionaries were quick to appropriate to themselves this right of residence. They were among the very first to enter these ports.

The possibility of residing and working in these five cities brought much joy to the missionaries. Following the signing of the treaty the London Missionary Society called upon its friends:

"to unite in grateful adoration to the God of Missions for the termination of war with China, and for the greatly enlarged facilities, secured by the Treaty of Peace, for the introduction of the multiplied advantages and spiritual blessings.

152. Williams, "Life of Williams", p. 152.
of Christianity into vast and populous regions, sealed for past ages against the servants of the only true God.

The editor of the Chinese Repository wrote of the event:

"Join with us, Christian readers, in giving thanks to our merciful Father, for that he has graciously pleased here to stay the scourge of war; and has opened partially at least (and for good, we trust) the ancient land of Sinim."

Dr. Nevius, who for many years labored as an American missionary in China, wrote:

"Justifiable or not, it (i.e. the war) was made use of in God's providence to inaugurate a new era in our relations with this vast empire."

The year 1842 marks the beginning of modern Chinese history. It also marks the beginning of a new era of missionary work in China. Even though condemning the opium trade, and regretting the outbreak of hostilities, still, most of the missionaries looked upon the newly opened doors of China as an act of Providence and as an invitation to greater effort. Today there is some criticism levelled against the missionaries who, in 1842, were so eager to take advantage of those rights which had been wrung from China by force. Regarding this criticism, a recent writer says:

"We can but remark that the only choice before Protestantism was between coming on the heels of military agressions or not coming at all."

The Treaty of Nanking, with its promise of new things, stimulated the churches in the home-lands to greater activity. New mission boards were established. More money and more workers were sent out in an ever increasing stream until the peak was reached in 1927.

The review that has herein been made of mission work in China from earliest records to 1842 shows the

156. Foster, "American Diplomacy", p. 93.
considerable influence which the missionary movement and the individual missionaries had upon international affairs, and vice versa. However, important as this inter-relationship was previous to 1842, it was much more important and much more complicated after 1842. The new era for missions inaugurated by the Treaty of Nanking brought its entangling alliances. Of this Dr. Robert E. Speer writes:

"At their very inception foreign missions were so entangled with politics that it almost seemed that the enterprise would be stifled at its birth."

This relationship of Christian mission with international politics brought many serious questions to both the missionary and the diplomat. The status of present day affairs in China from the viewpoint of the missionary is causing many to go back and make a study of antecedents. Many begin with the year 1842. Yet it is impossible rightly to understand the events which came after 1842 until we know something of the events which took place prior to that date.

Having already traced out the story of Christian missions and foreign relations in China prior to the Treaty of Nanking, we can now turn our attention to that more important and more complicated period which came after the signing of the treaty.

PART TWO

1842-1927

CHRISTIANITY UNDER THE TREATIES
PART TWO

1842 -- 1927

CHAPTER I

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

1842 -- 1858
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THE TRANSITION PERIOD

1842 - 1858

The second part of this thesis tells the story of Christian mission work in China under the treaties. This period begins with 1842. The story is brought down to March, 1927, which date marks the capture of Nanking by the Nationalists.

Modern Criticism of the Treaties

Before we consider the history and provisions of the various treaties, imperial edicts, and other agreements, and their bearing upon the Christian cause in China, it is well for us to briefly review some of the criticisms which have recently been made against these rights and privileges so guaranteed.

China, in her long history, has had many revolutions. Yet no revolution has equaled in importance, the one which began in 1911, which resulted in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of the Republic. The former revolutions, while overthrowing, perhaps, the ruling dynasty, yet did not question the fundamental conception of such a type of government. An old dynasty was overthrown, only to be superseded by a new dynasty. The revolution of 1911-12 is entirely different and unique in this respect, for it challenged the old ideas. A new type of government was set up for the ideal.

These new and revolutionary conceptions, in union with other factors, have given rise to a spirit of nationalism which has swept over the entire nation reaching down into
the lowest classes. Old traditions, customs, and institutions have been summoned up from the past for a close scrutiny. Slogans have been coined to assist in the carrying forward of the Nationalist program. Such slogans as these were common during the disturbances of 1925-27: "Abolish unequal treaties," "Down with Imperialism."

The Christian church in China has been affected by this spirit. In fact the Protestant Christians have been in the very forefront of the movement. The principles of Protestant Christianity have been largely responsible for the Nationalist movement. When a Chinese official was recently asked when the Nationalist movement began, he replied by saying that it began when Robert Morrison landed at Canton. Many of the leaders of this great modern movement, such as Sun Yat Sen, have been Christians.

Since one of the chief doctrines of the Nationalist movement was the abolition of unequal treaties, it is easy to see why the Christian leaders, both native and foreign, should be among those who denounced the treaties. In this denunciation, they have not spared those clauses referring to Christian work. The 'toleration clauses' especially have been the center of criticism. Many of the missionaries have joined with their Chinese brethren in demanding their repeal. Virtually all of the home boards of those churches or organizations which support workers in China have given forth statements which show that they, too, are sympathetic with China's desire to change its status with foreign powers through new treaties.

Dr. Harold Balme, in an excellent and concise statement regarding the rights and privileges granted by these treaties and edicts as they affect missionaries in China,

classified them under three main heads as follows:

1. "Privileges customary to international law, and apart altogether from special treaty rights or concessions". These are the rights which are usually reciprocal among the nations. They include (a) the protection of life and property by the government of the land in which the alien lives, subject to certain rules and regulations, and (b) the right to appeal to his own consular or diplomatic officials in cases of alleged injustice.

The criticisms directed against the treaties are not directed against such rights guaranteed by them. It has been pointed out that if foreign nations expect these rights from China, "it is only fair that China should enjoy these same rights in other lands. The treatment which many Chinese have received abroad, as, for instance, at times in the United States, is a sorry story.

2. "Special privileges secured by treaty, of a non-reciprocal character, and shared with all fellow-nationals". These privileges include that of extraterritoriality (sometimes shortened to "extrality"); of foreign concessions or settlements in China; and of the right to maintain troops and gunboats within Chinese jurisdiction.

Under the provisions of extraterritoriality, the foreigner in China, who is a citizen of a country enjoying such rights, is still living under the laws of his native land, even though he is in China. In cases of litigation, or even if accused of a criminal offense, the case goes before a foreign judge rather than before a Chinese judge. The foreigners living in the areas controlled by them escape Chinese taxation, with the exception of a small land-tax. When the customs came under the control of the

2. Ibid., p. 25 and ff.
foreigners during the T'ai P'ing rebellion, the tariff was fixed at 5% and remained at that sum until 1902. One of the objectives of the Nationalists is to regain control of the customs. China today feels that these non-reciprocal privileges are an infringement upon her sovereign rights. These privileges the missionary enjoys along with the business men.

3. "Special privileges peculiar to missionaries and not shared by their non-missionary fellow-nationals." These privileges are found in the 'toleration clauses'. They include the following rights: (a) the right to travel and to live in the interior away from the treaty ports; (b) the right to own or lease property in the interior; (c) the protection of Christian converts from persecutions; and (d) the exemption of these converts from certain taxes, such as those levied by the local officials for the support of non-Christian religions.

Grounds for criticisms Most of the criticisms against the treaties are aimed at the privileges outlined in the last two classes. The critics mention the fact that these privileges were wrung from China by force; that they are not reciprocal; that they are an infringement upon China's sovereignty; that China cannot develop as long as the foreigners have a throttle hold upon the chief source of income, namely the customs; and that the presence of areas in China under foreign control serve to defeat the ends of justice, in that Chinese criminals and rebels often take refuge in them.

In regard to those privileges which refer to Christian missions, modern critics of these clauses say that the Gospel is a gospel of love and cannot be propagated by force; that
the Christian message should be absolutely independent of foreign governments; that both missionaries and native Chinese wish to be free from the implications of a foreign-protected religion. Many of the critics claim that the special privileges granted to the Christian mission cause have been so misused and abused as to cause more harm than good.

Some missionary attitudes The attitude of some of the missionary critics is well portrayed in a conference of foreign and native workers which was held in Shanghai in January, 1926, at which Dr. John R. Mott was present. This conference made a special study of the relationships which the Christian church in China had with the treaties between China and the foreign powers. Previous to the meeting of the conference, a committee was at work outlining the questions to be studied. This committee submitted a brief statement entitled "Findings" for the verdict of the larger group.

The larger group did see fit to make several changes in these findings. Keen debate was conducted over the clause:

"Extraterritoriality and the toleration clauses have rendered service in the past".

Some felt that nothing would be gained and perhaps a great deal would be lost if such a statement were made. One declared:

"We all agree that toleration clauses and extraterritorial rights have in the past not done any good to the Christian cause in China but on the contrary have worked much harm to the progress of Christianity in this country."

However, not all were agreed on this point. A minority maintained that the special privileges enjoyed by

3. See the bulletin issued by the National Christian Council (of China) entitled "The Christian Church and China's Treaties with Foreign Nations."
the missionaries had been of great service to the church.

One declared in this respect:

"Under the conditions then pertaining... we believe the diplomats and missionaries of the last century did the best they could." "In the providence of God, the Church in China has come into being and grown under the provisions of these treaties."

The result of the debate was that the wording of this particular statement in the "Findings" was so changed that no reference was made to any possible service or good rendered by these clauses to the church in China in the past. The new sentence read:

"Extraterritoriality and the toleration clauses are in many important ways now prejudicial to the progress of the Christian movement in China. The delegates to the Conference are unanimous in their conviction that both should be removed."

Such an attitude represents the other extreme to that of the missionaries, who called upon their friends to join with them in thanking God for the enlarged facilities which the Treaty of Nanking gave to them. There was general rejoicing when the 'toleration clauses' were included in the treaties of 1858. Indeed, their very presence in the treaties was due to the zeal and perseverance of certain missionaries who served as interpreters for the negotiations.

With this brief summary of the modern attitude of many of the leading Christian workers in China, both foreign and native, to the treaties in general and to the 'toleration clauses' in particular, let us now turn our attention to the treaties themselves. As we study their histories and their provisions, let us keep in mind such questions as these: "What was the influence, if any, of missionaries or of mission organizations upon these agreements or edicts?" "How were they received by the Christian workers of their
day?" "What effect did these special privileges have upon Christian work?" "Were extraterritoriality and the 'toleration clauses' more of a hindrance than a help to the Christian cause in China?" And "What brought about the reversal of opinion in the minds of so many regarding the value of these privileges?"

The treaties and Edicts.

During this period under review, 1842-1856, we find that China signed three treaties with foreign powers which deserve special study. China also issued two edicts which had a bearing upon Christian work, the first of which received two official interpretations.

The first and most important of these

The Treaty of Nanjing treaties was the Treaty of Nanjing, which was signed August 29, 1842, between China and Great Britain. By this treaty China took her place in the family of nations. Her old vaunted superiority was officially renounced. Mention has already been made of the privileges secured by this agreement.

The Treaty of Bogue treaty to that of Nanjing was signed at Bogue, a place near Canton, between China and Great Britain. Kiying signed for China and Sir Henry Pottinger signed for Great Britain. The most important feature of this treaty was section VII, which refers to the most-favored-nation principle. According to this clause any privilege conceded by China to another nation would be applicable to Great Britain as well. In the accounts of these negotiations we find that China was desirous of avoiding complications with other powers and wished to place 4.

4. See Appendix C. 6.
every foreign ship and flag upon the same footing. The
most-favored-nation clause was therefore inserted at K'ying's
request. This clause was inserted in all treaties signed
by China with foreign powers from 1843 to 1927. In the
long run it worked to China's disadvantage, for any new
privilege gained by any power through treaty with China
thus automatically applied to all other nations having
treaty relationships. Writing of this clause one pioneer
missionary declared:

"That precious little clause is the lever of a
canal-lock, which causes the water from the
higher ground to flow into our empty basin. It
entitles us (Americans) to all the advantages
conceded to the English or French."

Article VI of the treaty stated that "English
merchants and others" who lived at the treaty ports were
allowed to travel in the surrounding country, provided that
such trips were not for the purposes of trade and that the
conditions for such travel be regulated by the local
consul and the local Chinese authorities. In the case of
Shanghai the area was fixed as that which was within a
radius of thirty miles. No visit was to be longer than
twenty-four hours. The anti-foreign feeling was so strong
in the south that it was impossible to make use of this
clause there for many years. However, around Ningpo and
Shanghai the conditions were more favorable.

Article IX of the treaty provided for extraterritoriality,
in that it called for handing over of offenders of the law
to the officials of the nationality of the offender. If an
offender fled to Hongkong, he was to be apprehended by the
British and turned over to Chinese jurisdiction. If a
Britisher sought refuge in Chinese territory, the Chinese
were to apprehend him and turn him over to British authorities.

The Treaty of Wanghái

Following the signing of the Treaty of Wanghái, other foreign powers hurried their diplomats to China to conclude similar agreements. It will not be necessary for the purposes of this study to review all of these. The American treaty is the most important because of the new rights it secured.

The United States, whose trade with China ranked second only to that of Great Britain, was eager for treaty relationships with China. Mr. Caleb Cushing was appointed by the United States Government to negotiate a treaty. Daniel Webster, who was then Secretary of State, instructed Mr. Cushing to insist upon: "the equality and independence of your own country." He was warned that under no circumstances was he to permit the Chinese to rank him as a "tribute-bearer".

On February 24, 1844, Mr. Cushing arrived at Macao. Kiiying was appointed by the Emperor to negotiate with him. Two missionaries, the Rev. E.C. Bridgman and Dr. Peter Parker, were asked to serve as interpreters. The treaty was signed July 3, 1844, and took its name from Wanghái, a suburb of Macao, where it was signed.

The treaty secured for Americans all the rights and privileges which Great Britain had won for her citizens. It contained some provisions which were not included in the British treaty, but which according to the most-favored-nation clause automatically applied to the British.

Article XVII granted the right to erect "hospitals, churches, and cemeteries" within the five treaty ports.

Regarding this provision, Willoughby declares:

"It is reasonably clear, however, that this last permission had for its purpose simply the granting to the foreigners of the opportunity to

8. See Appendix 16. 6.
have houses in which they might conduct Christian worship."

The Grand Council of State at Peking in reporting on this clause said:

"Your Majesty's ministers humble conceive, that erecting halls for worship is a custom well established, but the circumstances consequent on it are not of slight importance. To see and to hear easily lead to doubt, and the stupid people may take pleasure in the new and loathe the old doctrines; when it may become difficult to prevent their imitating and surpassing what they see. Keying should therefore communicate with the several governors of provinces, and deliberate upon making a law which shall prohibit the propagation and practices of the doctrines, and upon the necessity of causing the inhabitants along the sea-coast to understand that the strange words may not be followed nor the strange ceremonies practised, as men's hearts are influenced and governed by such practices."

From this statement it appears that the Chinese felt that the granting to foreigners of the right to erect churches in the treaty ports would have an influence upon the natives. The missionaries interpreted the clause as giving them the right to erect such buildings for the use of the native people as well as for the foreigners.

Article XVIII of the treaty made it lawful for the Chinese to teach the languages of the country to the Americans, and that the Americans would have the right to buy Chinese books. Thus, this very serious obstacle which Robert Morrison faced, and other early missionaries, was removed.

The most important article was Article XXI, which formally stated the principle of extraterritoriality. According to that declaration any defendant was subject only to the laws of his own country. A Chinese defendant was to be judged by a Chinese court; an American by an American court. However, this condition was only for China.

10. See Appendix 6.
All Chinese defendants in the United States were to be judged by the laws of the United States. Regarding this article it is conceded that it more clearly stated the principle of extraterritoriality than did the Treaty of 11 Bogue. One verdict is this:

"Once a wedge has been inserted, it is a simple matter to drive it further, and the Cushing treaty dotted the I's and crossed the T's of the British first attempt, in a very businesslike and satisfactory manner."

It is well to remember that the provisions of this article were not entirely unwelcome to the Chinese. Certainly the Chinese government did not then view the possession of extraterritorial rights by foreign powers as an infringement upon her sovereignty.

For the first time the subject of opium was mentioned in a treaty. Article XXXII stated that citizens of the United States attempting to trade clandestinely at any port not opened, or who should trade in opium or any other contraband article at the treaty ports, should be subject to punishment by the Chinese government. The United States also pledged herself to see that her flag was not abused by subjects of other nations who might seek to use it as a cover for their unlawful acts. Here was one clause which England made no effort to apply under the most-favored-nation clause. It has been pointed out that it was easy for the United States to do this, since she did not produce the drug. However, a number of American merchants had been engaged in the trade.

The treaty closed with a provision, Article XXXIV, that after twelve years the two governments would open negotiations to see if a revision were necessary. In 1856, under the most-favored-nation clause, England claimed this

12. Ibid., p. 246.
right. China was reluctant to fulfill her promise, and thus another factor was introduced which lead up to the second Anglo-Chinese war.

The French government succeeded in negotiating a treaty in October of 1844 which was modelled after the American treaty. It was signed for France by M. Theodore M.M.J. de Lagrené on October 24th.

M. de Lagrené remained in China until January, 1846. During this time he was instrumental in securing a larger degree of toleration on the part of the Chinese government for Christian missions. Ever since the anti-Christian decree of 1723 issued by Yung Cheng, Christianity had been proscribed and persecuted. Churches had been destroyed and confiscated. France's interest in China was more ecclesiastical than commercial. She looked upon herself as being the protector of all Catholic missionaries regardless of their nationality.

Even while negotiating the commercial treaty, the subject of toleration for Christians was raised. Some of the Chinese officials, including Kiyeng, were not ill disposed to Christianity. The attitude of Kiyeng is described by Bridgman:

"In the summer of last year (1844), we had the pleasure of presenting Kiyeng a copy of the New Testament in Manchu, the same in Chinese, with many other books on Christianity. He had previously received and perused, and evidently made up his mind regarding the truth and excellance of the 'new Religion'. Aware of what was doing to extend Christianity, he is said to have brought forward a proposition more than a year ago for its toleration. But the honor of securing this, by a direct request, was reserved for the French Ambassador."

However, in spite of such a favorable attitude, the

Chinese officials hesitated to insert an article granting toleration into the French treaty for fear of popular prejudice. Also, they were not sure as to how the Emperor would regard such a concession. M. de Lagrange, however, was insistent that something should be done. There seems to be some difference of opinion regarding the reason for M. de Lagrange's insistence. Was he acting under orders of the French government, or was it a private matter?

According to one authority:

"He (Lagrange) felt that the nation so long distinguished as the eldest daughter of the church had a pious duty to fulfill and that an opportunity presented itself from the solemn resumption of the honourable part of protector of the Christian faith."

Hue claims that M. Lagrange was acting in the interests of the Roman Catholic church mainly from his own initiative. He had received no official communication from his government to ask for an edict of toleration. Lagrange might protest in the name of his government against the atrocities committed against the Christians, but:

"to demand from the Emperor of China the religious liberty of his own subjects, was rather an awkward thing; for, in fact, what claim had the nations of Europe to interfere in the government of the Celestial Empire, and to dictate to the Emperor the measures he should adopt for the government of his own people? . . . M. Lagrange could not possibly demand, in the name of King Louis Philippe, that the Emperor Tao-Kouang should leave his subjects free to profess the Christian religion."

A plan was finally devised which was satisfactory to both the French ambassador and the Chinese officials. Xiying agreed to submit a memorial to the Emperor in which he recommended:

"that henceforth, all natives and foreigners without distinction, who learn and practise the religion of the Lord of Heaven, and do not make trouble by improper conduct, be exempted from the charge of criminality."

16. See Appendix No. 7.
Kiying made reference to the old Chinese idea that the foreigners took the eyes out of the sick for the purpose of making medicine. However to meet such an objection, Kiying suggested that in such cases "let them be dealt with according to the old laws." While recommending that the Christians be excused from the charge of criminality, Kiying still felt that all foreigners, including the missionaries, should be strictly confined to the treaty ports. Those who were bold enough to enter the country in disobedience to the edict were to be arrested and turned over to the foreign consul concerned. Tao Kuang, on December 24, 1844, marked the memorial with the vermilion pencil, thus giving it the force of an imperial decree.

This edict marked a great step of the edict of 1844 forward, but still it did not satisfy M. de Lagrange. Negotiations were renewed. Lagrange was seeking greater clearness. One who had a part in these renewed negotiations writes of them saying:

"The negotiations were renewed; each liberty, each right was discussed afresh with a degree of earnestness which proved, on the one side, the strong desire to break down for ever, and at one blow, the remaining obstacles; on the other, the fear of yielding too much to foreign influence. At last after a month of discussion, a more explicit declaration was arrived at, establishing the liberty of Catholic worship in the Celestial Empire."

In April, 1845, Kiying issued a statement which interpreted the imperial edict of 1844.

The Roman Catholics were jubilant over the success of the negotiations. They considered it to be a "moral victory on a parallel with the conquest achieved by the English cannon under the walls of Nanking." To this sentiment Sir Davis were aptly replied:

17. Davis, "China" Vol.2, p. 224, being a quotation from the "Revue des deux Mondes."
18. See Appendix No. 8.
"But would the French success have been equal, had the enterprise preceded, instead of following the British cannon?"

Indeed it was true, the time was most auspicious for the securing of new rights and privileges. China had been thoroughly humbled. One of the most beneficial results of the first Anglo-Chinese war was the breaking down of national arrogance and conceit. The American and French treaties were made possible by the British victory. The Chinese were somewhat apprehensive of the Americans and the French for they felt that perhaps these nations would also demand an indemnity. China's relief was great when such was found not to be the case. These various factors combined to make possible the edict of toleration with its interpretation which Lagrange secured.

In all of these negotiations the missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic were much interested and in some instances actively involved. One authority maintains that some of the articles in the American treaty of Wanghai can be traced directly to some articles which had been published in the Chinese Repository. Caleb Cushing in a letter dated February 17, 1845, frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to the missionaries. He writes:

"It is true that in the late negotiations with China, the most important, not to say indispensable service, was derived from American missionaries, and more especially from Dr. Bridgman and Dr. Parker."

Certainly the missionaries would have been quick to urge the inclusion of that clause which granted the foreigners the right to erect churches in the treaty ports.

Missionaries served Lagrange as interpreters even as some had served Cushing, except in Lagrange's case they were Roman Catholics. The Protestants were rather envious of the

fact that behind the Roman Catholics stood a great nation eager to do what it could to further the Catholic cause in China. W. A. P. Martin, a pioneer worker among the Protestants, lamented the fact that the Treaty of Nanking said nothing about Christian missions. He cited with approval the example of M. de Lagrene, who secured the edict of toleration. Martin wrote:

"The English whose guns had prostrated the barriers in the way of commerce, in making their treaty, two years earlier, (i.e. in 1842) thought of nothing but trade. It might not indeed have been expedient to demand absolute freedom of religion, but why did they not remember those brave missionaries and their faithful adherents in the hour of victory?"

Second interpretation of the edict of 1844 succeeded Sir Pottinger as Governor of Hongkong. Sir Davis's attention was drawn to the fact that the edict of toleration might be considered by the Chinese officials as referring only to the Roman Catholics. M. de Lagrene had images and crucifixes specifically mentioned because in times of persecution the Chinese had desecrated those sacred objects, and had forced the converts who were willing to recant to do likewise. Trampling upon the cross was one of the most common of the various tests used to detect apostasy. The Protestants felt that the edict might be used to discriminate against them.

Sir Davis was moved to seek from K'ying a statement which would guarantee to the Protestants the same privileges which were assured the Roman Catholics. This K'ying was willing to grant. So in December, 1845, K'ying issued a second statement interpreting the edict of toleration. In this statement K'ying confesses that he did not understand.

25. See Appendix No. 3.
the differences between those who worshipped images and those who did not. K'ying assured Davis that:

"No matter whether they worship images or do not worship images, there are no prohibitions against them, if, when practising their creed, their conduct is good. The honourable Envoy need, therefore, be no longer solicitous in the matter; for all the Western nations will in this respect be treated on the same footing and will receive equal protection."

A second imperial edict of toleration

Second edict of toleration was promulgated on March 18, 1846. This, too, came in response to a memorial which had been submitted to the throne by K'ying, and again under the inspiration of M. de Lagrane.

The main provision of this decree called for the restoration of the church property which had been confiscated during the persecutions which began during the latter part of the reign of K'ang Hei and following.

"Let all the ancient houses throughout the provinces which were built in the reign of K'ang Hei, and have been preserved to the present time, and which, on personal examination by the proper authorities, are clearly found to be their bona-fide possessions, be restored to the professors of this religion in their respective places, excepting only those churches which have been converted into temples and dwellings for the people."

Special mention was made of the churches erected during the reign of K'ang Hei, for that was the period of expansion and probably included all of the property actually confiscated. As will be seen later, the methods by which the provisions of this edict were carried out aroused much hostility against the Roman Catholics.

The edict also commanded toleration for all followers of "the religion of the Lord of Heaven who are not bandits". The prohibition against foreigners going into the interior was repeated.
Summary of new rights gained

During this period under review, 1842 - 1859, we find therefore, that there were three treaties, two imperial edicts, and two interpretations of the first edict, which have a direct bearing upon the status of missionaries and their work in China.

Much had been gained. The closed doors had been pried open. Residence was legal in five port cities and Hongkong. Then, too, there was Macao, which was still under semi-Portuguese rule. Its status remained the same. The right to go into the country a day's journey from some of the port cities had also been secured.

The principle of extraterritoriality had been formally conceded by China. This had a most important bearing upon missionary work. The right to erect churches in the treaty ports was granted. This meant that millions of the natives within these cities and in the country round about were brought within the reach of the missionary's activities. The missionary could now begin the work of evangelization in a systematic manner. The edicts of toleration promised immunity from persecution to all natives who should embrace the new religion, provided that their conduct was good and that they were not bandits. Moreover, the property which had been confiscated more than a hundred years previous was ordered to be returned to the Roman Catholics.

This is a lengthy list of rights and privileges to be gained in four years, for they all came in the period 1842 to 1846. As far as the Protestant work was concerned, these rights and privileges opened up more new territory than could be handled. As far as the Roman Catholics were concerned, there was much still to be desired. Legally they
were still confined to the treaty ports, whereas most of their 300,000 converts were in the interior. The first edict specifically stated: "They (i.e. the missionaries) must not presume to enter the country to propagate religion."
The second edict contained a similar injunction: "Foreigners, of every nation are, in accordance with existing regulations, prohibited from going into the country to propagate religion."

These treaties and edicts granted rights which belong to class one of the classification previously noted, i.e., "privileges customary to international law, and apart altogether from special rights or concessions." They also secured privileges listed under class two, i.e., "Special privileges secured by treaty, of a non-reciprocal character and shared with all fellow-nationals. Until the treaties of Tientsin of 1858, there was nothing in the treaties which made the foreign missionary a privileged character above the foreign business-man.

Effect of the New Rights and Privileges on Missionary Work.

In considering the effect that these new rights and privileges had upon missionary work, we will review first the effect on the Roman Catholic work, and then the effect on the Protestant work. If the Protestants were eager to take advantage of the new openings which were brought about as a result of the first Anglo-Chinese war, the Roman Catholics were even more so. Sir Davis states:

"The activity of the Roman Church in China has no rival, as to either numbers or enterprise. Almost the first building erected at Hongkong was one of their churches, a very respectable structure with dwellings attached for an establishment of priests. They have never before had so secure an asylum on the verge of China, in case of disaster on the mainland, and they appeared at once to appreciate the advantages of the position."

27. Davis, op. cit., p. 235
The Roman Catholic work at Shanghai were able to take advantage of the new situation earlier than were the Protestants. The Roman Catholics entered in 1842, whereas the first Protestant missionary came in 1843. No branch of the Catholic mission in China was stimulated so much by the treaty provisions as was the mission at Shanghai.

The Shanghai mission dates back to the famous convert, Paul Hau, once prime minister, who was born at Zikawei about 1560. Under his auspices the first Christian church was built in Shanghai. More than two hundred years had passed since this noted convert of Nicci's had passed away. To the sorrow of the Jesuit missionaries who went to his native village to hunt up his descendants, no Christians were found among them.

In the year that the Treaty of Nanking was signed, 1842, the Jesuits purchased property in and near the village of Zikawei, which is about five miles west of the walled city of Shanghai. It now borders on the south-west corner of the French concession. Here at Zikawei the Jesuits established their headquarters.

In 1848, the Catholics were erecting buildings on their land. A cathedral, an orphanage, and residences were planned. In pursuance of their regular policy, the Catholics founded a theological seminary as soon as students were found. It is reported that as early as 1847 they had thirty-eight students.

At the southeastern corner of Shanghai, the Catholics secured another piece of property, which was a native dockyard. By 1853, the site was cleared and a church and other buildings erected on it.

28. See page 34 of this thesis for an account of Paul Hau.
29. Milne, "Life in China", p. 481. This Milne was a son of the co-worker of Morrison. He visited Shanghai in 1847 or 1848 and again in 1853. He speaks in detail of the Catholic work.
Some of the property which the Catholics secured in Shanghai was claimed by them under the provisions of the imperial edict of 1846, which ordered the return of confiscated property. The church which was built under the auspices of Paul Hau, had been confiscated and converted into a temple for the Chinese god of war. The restoration of this property was not effected until after 1860, and then through the instrumentality of General de Montauban.

A very good understanding of the conditions in the interior under which the Roman Catholic missionaries were attempting to carry on their work can be secured by reading the account of the travels of Abbé Huc. Huc and Gebet, who were French Lazarites, made a bold trip into Tartary beyond the great wall, starting in 1844. They dwelt in Tartary for about two years. Then travelling as officials of high rank under the favor of the Emperor, they went to Lhasa. From Lhasa they took six months for the journey to Canton, which place was reached in October of 1846.

The journey to Canton from Lhasa took them through Chengtu, the capital of the province of Szechuan. Huc claims that Christianity was then in a more flourishing condition in Szechuan than it was in any other of the eighteen provinces.

"It counts nearly a hundred thousand Christians, mostly zealous and faithful in the fulfilment of their duties." "The prosperity of the mission arises from its never having been entirely abandoned like many others."

He also noted that the converts in that province were largely to be found among the middle classes, whereas in the other provinces, most of them came from the lower classes. Huc suggests that perhaps one reason why the

32. Huc, "Recollections of a Journey Through Tartary, Thibet and China" and "A Journey Through the Chinese Empire." A criticism of Huc is to be found in Meadows, "The Chinese and their Rebellions," p. 51. Huc is inclined to be partial to his own interests. His works are most readable.
Christians in Szechuan were no free from persecutions because the officials were afraid of an investigation. Should the imperial authorities at Peking learn of the true strength of the Christians in far distant Szechuan, the local officials would have been severely censured and punished. Hence, early leniency toward the Christians only led to more leniency. Therefore Huc concludes that "the personal interest of the magistrates is often, for the Christians, the strongest guarantee of peace and tranquility."

Even though Huc and Gabet traveled through Chengtu in 1846, two years after the first imperial edict granting toleration to native Christians had been issued and shortly after the second imperial edict had been published, still these edicts had not been published by the officials in Szechuan. This failure may have been due to the negligence of the authorities at Peking rather than any failure on the part of local officials. Huc first learned of the first decree through a letter from M. Persecheau, vicar apostolic of the province of Szechuan, which was furtively thrown into his sedan chair. In this letter the vicar apostolic said that he regretted he could not visit his countrymen but feared to come out of hiding. The prelate begged Huc to remind the Chinese officials of the promises made by the Emperor in regard to Christians in China for the sake of bettering conditions.

Another letter, also secretly delivered, sent by a Chinese priest to Huc and his companion gave virtually the same information. This letter stressed the fact that in spite of the edicts favourable to Christianity secured by M. de Lagrange, still the lot of the native Christians in the interior was in reality very little improved.

All along the line of their travel, Huc and Sabet met with such experiences. The bishop at Chungking also sent a secret letter in which he stated that he dared not leave his hiding place. He referred to the persecutions which the Christians were suffering "notwithstanding the edicts of religious liberty obtained by the French ambassador."

In the province of Hupeh, the travelers noted that the state of Christianity was not so good as that in Szechuan. At the most, the Christians in Hupeh did not number over twelve or fourteen thousand, "most of them poor, and belonging to the lower classes of society." The Christians in that province had suffered from frequent and violent persecutions.

Just a few months before the arrival of Huc and Sabet in Hupeh, a Spanish missionary had been discovered, arrested, and sent to Macao "conformably to the treaties concluded between the various European powers." M. Rizzolatti, vicar apostolic of the mission in Hupeh, was also detected and deported. M. Caragyon was another who was deported. In this case, the missionary was so cruelly treated by his captors that he died shortly after reaching Canton. Another missionary, an Italian, was denied food while being taken to Canton, and died of starvation the day before he was to reach his destination. Huc adds:

"It would be too long to mention the names of all the missionaries who, quite recently, have fallen victims to the malice of the Chinese."

The evidence and conclusions of Huc regarding the intolerant attitude of the Chinese officials in the interior toward the Christian religion, imperial edicts to the contrary, are amply confirmed by other contemporary evidence. All foreigners who were discovered in the

37. Ibid., p. 4, see footnote.
interior were deported. This, of course, the Chinese had a legal right to do under the edicts. But persecution did not end there. Contemporary evidence is such as to lead us to believe that in every province the Christians were persecuted. In a few cases the native Christians lost their lives. We find the French authorities as early as 1850 interceding on behalf of some native Christians who were arrested on the island of Hainan.

In the face of such evidence as this, we are led to the conclusion that the imperial edicts with their explanatory statements granting toleration to the native Christians, were of little or no value except in those places where foreign influence could be, or might be felt. The deported missionaries, such as Rizzolotti, bore testimony that toleration of Christianity had never been conceded "beyond the limits of the ports of trade." Huc's own conclusions were that the Christians in the interior were still at the mercy of the Mandarin, "who persecute them, pillage them, throw them into prison, torture them, and send them into exile. It is only in the five free ports that they do not dare to torment the neophytes, thanks to the energetic and constant protection of the legation at Macao and our consul at Shanghai."

It appears, therefore, that the Chinese government did not subscribe to the edicts in good faith. They were issued under pressure to appease the foreigners. The edict calling for the restoration of confiscated property remained a dead letter until after 1860. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the Roman Catholics were constantly disobeying the injunctions of both of the imperial edicts, when they continued to send and keep foreign ecclesiastics in the interior.

40. Ibid, p. 245.
The Catholics reorganized. Following the imperial rescript of 1844, which granted toleration to native Christians, the Roman Catholic church in China was reorganized. In 1800, there were six ecclesiastical divisions. In 1844, the number was increased to ten, each of which was presided over by a missionary bishop. Each of these districts, sometimes called vicariates or prefectures apostolic, was entrusted to one of the great religious orders or congregations of the Catholic church at work in China. There were five such orders in China in 1849. The efficient organization of the Catholic church contributed much to its success.

Catholic progress

The signing of the Nanjing Treaty stimulated Catholics in the home lands. Additional funds and reinforcements were immediately forthcoming. The first contingent of sisters arrived in 1846. Fifty-eight Jesuits, most of whom were from Europe, arrived during the years 1843 to 1857. The Jesuits were eager to resume their scientific labors in Peking, but the anti-foreign reaction of the court was such as to make this impossible. During practically the same period, the Lazarites received fifty-five European and Chinese additions. The Dominicans, the Franciscans, and La Société Des Missions Étrangères de Paris all received new accessions of strength.

In 1842, the Roman Catholics had around 300,000 converts in China, with 144 foreign priests and 111 native priests. During the three years 1843 to 1846 it is reported that the Catholics gained 10,000 converts. By 1866 their number was reported to be 363,500, with 235 foreign priests and 237 native priests.

44. Ibid. See also appendix No. 2.
45. Latourette, op. cit. p. 234.
46. Ibid. p. 235.
47. See Appendix No. 2.
48. See D’Elia in “Chinese Recorder”, op. cit., He gives a more conservative figure for that year. He says there were 277, 293, and 363,500, respectively, of these 3,630,000, were native priests.
In spite of persecutions, and in spite of the law which forbade the foreigners to go into the interior, still the Roman Catholic missionaries enjoyed during this period a larger degree of freedom than they had enjoyed since the days of K'ang Hsi. The French government was laying more and more stress upon Chinese officials for the protection of missionaries.

The Roman Catholics possessed several advantages over the Protestants which contributed much to the success of their work. The fact that the priests were unmarried was certainly an advantage when one had to enter the country by stealth and remain in hiding. At the time of the negotiations for the treaties of Tientsin, the Chinese made some objections to the toleration clauses on the ground that they would permit Protestant missionaries and their wives to travel and reside in the interior. The Chinese were doubtful about the presence of the missionaries' wives.

Sir Davis, governor of Hongkong, points out another advantage possessed by the Roman Catholics:

"The extraordinary resemblances between the external rites of Buddhism and Romanism, candles, idols, incense, genuflections, rosaries—all conduct to the ease of conversion, and when we add the facile terms on which proselytes are admitted, there is no more room for wonder at the numbers that are made."

There is, indeed, a remarkable parallelism between the worship of the Virgin Mary of Roman Catholicism and the worship of Kuan-yin, the Goddess of Mercy of Buddhism. Both are frequently, if not usually, pictured with a child in their arms. When the T'ai P'ings started out on their iconoclastic campaign, they won the ire of the Roman Catholics through their mistaking Catholic chapels for Buddhist temples. Some have tried to account for this similarity by attributing

the features of Buddhism which resemble Roman Catholicism to Nesterian influence.

The English took possession of the island of Hongkong on January 25, 1841. On February 9th, the island was visited by Protestant missionaries, who inspected the possibilities of making it a base. The prospects were bright. The missionaries in the outlying stations were called in. Their labors had not taken root, so the Ultra-Ganges missions of the L.M.S. were dissolved. The missionaries concentrated at Hongkong, in order to be ready for the new opportunities which they felt would surely come with peace. Up to 1843, the various mission boards had sent out some sixty-two workers. Out of this number about thirty-two, or approximately 50%, were ready to take advantage of the new day.

Rev. David Abiel and Dr. W.J. Boone, two American missionaries, followed the British troops to Amoy in 1842. They settled on the island of Kulangsu before the Treaty of Nanking was signed. In the same year came Dr. W.H. Cumming, an independent medical missionary, who established a hospital.

The next port entered was Shanghai. In 1843, Dr. W.H. Medhurst of the L.M.S., established his residence there. Dr. Medhurst had visited Shanghai in 1835 while making a trip along the coast.

Ningpo was entered in 1844. The anti-foreign feeling was much stronger in the south than in the north. Canton was closed to missionary activities until 1847, five years after the signing of the Treaty of Nanking. Foochow also opened up slowly for the missionaries. The Chinese officials

60. See Appendix No. 4.
there were inspired by the literati to place all kinds of obstacles in the way of the missionaries. It was not until the British vice-consul, backed by the British plenipotentiary at Hongkong, interfered, that the missionaries were able to secure a footing within the city.

Within two years after the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, three of the five treaty-ports and Hongkong had been occupied by the Protestants. The Anglo-Chinese college which had been established at Malacca was moved to Hongkong. Dr. Legge of the L.M.S. established the first Protestant theological seminary in China by opening up one at Hongkong in 1843.

We find no evidence that any of the missionaries or the mission bodies questioned the propriety of taking full advantage of the opportunities secured by the Anglo-Chinese War. Instead, we find a general feeling of rejoicing. Following the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, the Medical Society, which was organized in Canton in 1838, issued a statement which reflected the opinion of the missionaries. It stated in part:

"Peace has been established with China, and upon terms that promise enlarged facilities for the prosecution of the labors of the medical missionary, as well as of others interested in the temporal and spiritual welfare of this large portion of their fellow-men. The efforts of this society need no longer be confined to a corner of the empire, nor its hospitals be limited to one spot, where the jealousy of a weak and despotic government has surrounded us with a system of restriction and surveillance, that has rendered intercourse with the people limited and uncertain.

"Access is now given to five of the principal seaports of the empire...and in these we have the best ground for believing that a free intercourse with the people will be available; and it is with the liveliest gratitude to the Almighty, that...

we are enabled to state, that the Medical Society is in some measure prepared to take advantage of these new openings."

The choice was very clearly defined to these early workers. It was either to follow on the heels of military aggression or not to go at all. And they chose to go.

Reinforcements The treaties and edicts, with their sent out promises of new things for the Protestant missionaries, had an immediate tonic effect upon the churches in the home-land. New boards sprang into existence. Before 1842, there were nine boards at work in China. In the decade following 1842, twelve more boards began work. Before 1857, there was a total of twenty-four different organizations which had conducted, or were then conducting, missionary activities in China. In five years after 1842, the Protestant force more than doubled. Previous to the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, some sixty-two workers had been sent out to China over a period of thirty-five years. In the five years immediately following the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, fifty additional workers were sent out. In February, 1848, sixty-seven Protestant missionaries were reported to be in the five treaty-ports, Hongkong, and Siam from fourteen societies. The nationalities represented and the numbers of missionaries from each were as follows: American-43; British-19; Swiss-2; German-1; secured in China-1. By 1849, seventy-one missionaries were reported from fifteen societies.

From the very beginning, the Protestant activities missionaries sought to minister to body, mind, and spirit. The early missionaries laid much emphasis upon medical work, and through such ministrations were able to disarm much suspicion. Out of the thirty-two

53. See Appendix 4.
56. Ibid., see also Vol. 20, p. 516, which states that there were 150 Protestant workers sent out to China up to 1850 from eighteen societies.
workers available in 1842, eight, or about 25%, were medical men. As soon as possible, hospitals were established in each of the treaty-ports. One had been established in Canton as early as 1835. The dates for the establishment of hospitals in the other port-cities are as follows: Hongkong - 1843; Amoy - 1842; Foochow - 1850; Ningpo - 1843; and Shanghai - 1843.

In ministering to the mind, the Protestants laid much emphasis upon the printing and distribution of the Word and also upon education. The mission press which had been set up at Malacca was transferred to Hongkong. The Presbyterians (U.S.A.) started a press at Macao in 1844. The following year this was moved to Ningpo, and then in 1860 it was moved again to Shanghai, where it is still functioning.

In China the pioneers in the translation of the Bible into Chinese and the publication of the same were Morrison and Milne. The New Testament was ready for publication in 1814, and the Old Testament in 1818. In India, at the Baptist mission at Serampore, Marshman was at work on the same project at the same time. Marshman was assisted in this by an Armenian, Lassar, a Catholic missionary who had been in China, and by two Chinese. The New Testament was completed in 1811, thus antedating the work of Morrison's. The whole Bible was finished in 1822 or 1823.

The need for a revision of Morrison's Bible was soon felt. As early as 1835, Bedhurst, Bridgman, Gutzlaff, and Morrison's son had brought out a new version. In 1843, a missionary conference was held at Hongkong to consider problems connected with the new opportunities given to them by the Treaty of Nanking. Among the questions considered

57. Latourette, op. cit., p. 266.
58. See page 117 of this thesis.
was the need for a new version of the Bible. The conference agreed upon a method of work. By 1847, the greater part of the New Testament was finished. Another meeting was called, this time in Shanghai. The members of this committee were known as the "Delegates" and the version which they brought out is still known as the Delegates Version. Those who served on this committee were Medhurst, Stronach, Milne, Bridgman, Boone, Shuck, Lowrie, and Culbertson. Most of the work was done by Medhurst, Stronach, and Milne. The four gospels were published in 1850, and the complete New Testament in 1852.

This translation precipitated two questions which split the ranks of the Protestant workers. The first question centered about the correct term for baptism. Robert Morrison had used the term the Roman Catholics used. The Baptists wished to have a word which would connote immersion. A compromise was reached by which each was allowed to use the term of his choice, the version in all other respects being uniform.

Another and a more serious difference of opinion came in regard to the correct term for God. This question reminds us of the difficulties the Catholics had during the rites controversy. The Jesuits had used the term "Shang-ti". The Dominicans and Franciscans had insisted that that term was too indefinite. They felt that it would be misleading, for the Chinese used the same term in a pantheistic sense. As a result of this controversy, the Pope sanctioned the use of the term favored by the Dominicans and the Franciscans, "Tien-choo" which means "Lord of Heaven".

In the Protestant controversy on this same subject,
some preferred the term 'Shang-ti', while others preferred the term 'Shen', which was a general term for 'spirit' or 'God'. For the most part the English missionaries favored the former term, while the Americans favored the latter. In some places one term was used, in others the other term. At Ningpo and Foochow, for instance, the missionaries used 'Shen', while at Amoy the missionaries used 'Shang-ti'. At Canton and Shanghai both terms were used, which resulted in much confusion to the inquiring native.

There were objections to both terms. The problem in reality was as to which was the least objectionable. The word 'Shang-ti' is objectionable because, as well as objectionable because, as well, Williams wrote,

"Shang-ti is confounded with a god of that name in heathen mythology; thus we teach idolatry while we think we are teaching truth."

On the other hand, the word 'Shen' carried with it a plural idea which made it a difficult term to be used to express monotheism.

The difference of opinion resulted in some coolness between the workers. The final result was that the Bible issued by the American Bible Society contained the term preferred by the Americans; while that issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society contained the term preferred by the English. Once an effort was made in Peking to unite all Protestants in the use of the Roman Catholic term for God, 'Tian-choo', but this effort failed.

The translation of the Old Testament brought additional differences of opinion. The result was that Medhurst, Stronach, and Milne brought out one version in 1852 or 1853 which was meant to appeal to the literary classes.

59. Williams, "Life of Williams" p. 175. Williams, writing from Canton, July 20, 1850, states that out of the 60 missionaries in China, sixteen were in favor of 'Shang-ti', most of whom were English, the others favoring 'Shen'.

60. Ibid.
A second version of the Old Testament was brought out by Bridgman and Subertson, which aimed at accuracy rather than literary style. This was completed in 1852. Bridgman, with assistance, then brought out a translation of the New Testament to correspond with that he helped make of the Old.

The confusion regarding the versions was further complicated when Goddard, Lord, and Dean, of the Northern Baptist mission, brought out in 1853 a revision of Marshman's translation.

The Chinese Repository ceased publication at the end of 1851 after an history of twenty years. This work remains as one of the best source material for this period. In 1856 a fire broke out in the factory area at Canton which destroyed 6,500 of the remaining volumes of this work. Its successor The Chinese Recorder did not appear until 1867. After one year, this ceased, and was succeeded in turn in 1868 by The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal.

Along with the translation of the Bible, other Christian works were being put into Chinese. Burns translated Pilgrim's Progress, and a number of hymns. Books of a secular nature were also translated and published. Many tracts were printed. In addition to these efforts to make China acquainted with the west, efforts were also made to make the West acquainted with China. The first edition of William's The Middle Kingdom appeared in 1848.

The school was ever an important part of the Protestant work. The Anglo-Chinese college established at Malacca was transferred to Hongkong and there absorbed into the British educational system, with the exception of the theological department. In 1845, a boarding school for boys was started by the Presbyterians at Ningpo, and another at Macao.
which was soon moved to Canton. In 1861 the Methodist established a school for girls at Foochow and in the same year the Episcopalians started a school for boys in Shanghai which developed into St. John's University. This is an incomplete list of what was done by the Protestant workers during this period in the educational world.

Days of first things These were the days when the foundations for bigger things were laid. These were, indeed, the days of first things. The first building erected exclusively for Chinese Protestant worship was built at Amoy in 1848, although the church itself was not organized until 1866. In 1850, the Southern Baptists secured land at Okadjau, a village twelve miles south east of Shanghai. This property is supposed to be the first land permanently owned by Protestants in the interior of China. Probably the first Protestant church organized on Chinese soil was that organized by the Presbyterians at Ningpo in 1845.

The first Protestant martyrs came within this period. In 1848, the life of Walter Lowrie, of the Presbyterian Mission, (U.S.A.) was taken by pirates in the Hangchow bay. In 1850, Karl Josef Fast of Sweden lost his life.

This period also marked the beginning of effective work by women missionaries. Before the Treaty of Nanking was signed a few women missionaries had started work in the Straits Settlements. The men workers had been able to do a little missionary work at Canton and along the coast. The treaties granted the right to foreigners, including women, to live in the port cities specified. This opportunity for women to live in China in safety gave to both the Roman Catholics and the Protestants a most

62. This Walter Lowrie should not be confused with the Hon. Walter Lowrie who was secretary of the American Presbyterian Board from 1837 to 1868.
valuable auxiliary, for the women workers in their contacts with the native women and children performed a wonderful service.

To Miss Aldersey, who had labored for six years in Java, belongs the honor of being the first unmarried woman-missionary to China. She settled at Ningpo in 1844, where she opened the first girls' school in China. She conducted this school for a number of years at her own expense. She retired in 1860.

The Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East evidently did not send out additional workers until 1862. In 1899, this society was merged with the C.M.S. In 1851, the first American unmarried woman-missionary arrived. She was Miss Lydia Fay of the American Episcopal Church. She opened and conducted a school for boys in Shanghai which developed into St. John's University. In 1853, the first Chinese woman to receive baptism from the hands of the Protestants was baptized by a Southern Baptist missionary.

According to Article VI of the Treaty of Bogue, the foreigners had the privilege of visiting the country round about the treaty-ports. In the case of Shanghai the distance which a foreigner could legally go was fixed at thirty miles. Thus all the territory within a radius of thirty miles was open to missionary work. In this same district the foreign business-men sought recreation by hunting or riding.

On March 8, 1848, three British missionaries, Messrs. Medhurst, Lockhart, and Mairhead, while within the authorized zone, were brutally attacked at Tsingpu by some disgruntled Shantung boatmen who had been discharged from Government grain-junks. The three missionaries barely

63. See Appendix I., 3.
64. MacGillivray, op. cit., p. 317.
escaped with their lives.

Since this incident was the first in which a foreign government used force to make China observe certain treaty provisions as they applied to missionaries, it is worthy of further study.

Mr. Alcock, the newly appointed British consul at Shanghai, immediately protested, demanding full redress from the Chinese authorities. The Shanghai Taotai was one who had had experience with foreigners at Canton. He began the old Chinese custom of evasion and postponing. But Alcock was a man of action. With the aid of a single British war-vessel, which happened to be in port, the ten-gun sloop-of-war "Children," Alcock held up a fleet of 1400 grain junks which were bearing tribute rice to Peking. In addition to these grain-junks the Chinese had fifty war-junks in port and 13,000 vagabonds who had been discharged from the grain-junks. The Taotai furiously ordered the grain-junks to put to sea but the men on the junks feared the British guns more than the Taotai's threats, so they refused to move.

Still the Taotai refused to comply with Alcock's demands. Alcock then sent the brig "Spiggle" with his vice-consul to Nanking to lay the case before the Governor-General there. This daring mission at once brought the desired results. There was no more evasion. Ten prisoners were produced, identified, and duly punished.

Alcock summed up the affair in these words:

"A salutary dread of the immediate consequences of violence offered to British subjects, certainty of its creating greater trouble and danger to the native authorities personally than even the most vigorous efforts to protect the foreigners and seize their assailants will entail, seems to be the best and only protection in this country for Englishmen."

In this case those protected happened to be missionaries. As far as Alcock was concerned they were Britishers and entitled to protection. Their occupation was an incidental matter with him. The incident did much to give the Chinese a greater respect for the foreigners.

Protestant efforts in the interior the Taiping incident was the greater boldness of the missionaries to penetrate into the interior. Muirhead writes:

"At most of the ports we gradually went beyond the bounds prescribed, and found the inlying country offering splendid opportunities for missionary work. We became familiar with the towns and cities at the distance of at least one hundred miles in various directions."

One of the earliest trips to be taken inland by a Protestant missionary was that taken by Rev. W.C. Milne who left Ningpo July 7, 1843, disguised as a Chinese. He made his way through three provinces to Hongkong, 1300 miles away. When questioned he would never admit he was an Englishman. He was an expert in the Chinese language and was thus able to allay suspicions.

However, this trip was an exception to the rule that before the Taiping incident most of the missionaries confined their travels to the country about the treaty ports. The conditions following the incident were more and more favorable for journeys inland. The annual report of the C.M.S. for 1850 states that the missionaries were then making trips three and four days long from Shanghai.

"They are going to attempt Soochow... Parties can go to the hills (about forty miles west of Shanghai) and stay as long as they like... Persons have visited the tea district, still more inland, without molestation. All this is merely winked at by the authorities; by and by we trust it will be legalized, and so gradually extended."

67. Milne, op. cit., p. 269 and ff.
Griffith John, another pioneer missionary long connected with the work at Hankow, wrote from Shanghai on October 4, 1855, stating:

"The country all around here is open for missionary operations. A missionary may penetrate into the country two or three hundred miles in every direction without being molested."

The next year Griffith John and a companion took a three weeks' trip into the interior. Of it he says:

"Two or three years ago such a thing was not heard of as a missionary proceeding so far and remaining for so long a time without fear of molestation. It could only be done clandestinely and at extreme peril."

That which was true of the conditions about Shanghai applied equally well to the other treaty ports, with the exception that in the south these privileges came later. Gradually the Protestant missionaries were able to push further and further into the interior. Undoubtedly the fear of foreign gunboats and foreign troops inspired reverence for the foreigner.

Once difficulties arose at Foochow. The American squadron visited the port in 1852. American missionaries reporting the visit said that then the Mandarins were ready to settle all difficulties.

In addition to these itinerating trips taken into the interior by missionaries who had their base in some treaty port, we find some German missionaries establishing their residence in the interior. Charles Gutzlaff through visits to Europe and his voluminous writings was instrumental in arousing a great deal of missionary enthusiasm. In 1847 Hoster and Genahr of the Kehnisch Missionary Society and Lechler and Hamberg of the Basel Missionary Society reached Hongkong. These missionaries went to Gutzlaff for advice.

69. Thompson, "Griffith John", p. 47.
70. Ibid., p. 57.
71. Lanning and Couling, op. cit., p. 245.
Gutzlaff recommended that they work in the province of Kwangtung. The Mission agreed to be responsible for the western half of this province, while the Basel Mission took the eastern half. Mr. Genahr toward the close of 1847 moved to a village named Chanhu near the Canton river. He adopted the Chinese dress, as did most of the missionaries of the early days who sought to penetrate into the interior. Genahr remained at Chanhu with his wife for seventeen years without taking a furlough. He conducted a school. He died in 1864 while still at his post.

In May, 1852, Mr. Hamberg of the Basel Missionary Society went to Lilong, a village in the interior and remained there for three weeks. He baptized twenty converts at one time. In March of 1853, Mr. and Mrs. Hamberg established their residence at Pukak, where they remained for nine months. Since Chanhu, where Mr. and Mrs. Genahr lived, was near to Canton, the honor of being the first Protestant missionaries to live in the interior for any length of time goes to Mr. and Mrs. Hamberg. In 1859, a house was erected at Lilong for foreign workers. However, foreign residence at such a place was still very insecure. Once the bandits captured a missionary, and the Society was obliged to pay a big ransom before he was released. At the outbreak of hostilities in 1856, the missionaries had to retire to Hongkong.

Mr. Lechler of the Basel mission tried to gain entrance at Swatow, a port which was not opened to foreign residence until 1858. Lechler reached Swatow in May, 1848. His first home was on board an opium vessel, on which he lived a 'short time' until he could find accommodations ashore. He remained in Swatow until February 1852 during

which time he accomplished but little.

With the exception of these German boards, all other missionary bodies confined their activities to the treaty-ports and the surrounding territory. These areas made millions of natives accessible to the missionaries.

There were some individual exceptions to the general policy of the British and American boards. In March, 1856, the Rev. William Burns and the Rev. J. H. Taylor, later the founder of the China Inland Mission, sought to carry on mission work at Swatow. The two were unable to find a place for indoor preaching. Even after three months' residence, they still found but little encouragement. In July, 1856, they visited a village sixteen miles away from Swatow and while there were robbed of everything except their clothing. Taylor then returned to Shanghai while Burns remained at Swatow the fall of that year. The outbreak of hostilities in November of 1856 made foreign residence at Swatow impossible.

The Chinese official, Yeh, who figured so prominently in the disturbances of 1856 and the following years, in a communication to Consul Parkes pointed out the fact that Swatow was not an open port and was not, therefore, to be frequented by foreigners. Yeh was clearly referring to Burns' residence there. Burns had adopted the Chinese dress. Of this Yeh says:

"I cannot but look upon it, therefore, as exceedingly improper that William Burns (admitting him to be an Englishman) should change his dress, shave his head, and, assuming the costume of the Chinese, penetrate into the interior in so irregular a manner."

Twenty years earlier Robert Morrison had prophesied that it would be foolhardy for Protestant missionaries to

75. Ibid., p. 459.
penetrate into the interior as did the Roman Catholic missionaries. The experience of Mr. Burns and Mr. Taylor confirmed this opinion. When Swatow was made a treaty port in 1868, conditions there rapidly changed for the better. The right for the missionaries to reside there and carry on their evangelistic labors was guaranteed by treaties which were backed up by the military and naval forces of the foreign powers. The political and the religious factors are interwoven in the history of China since 1842. In its final analysis the chance to evangelize China rested back upon a military victory.

If we were to measure the results of the Protestants' efforts during this period, 1842 - 1856, in terms of the number of converts won, we should find the rewards were meager indeed. Yet, as compared with what was secured during the first thirty-five years of Protestant work, the results were indeed great. In 1842 there were six converts. Eleven years later, or in 1853, 350 converts were reported. Surely these figures tell of the benefits which were derived from the Treaty of Hankow.

Still there was much to be desired. Many missionaries worked for years without having the joy of seeing a single convert won as the result of their labors. The Rev. William Burns, for instance, who was one of the most zealous of the missionaries, claims that he worked for seven years without seeing a single soul brought to Christ. The anti-foreign feeling was still strong. The workers were scattered and comparatively few in number. In 1848 the Protestant force totalled 67. These had to be divided between the five treaty ports, Hongkong, and Siam. When one

76. "Report of the Missionary Conference, Shanghai, 1890", p. 735
77. Burns, op. cit., p. 552.
deducts those who were engaged in medical, educational, and such other activities as printing, one realizes that the number of those free to give their whole time to evangelism was small indeed.

Yet in spite of these obstacles and discouragements, the very fact that an increase from six to 350 could be secured in eleven years was a most encouraging feature. The new conditions guaranteed by the treaties were bearing fruit for the Christian cause.

Events Leading Up To The Treaties of Tientsin.

The Treaty of Nanking, together with those that immediately followed, did not accomplish all that was intended or desired. China, on her part, did not live up to the provisions of the treaty. Canton, for instance, was not opened to foreign residence as it should have been had China obeyed the injunctions of the treaty. The Viceroy of Fukian province, Lew Yunko, was anti-foreign and gave considerable trouble to the British consul in regard to foreign residence in the ports of Amoy and Foochow. Between the years 1842 - 1856 twenty-eight outrages had been committed by Chinese upon British subjects.

The foreigners were also guilty of provocative acts which only increased Chinese official hostility. The opium trade continued to increase. While edicts were issued against the trade before the first Anglo-Chinese war, nothing officially was said against it on the part of the Chinese government after the Treaty of Nanking had been signed during this period under review. Davis writes:

"Keying, on the other hand, in 1844, addressed me a note in which he openly proposed that the opium trade should be..."

78. Smith, "Rex Christus", p. 140 states that in 1857 "it was estimated by some that the converts were not more than one hundred, although others place this figure much higher."

trade should be carried on by mutual connivance. . . . The only thing wanting was, that the emperor should publicly sanction what he had once publicly condemned. . . . and this was found impossible by Chinese pride or policy."

While K i j i n g might have shown a change of mind on the subject, the Emperor certainly had not. The opium trade was tolerated because the Chinese could do nothing else. Corrupt Chinese officials at Canton and elsewhere continued to be parties to the contraband trade. The tariff introduced by the treaties, put import and export duties on a regular basis. This effectively closed many doors of revenue to many Chinese officials, who then turned to opium smuggling to replenish their incomes.

Davis reports that by 1845 the growth of opium smuggling was such as to seriously interfere with legitimate business. The English Government was still eager to have the importation of opium legalized. The English felt that this would give a revenue to China; that it would decrease the possibility of unpleasant incidents arising between the two governments; and that it would check consumption. The Chinese Government refused to consider this.

Following the signing of the Treaty of Bogue, the British formulated some rules and regulations for the control of the British end of the opium trade. These were supposed to check to some degree British activities along this line, although Williams declares:

"All this was done chiefly to throw dust in their (Chinese) eyes, and put the onus of the contraband traffic on the Chinese government, and the violation of the law on those who came off to the smuggling vessels."

One of these rules prohibited British vessels from carrying opium to ports north of Shanghai. When Captain Hope of "H.M.S. Thalia" took this rule seriously and stopped

two or three British opium vessels which had started north of Shanghai, he was promptly recalled from his station and sent to India where he could not "interfere in such a manner with the undertakings of British subjects."

The British further aggravated matters by granting many concessions to Chinese craft, which had the effect of bringing such craft under British jurisdiction. Thus, some of these native vessels could engage in opium smuggling while flying the British flag, and so winning security from even the half-hearted efforts the Chinese government might make to suppress the traffic.

To the disgrace of the opium trade was added the disgrace of the coolie traffic. This traffic began in 1848 and was attended with many of the atrocities which characterized the African slave-trade. Chinese coolies were lured aboard ships and taken to other countries for labor purposes by foreigners. Many of the victims were taken to Cuba, California, and Peru. The barbarous treatment which the coolies received resulted in the death of hundreds, if not thousands. The Portuguese were the worst offenders, yet an American boat is reported to have been caught and 300 victims released. In 1858, over 10,000 Chinese were seized and shipped away. The coolie trade was finally driven from Hongkong and Canton. It then centered at Macao where it continued until 1874.

The attitude of the Chinese officials toward the foreigners at Canton constituted a difficult question all in itself. According to the Treaty of Nanking, Canton was to be thrown open to foreign residence. However, on account of the anti-foreign feeling existing there, Great Britain did not insist that

83. Williams, "Life of Williams" p. 326.
84. Williams, "Middle Kingdom" Vol. 2, p. 715.
this be done. Hardly a year passed but that there was at least one attack on foreigners in the vicinity of Canton. Xiying, who was the Viceroy until 1850, occupied a most difficult position. The Manchus were hated by the Chinese. Xiying, representing the Manchu dynasty, had to rule over and be responsible for the conduct of the inhabitants of Canton. On the other hand, there was a powerful foreign nation eager to take advantage of the rights guaranteed by the Treaty of Nanking.

In October, 1846, two British seamen were attacked in Canton by natives, and with difficulty escaped with their lives. Sir Davis protested. Xiying replied to the protest with an insolence "never before exhibited by him." The British were inclined to think that the defiant attitude of the Chinese was partly due to the fact that in July of that same year the British troops had evacuated the Chusan islands. These islands were to remain in the possession of the British until all of the indemnity called for by the Treaty of Nanking was paid. These payments were completed in the summer of 1846, following which the islands were evacuated.

In March, 1847, an officer of the Royal Artillery and five gentlemen who were making an excursion up the Canton river were also attacked and almost murdered. Again Davis protested. Xiying took no notice of the protest. As a result the British seized some Chinese fortifications on April 2nd and 3rd. However, not much was gained. Xiying promised that Canton would be open for foreign residence within two years. However, when 1849 arrived, the promise was not kept. The patience of the British was greatly tested.

85. Davis, op. cit., p. 163
86. Ibid., p. 165.
To further complicate the situation the reactionary party gains control at Peking which was most anti-foreign came into power following the death of Tao Kuang, who passed away while on a pilgrimage to the tombs of his ancestors on February 25, 1850. The dead body of Tao Kuang was carried back to Peking without the public becoming aware of his death. In the meantime the imperial seal was used to send an order to the heir apparent to commit suicide, which he did.

After becoming established in Peking, the following announcement was issued:

"Upon the 14th of the first moon the emperor departed upon the great journey, mounting upwards on the dragon to be a guest on high, and that the heir on the same day ascended the throne."

The heir who ascended the dragon throne was Helen Feng, the fourth son of Tao Kuang. Helen Feng was but nineteen years old and lacked the capabilities of the first heir apparent. It was unfortunate for China that such a young ruler should ascend the throne at such a critical time.

The reactionaries who surrounded Helen Feng influenced him to degrade and punish, sometimes with death, those officials who during the reign of his father were obliged to make concessions to the foreigners. He declared:

"Every device has been tried to elude the obligations of treaties; under the influence of the new policy, the relations between the Consuls and the Mandarin have become embittered, and the concessions of the late Emperor almost illusory."

Heping, who had signed for China in her negotiations with the foreign powers, was called the "shameless man" and degraded to the 5th rank on November 21st, 1850. The attitude of the Chinese officials was such that as early as June of that year, Lord Palmerston, on behalf of the British government, sent a strongly worded protest to Peking. In

88. See page 48 of this thesis for statement regarding Chinese custom regarding the right of a younger son to ascend the throne.
response an imperial edict was issued which declared the
sending of the protest to be "contumacious and insulting to
the extreme." The officials of the empire were forbidden
to have intercourse with the foreigners. Nevertheless, the new Viceroy
of Canton, was praised for being, "thoroughly acquainted
with the diabolical schemes and manoeuvres of foreigners". Such an attitude on the part of the Chinese government only
hastened the coming of the second Anglo-Chinese war. For
more than five years these strained relationships continued.

In 1856, Yeh Ming-chu was serving as
Governor-General, or Viceroy, of Canton. He was extremely conservative and despised the foreigners.
Such a nature was not one to promote the cause of peace.
The British government was dissatisfied with the way China
had evaded the stipulations of the treaty. Canton was still
closed to foreign residence. China on the other hand
was still under the control of the reactionary party. These
officials asserted under those stipulations of the treaties
which they had been obliged to fulfill. The way was open for
trouble.

On October 8, 1856, the Chinese officials at Canton

seized the lorch"Arrow" which was flying the British flag.
The Chinese carried off the native crew of twelve men and
hauled down the British flag. The"Arrow" was owned by a
Chinese merchant who was a resident of Hongkong. Her license
had expired eleven days previous, but of this fact the Chinese
officials had no knowledge. Moreover, the application for the
renewal of the license had been made and the papers were then
in the British consulate.

The"Arrow" may have been a smuggling lorch. However,
opium as such does not enter into the story. The real point

92. Leavenworth, "The Arrow War", p. 2 states: "A lorch is
a vessel of about 100 tons burden having a hull of
European build, and originally commanded by an European
captain; but rigged with Chinese masts and sails, and
manned by Chinese sailors."
93. The Chinese deny that they hauled down the British flag.
at issue was the question of jurisdiction over such boats as the "Arrow." The British claimed that the boat was under their jurisdiction, since it had been registered with them and since it flew the British flag. The Chinese claimed that it was a boat built by Chinese in China and that some of its crew were notorious pirates.

Sir John Bowring was then Governor of Hongkong, and Harry Parkes was consul. Bowring submitted certain demands to Yeh among which was one which asked for an apology from the Chinese. These demands were not met. The result was that on October 23, 1856, the British began to take military action. A number of forts were taken. The official residence of Yeh was shelled. A breach was made in the city wall and the city was entered, but since the British did not then have enough troops on hand to hold the city they withdrew. After each step the British sought communication with Yeh; but Yeh remained adamant. He persistently refused to consider the demands of the British. This series of events, which covered three or four weeks, is known as the Arrow War.

In February, 1856, about eight months before the "Arrow" incident, Auguste Chapdelaine, a French Roman Catholic priest, had been arrested by the Chinese at Jilin, a town in the northwestern part of the province of Kwangsi, and after terrible torture had been beheaded. His body was then mutilated and given to the dogs. The French charge d'affaires complained of this offense on July 25, 1856 to the imperial commissioner at Canton. The French charge d'affaires argued that the edicts of Tao Kuang permitted the free exercise of Christianity. The Chinese commissioner replied that the

94. Sir John Bowring wrote the hymn, "In the cross of Christ I glory."
96. Lane-Poole, "Life of Sir Harry Parkes", Vol. 1, p. 224.
some edict specifically stated that the foreigners were not to go into the interior. The French pointed out that according to the principle of extraterritoriality the Chinese were not authorized to inflict the death penalty or any other penalty. The offending party was to be turned over to his consul.

France was deeply stirred by this event. Having failed to secure redress by diplomatic means, France began negotiations with Great Britain in September of 1856. Even before the "Arrow" incident was known in Europe, Great Britain and France had resolved on united military action against China. Great Britain was interested from a commercial point of view; France from an ecclesiastical. France's commercial interest in China at this time was practically nil. A census of the foreign boats which entered Chinese ports in 1850 reveals the following facts:

England had 374 vessels; United States, 163; Holland, 29; Spain, 13; various other nations, 22; France, 4. No matter what the attitude of the French government at home might have been or might be to the Catholic faith, in China, at least, it assumed the role of the defender of the faith. One author speaking of the steps that France took to avenge the death of the missionary, says:

"In this way the fate of the missionaries, centers of the influences of light and healing of a higher civilization, has been twisted up into the maze of diplomatic maneuvers."

The murder of Father Chapdelaine led France into war against China. In November, 1856, the Chinese at An American incident Canton fired on an American boat, killing a man. The American forces attacked the Barrier Ports on November 16th, captured them, and destroyed 176 guns.

98. Leavenworth, op. cit., p. 57.
100. Leavenworth, op. cit., p. 68.
This was the first and only clash of arms between Americans and Chinese before the days of the Boxer trouble. Yeh, not wishing to involve other nations, sent an apology to the American consul on December 5th, thus closing that incident.

England makes preparations 5,000 soldiers. The foreign office needed little coaxing. In defending its policy, Lord Clarendon, the British minister for Foreign Affairs said:

"For many years there has been no resident of China, official or unofficial, no matter to what nation he belonged, who has not felt that the present state of things was unendurable, that it could not last, and that sooner or later a rupture must take place."

In the fall of 1856, the Chinese offered a reward for every foreigner killed at Canton. In the spring of 1857 this reward was increased to a sum equal to about thirty pounds sterling. In January of that year an attempt was made to poison the foreign colony at Hongkong by means of arsenic in the bread. The plot was discovered in time.

The evidence clearly proved the guilt of certain Chinese officials.

An additional factor to complicate the situation was found in the fact that in the American treaty of Wanghai, an article was inserted calling for a revision of the treaty in twelve years. The twelfth year expired in 1858. Under the most-favored-nation clause Great Britain now claimed that right. The Earl of Elgin was appointed High Commissioner and Plenipotentiary in March, 1857, by the British Government. At about the same time Baron Gros was appointed to a similar office by the government of Napoleon III. Lord Elgin arrived at Hongkong in July. Baron Gros arrived in October. Lord Elgin was obliged to delay his work in China because of conditions in India. He

101. Leavenworth, op. cit., p. 43.
visited Calcutta after his arrival in China, returning to Hongkong, September 20, 1857.

England and France had decided on military action and had invited America and Russia to join them. These two nations refused to do this to the disappointment of England and France. Yet both America and Russia were eager to negotiate new treaties with China and so sent out their diplomats. The American minister, the Hon. W. B. Reed, arrived in the frigate "Minnesota" accompanied by the frigate "Mississippi". The Russian minister, Count Poutiatine, arrived in the gunboat "America". The instructions which Mr. Reed carried clearly stated that he was to use no unfriendly means to secure his ends.

On November 27, military action began at Canton. The British and the French landed 6,000 men. The next day the warships bombarded the city of Canton. On the 29th the city was in their hands. The Chinese offered but little effective resistance. Indeed, a land transport-corps of Chinese coolies had been organized to aid the allies. These coolies willingly assisted the foreigners: "with an absence of patriotism truly edifying." In the capture of the city, the Governor-General Yeh was also captured. He was taken to Calcutta, where he died in April, 1859.

The foreigners continued in control of this city of over a million inhabitants until October 21, 1861. Chinese assisted the foreigners in the administration of affairs. Trade relationships were resumed in January, 1858. The people proved to be friendly to the foreigners during the occupation, which indicated that a great deal of the anti-foreign feeling was due to the attitude of the official class.

Following the capture of Canton, the governments of Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States joined in laying their demands before the court at Peking. The officials at Peking were greatly alarmed. They knew not what to do. The court was ill informed regarding the true status of the situation, and, therefore, the less prepared to receive the facts. In the capture of Canton some most interesting papers were captured with Yeh which showed that Yeh and others at Canton had greatly misrepresented matters to Peking.

The foreign powers suggested a conference at Shanghai. To this suggestion the court said "no" and proposed that the difficulties with Great Britain, France, and the United States be settled at Canton. Russia was told to go to the Amur.

The foreign powers were convinced that nothing decisive could be settled at Canton. Upon receipt of the decision of the court, the British and French decided to send an expedition north to the mouth of the Pei-ho near Tientsin. The expedition anchored there about the middle of April, 1858. A month was then spent in fruitless negotiations. On May 20, the patience of the foreigners was exhausted. The Taku forts were taken. Nine days later plenipotentiaries of the four nations entered Tientsin.

Some understanding as to how utterly ignorant the Chinese were of the significance of the expedition may be gained by reading Oliphant's account of the deputation of the Tientsin merchants and gentry who waited upon the British Admiral after the capture of the city, offering to trade with the gunboats. This deputation requested the Admiral to send in a list of the merchandise he wished to

103. See U.S. Senate Despatches, No. 9, Ex. Document No. 30, for March 19, 1860.
sell, together with the prices desired. The British explained to the deputation that what they wanted then was not traders but diplomats who were authorized to act for the Peking government.

The capture of Tientsin stirred the Peking government to further action. An imperial decree appointed Kweiliang and Hwachana as plenipotentiaries, with full powers to negotiate. The Chinese were beginning to realize that they were in no position to haggle about terms. They felt obliged to accept what was suggested or offered.

Thus the stage was set for the signing of the four treaties of Tientsin. From the point of view of this thesis, these treaties are most important, for each carried those clauses known as the 'toleration clauses'.

PART TWO
THE TOLERATION CLAUSES
1858 -- 1865

Chapter II

During the years 1858 -- 1865, six international documents were drawn up between China and foreign powers which had the most far-reaching effects upon Christian missionary activities. These six documents were the four treaties of Tientsin, the French convention of 1860, and the French convention of 1868. The four treaties of Tientsin contained clauses which gave full legal recognition to the Christian religion and guaranteed protection to both the foreign missionary and the native converts. These clauses are known as the Tolerance Clauses. Since they play such an important part in our study, this chapter will deal especially with their history.

The Treaty of Tientsin

The city of Tientsin was occupied by the allied powers in the latter part of May, 1858. The Peking government was thoroughly alarmed. Two plenipotentiaries, Kweiliang and Guoshana, were appointed and given full power to negotiate. These commissioners realized China's desperate situation and were ready for peace at any price.

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was degraded. Now Kiying was recalled and sent to Tientsin. Kiying reached Tientsin on June 8th. He was persona non grata with both his colleagues and the foreign diplomats. Kiying went to Tientsin with a cloud hanging over his head. He was eager to dispel it. As a result he advocated a policy more in line with the extremely conservative ideas of the reactionary party rather than the more liberal attitude which characterized his earlier dealings with foreigners.

Kweiliang and Hwashama wanted peace at any price. Kiying bitterly criticized such a view. He complained that the foreigners were "placing a knife to the throat of China and a pistol to its head."

The foreigners did not welcome him, for they accused him of insincerity in his former contacts with them. As proof they produced a letter which was found in Yeh's yamen in Canton at the time of the capture of the city of Canton during the Arrow War, written by him to the Emperor. In that letter Kiying offered some interesting advice to his Emperor in regard to ways and means of handling the 'foreign barbarians'. He wrote in part as follows:

"In some instances a direction must be given them, but without explanation of the reason why; in some, their restlessness can only be neutralized by demonstrations which disarm their suspicions; in some, they have to be pleased and moved to gratitude by concessions of intercourse on a footing of equality."

The production of this letter resulted in Kiying's return to Peking. Three weeks later the Emperor ordered him to commit suicide. Kiying deserved a better fate, for he had served his Emperor well. His policy was to grant no more than was absolutely necessary and to evade all that he could, even after promises had been given.

2. Ibid., p. 359.
The treaties signed by the two neutral powers, America and Russia, found their task less difficult than did France and Great Britain. The result was that they signed their treaties first. Count Poutiatine signed the Russian treaty on June 14th. Four days later, Mr. Reed signed the American treaty. Lord Elgin signed for Great Britain on June 20th, while Baron Gros signed for France on June 27th.

The signing of the British treaty was delayed because the Chinese commissioners seriously objected to two conditions which had been omitted from the Russian and American treaties. The first of these conditions called for the right of residence in Peking for a British minister. The second demanded the right of travel throughout the Empire for any British subject for purposes of pleasure or trade. Passports would be necessary if the traveler were going more than thirty miles from a port city or staying for more than five days.

The Chinese commissioners, failing to induce Lord Elgin to refrain from making such demands, sought the intercession of the ministers of the other powers. One reason why the Chinese were so unwilling to accede to these conditions was the fact that the Emperor had notified them that should such privileges be granted, the Chinese commissioners would lose their heads. On the day before that set for the signing of the British treaty, Baron Gros approached Lord Elgin with a message from Count Poutiatine and Mr. Reed asking that Lord Elgin not press the two demands in question.

However, Lord Elgin felt that the right of a minister to reside in Peking was one of supreme importance. He was

adamant. In spite of the fact that England stood alone in making this demand, he threatened to march to Peking. He stated his demands in terms as strong as possible and in such a manner as to protect the Chinese commissioners from the wrath of the Emperor. The threat to march to Peking had its desired effect and the treaty was signed at the appointed time.

The treaties called for the ratifications to be exchanged at Peking the year following.

In brief the outstanding rights and privileges secured by these treaties, outside of the toleration clauses which will be considered separately, were as follows:

1. Indemnities were to be paid. For instance, Great Britain was to be paid a sum of four million taels for losses sustained by her citizens and for the cost of the war.

2. The right to travel to all parts of the interior.

3. In addition to the five ports thrown open to foreign residence by the Treaty of Nanking, the following ports were also to be opened: Newchwang in Manchuria, Tangchow (or Chefoo) in Shantung, Nanking in Kiangsu, Taiyen in Formosa, Kiungchow in Hainan, and Chawhau (or Swatow) in Kwangtung. Foreign ships were allowed to go up the Yangtze river as far as Hankow. Three ports on the Yangtze, later decided to be Chinkiang, Kiukiang, and Hankow, in addition to Nanking, were also to be opened for foreign residence as soon as the T'ai P'ing rebellion was suppressed.

4. The right for foreign officials to correspond directly with Chinese officials of equal rank upon an equal

5. Appendix 11.
6. Ibid.
fostering. Peking was to be opened for residence to the foreign ministers.

5. Regulations regarding the foreign concessions and settlements in the treaty ports were also made. Sometimes there would be several foreign concessions in the same port, each concession being governed by the consul of the nation having the lease.

6. The British treaty called for a conference to settle the matter of duties. This was to prevent the Chinese from crushing trade in the new ports by high duties. The amount of the tariff was to be "calculated as nearly as possible at the rate of two and a half per cent ad valorem."

Under the most-favored-nation clause any right secured by any one power automatically became the property of the others having treaty relations with China. Thus in reality these four treaties of Tientsin constituted but one document.

It is interesting to note that during the negotiations at Tientsin, Russia posed as the friend of China to China. Following the negotiations Russia asked for a reward for her services and secured from China a strip of land on the east side of the Ussuri river extending to the sea. Thus Russia gained an ice-free port, Vladivostok. She later made this port the eastern terminus of the trans-Siberian railroad.

None of the treaties of Tientsin said anything about opium. In explaining why the subject was omitted in the British treaty Lord Elgin said:

"When I resolved not to press this matter upon the attention of the Chinese Commissioners at

Tientsin, I did so, not because I questioned the advantages which would accrue from the legalization of the traffic, but because I could not reconcile it to my sense of right to urge the Imperial Government to abandon its traditional policy in this respect, under the kind of pressure which we were bringing to bear upon it at Tientsin."

However, at the tariff conference which was held in Shanghai in October and November of 1858, opium was formally recognized. The general rule called for an import tax of 2½% ad valorem on all imports. Opium was made an exception to this rule by being taxed thirty taels per picul. In proportion this tax was less than that which England levied on tea and silk from China entering her borders.

Thus we see that England finally won out in her contention that the best way to handle the opium trade was to legalize it, tax it, and then take measures to prevent smuggling. In the correspondence between Lord Elgin and Mr. Reed on this subject we see that the American minister came to the same conclusion. Mr. Reed suggested that perhaps the trade could be reduced by curtailing production in India. By 1858 the importation of opium had increased to nearly 75,000 chests per annum. When these figures are compared to the 20,000 chests imported in 1832-3, we see that in twenty-five years the trade had almost quadrupled.

Wells Williams, in commenting upon the legalization of the drug, wrote:

"The honorable English merchants and government can now exonerate themselves from the opprobrium of smuggling this article. Bad as the triumph is, I am convinced that it was the best disposition that could be made of the perplexing question; legalization is preferable to the evils attending the farce now played, and we shall be the better when the drug is openly landed, and opium hulks and bribed inspectors are no more."

Both Count Pouletatin and Mr. Reed were very frank in admitting that the concessions
gained were due to the pressure exerted upon China by the military and naval forces of France and Great Britain. Both France and America had sought by peaceful means for much more moderate demands the year previous and had failed. Certainly there is no evidence to show that China would have granted such rights and privileges as were incorporated in the treaties of Tientsin at that time or any time within several decades without the use of force by the foreign powers. Because of the isolation of the court; because of the misleading reports sent in to the Emperor from those who knew better; and because of the 'superiority complex' which guided their thinking, the Chinese were unwilling to make the slightest concession unless force were exercised.

While the first Anglo-Chinese War and the Treaty of Nanjing had greatly affected the Empire, still that lesson had not been sufficiently impressive to secure the desired results from the foreigner's point of view. It was undoubtedly true that France and Great Britain through the exercise of force made it possible for Russia and America to get concessions from China which would have been impossible without a war. A British officer summed up the situation by saying that "two powers had China by the throat while the other two stood by to egg them on so that all could share the spoil."

The Toleration Clauses.

From the viewpoint of the missionaries and the mission cause, these treaties of Tientsin were of the utmost importance because of the special rights and privileges which were granted in the toleration clauses.

In brief, the rights and privileges enjoyed by the

missionary previous to the signing of these treaties were as follows: the right to live in five port-cities and Hongkong; the right to erect churches and hospitals in the treaty-ports; the right to enter the country districts for a short distance from each of the treaty-ports. By imperial edict the converts were to be immune from persecution. All Catholic property, with certain exceptions, which had been confiscated during previous persecutions was to be returned.

Even these rights and privileges, which were supposedly guaranteed by treaty and edict, were not enjoyed in their fullness by the missionaries. Canton remained closed to foreigners many years after the signing of the Treaty of Nanking. Chinese converts did not enjoy a full tolerance in the interior. The return of property had been only partially carried out.

Valuable as these rights and privileges were, as compared to the conditions which existed prior to 1842, still the missionaries of all denominations prayed for fuller freedom. Even as the missionaries in 1842 looked forward with eagerness to the signing of the treaty of Nanking, hoping and praying that the doors of China would open to them, so the missionaries of this period regarded the treaties of Tientsin. The missionaries at Shanghai and Ningpo addressed Lord Elgin on the subject of toleration clauses for the treaty he was to sign. In reply Lord Elgin pointed out the dangers and difficulties connected with the proposal of forcing toleration of Christianity from and by a government which was ignorant of its first precepts.

While the foreign ministers were still

The Russian article at Canton, they sent letters containing

15. ibid., p. 649.
their proposals to the Emperor. The letter of the Russian minister was unique in that it mentioned the desirability of allowing all natives to embrace Christianity if they so desired. The Chinese officials were acquainted with the work of the Russian mission in Peking and knew the priests to be quiet, industrious men who had never caused friction. The officials were doubtless willing enough to grant further privileges to these priests.

One June 12, 1858, the Russian treaty was signed. Article VIII of this treaty called upon China, "not to persecute its Christian subjects for the exercise of the duties of their religion." This article also gave permission to a fixed number of priests to travel in the interior for evangelizing purposes, provided they had passports. Under the most-favored-nation clause these privileges belonged to all nations having treaty relations with China. The fact that the other treaties included a like clause only strengthened the position of the missionaries.

The American minister, the Hon. W.B. Reed, had for his interpreters and advisers S. Wells Williams and W.A. P. Martin. The Rev. E.C. Bridgman also assisted to some extent in the negotiations, although he had no official connection with the mission. Mr. Reed was rather indifferent to the toleration clause. The fact that the American treaty finally contained this provision is due to the perseverance and diplomacy of Williams and Martin. The story of how the toleration clause was written into the American treaty is hereewith given in some detail.

Under date of May 15, 1858, Mr. Reed wrote:

"Mr. Martin presented an almanac to the prefect of Chau, at an interview the other day. He

16. Ibid.
17. See Appendix 12.
began to look it over, and coming to the 10th commandment expressed his admiration at such an injunction, and then wondered why the English did not observe its requirement, instead of coveting the lands and towns of China."

"He begged us to circulate many such doctrines among the English to lead them to act more in conformity with these doctrines. At a suitable moment he again referred to the little volume, quoting the 6th commandment against the English, alleging that they could not be Christians, for they killed the Chinese with opium merely for gain."

Under date of May 19, Mr. Reed describes a meeting with the Chinese officials regarding the stipulations of the treaty.

"Some of the articles of our draft were passed without objection, those relating to toleration (of Christianity in China) and the payment of claims were copied off to show the Commissioner."

The above mentioned meetings took place before the British and French had taken military action. Following the capture of the Chinese forts and the occupation of Tientsin, commissioners arrived from Peking with full power to deal directly with the foreigners. The Chinese dealt with the foreign ministers separately. The American envoy's turn came on Monday, June 7th. Regarding that historic meeting Wells Williams writes:

"Never again in the history of nations can functionaries to whom were confided the settlement of questions of so great moment, be brought together in such honest ignorance of the other's intentions, fears, and wishes."

The Chinese were given a draft of the conditions which the American minister wished to be included in the treaty. This draft contained the toleration clause which had been drawn up by Williams and modeled after the clause which the Russian minister had formulated.

Upon his return to America, Mr. Reed is reported to have stated that this matter of the toleration of Christianity...
"was brought forward and encouraged by the Chinese themselves" and "if the representatives of the Chinese government had not urged it, there is no probability that such clauses would have been inserted". It is difficult to harmonize such statements with the detailed accounts of the negotiations which are given to us by both Williams and Martin.

Writing from New Haven, Connecticut under date of September 12, 1878, Williams distinctly denies this:

"The toleration of Christianity was not brought forward by the Chinese commissioners in any shape, for it was a point upon which they were wholly ignorant as a religious question. The Russian minister was the first to formulate an article on this subject, and in the discussion which ensued as to his draft of a treaty presented to the Chinese officials, they are said to have expressed their willingness to allow missionaries to travel through the country, inasmuch as these could usually speak the language; they opposed a like permission to merchants, who could not do so, as this ignorance was sure to breed trouble."

In another letter Williams corrected another false impression:

"The charge that the toleration clauses were 'smuggled into the treaty of 1858' is so far from the truth that those who make it can be shown to be either superficial or uncandid. . . . The draft of our treaty being under daily discussion for more than a week before it was signed".

On the 14th or 16th of June, Williams slightly altered the wording of the Russian article. The Russian article stated that a fixed number of missionaries might enter the country. Instead of 'a fixed number', Williams changed it to read 'missionaries of the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches', thus making the article wider in its application. He also made a few other minor changes in the wording which did not alter the essential meaning.

On June 16th, the Chinese deputies acknowledged to the Americans that the Emperor had "intended to interdict such measures."

the propagation of Christianity" but that out of regard for the wishes of the four foreign powers, he would not do so. The fact is that the Emperor and those about him had not become more tolerant. China had been defeated in battle and could therefore not do otherwise than sign on the dotted line.

June 18th was the day set for the signing of the American treaty. On the evening before, the Chinese commissioners sent a message to Williams and Martin in which they rejected in decided terms the American draft of the toleration clause. They objected on the grounds that the Protestants had some missionaries in China who were married and had families. The Chinese felt that it would be unwise to permit these missionaries to travel into the interior with their families. Therefore, while willing to grant toleration to the natives, they felt that the missionaries themselves should be confined to the treaty-ports.

Mr. Reed was informed of the objection. He sent back word that he would rather omit the article altogether than change it. Both Williams and Martin were greatly perturbed. Williams wrote in his diary:

"A grievous disappointment to me to see the truth likely to be utterly ignored in this treaty." The two men spent a sleepless night. They debated the merits of possible changes. They knew that they could not rely on Mr. Reed, for the American minister had told them:

"Now, Gentlemen, if you can get your article in — all right! But, with or without it, I intend to sign on the 18th of June."

On the morning of the 18th, Williams informed Martin that "a new form had occurred to him which he thought would

26. ibid.
27. ibid.
prove acceptable." The Chinese had objected to the phrase "missionaries of the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches". In the new form suggested by Williams, nothing was said about missionaries. Instead these words were used: "whoever, according to these tenets. . . ."

When this draft was submitted to Reed he changed the word 'whoever' to 'any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who'. His reason for this change was that he desired the treaty to make special mention of United States citizens. The change was agreeable to Williams and Martin, who felt that it was an improvement over the suggested change that Williams had made.

Williams sent a copy of the revised article to the Chinese commissioners before breakfast. At 9:30 the reply came. It was not hopeful.

"Permission for Christians meeting for worship and the distribution of books was erased, while the words 'open ports' were inserted in such a connection that it was rendered illegal for any one, native or otherwise, to profess Christianity anywhere else. The design was merely to restrict missionaries to the ports, but the effect would be detrimental in the highest degree to the natives."

Immediately upon receipt of this reply, Williams and Martin called their chairs and proceeded to the residence of the Chinese commissioners to make their appeal in person.

"Our amendment was handed to Chang, who began to cavil at it, but he was promptly told that he must take it to the Commissioners for approval, as it stood, since this was the form we were decided on. Our labor and anxiety were all repaid and ended by his return in a few moments announcing Kweiliang's assent to the article as it now stands in the treaty."

On June 18th the American treaty was signed with its toleration clause. In his journal under that date Williams wrote:

"After coming so near to losing all of this out of our treaty and being dependent upon the English, French, and Russian for such an important matter, I
was joyful at this conclusion. I think the Chinese rather expected to tire us out, and Mr. Reed was determined not to postpone the signing, even if the clause was wholly omitted.

In a letter written from New Haven, twenty years later, 33 Williams states:

"It must be said, moreover, that if the Chinese had at all comprehended what was involved in these four toleration articles, they would never have signed one of them. In the Chinese Repository you will find a partial toleration of our religion by the Emperor Taokwang, but this was only a rescript and did not carry with it the weight of a treaty, and during the fourteen years which had intervened since its promulgation it had pretty much lost its effect.

"I could never ascertain who had a hand in causing the rejection of the first form of the article, but think it was someone connected with the French legation." 34

Martin, in his account of the negotiations, states that the Chinese commissioners were fearful that the toleration clauses might be made 'the pretext for political interference'. He further stated:

"The men charged with the negotiations of 1858 were either in sympathy with the cause of missions, or of mental breadth to perceive that no settlement could be satisfactory that would leave them to the caprice of emperors or mandarins. It was a sublime spectacle—the great powers of the earth sinking their differences of creed, and joining their shields to protect the church of Christ."

In the account of the negotiations which Mr. Reed sent to his government special mention was made of the fact that the toleration clause mentioned both the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. This was necessary, he explained, because in the Chinese language different terms are used. Protestants are called the 'religion of Jesus Christ', while the Catholics are called the 'religion of the Lord of Heaven'. Mention was made of both to avoid any possibility of quibbling on the part of the Chinese.

33. Ibid. 271.
34. Martin, op. cit., p. 441.
The British treaty was signed on June 26th while the French was signed on June 27th. The British were the only ones who were not dependent upon missionaries as interpreters. They had the services of Harry Parkes, the nephew of Gutzlaff, who was a British consul at Hongkong. It is interesting to note that at this time there were no American merchants who could speak Chinese and but one British merchant.

It is to be doubted whether the British treaty would have included the toleration clause had not the American treaty been signed with such an article previously. The clause in the British treaty is a slightly abbreviated copy of the American clause. A critic, who is many times unfriendly to missions, writes of this:

"Yet absolutely no thought was bestowed on the subject; the explosive was imported with less ceremony than is bestowed on a bale of long cloth, and left to spread accordingly to its own laws in the living tissue into which it was injected. So far at least as the English treaty was concerned, we have it on the authority of the actual negotiator that the Christian clause was an after-thought 'shoved in' at the last moment."

"While this treaty introduced trade regulations, nothing was said about regulating the missionary."

The French were determined that their treaty should have the toleration clause, since they had taken military action to seek redress for the murder of a French Catholic missionary. The French article called for the "effective protection" of missionaries. It also made special mention of the abrogation of all previous anti-Christian edicts. A supplemental article called for the punishment of the murders of Pere Chapdelaine.

On the whole there was general reaction of the missionaries rejoicing among all of the

35. Williams, op. cit., p. 274.
37. See Appendix No. 12 for copies of the English and French articles.
missionaries when the terms of the four treaties of Tientsin became known. The important part that the missionaries had in the negotiations in all of the treaties except the English was generally admitted. The inclusion of the toleration clauses was considered to be an answer to prayer, as Bridgman wrote:

"The prayers of some now bowing before the throne above, and of many still bearing the heat and burden of the day, are answered. A wide breach has been made in the wall of exclusiveness which so long interposed a formidable barrier between the heralds of salvation and the perishing millions of this empire. Henceforth, no jealous official or prejudiced populace will have the right to say to the advancing tide of gospel truth: 'This far shalt thou come and no farther'."

Upon Williams' return to Shanghai, he addressed the Protestant missionaries assembled there on the evening of July 16th. In modern times we find many missionaries speaking out against the toleration clauses. However, when these were adopted there seems to have been no dissenting voice among the missionaries. Some were even disappointed because more had not been gained.

Williams writes of his meeting with the Shanghai missionaries:

"I made known, as well as I could, to all the missionaries who had assembled by special call of Dr. Bridgman, the real extent of the liberty granted by the late treaties to the practice and preaching of Christianity. The article on toleration contained in the treaty with each nation was read, and the purport of their provisions taken as a whole explained, as fully as could be from my own recollections of our discussions in Tientsin. The clear evening had brought a great number to hear me, but I fear there was as much disappointment as gratification, for the hopes of every one had been raised to an undue and exaggerated height by the rumors which preceded us."

The British missionaries were quick to recognize the special and important part that S. Wells Williams had in

the negotiations, and the indebtedness of the English article to the American article. The Bishop of Hongkong wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in which he said:

"It is right that the friends of Christian missions on both sides of the Atlantic should know how much they are preeminently indebted for the Christian element in the wording of the treaties to the hearty zeal, sympathy, and cooperation of his Excellancy, William B. Reed, ably seconded by his secretary of legation and interpreter, Dr. Williams and Rev. W. A. P. Martin."

From the writings of Williams and Martin we see that the Bishop overestimated the 'zeal, sympathy, and cooperation' of Mr. Reed.

When Williams resigned his work at Peking, the American Secretary of State wrote to him, saying in part:

"The Christian world will not forget that to you more than to any other man is due the insertion in our treaty with China of the liberal provision for the toleration of the Christian Religion."

Martin suggests that perhaps one reason why the Chinese so readily accepted the toleration clauses was that they feared that should they not do so the foreign powers would ally themselves with the T'ai P'ings. Certainly, this is true, the principle of religious toleration was accepted by China not because China was convinced regarding the justice of such a policy, but rather through fear of the foreign powers. Perhaps it could be also said that neither China nor any of the foreign powers was aware of the full implications of the article. From thenceforth religion and politics in China were legally wedded.

The Chinese Seek to Evade the Treaty Stipulations.

At the time the treaties of Tientsin were signed, it was agreed that ratifications would be exchanged in Peking.
the following year. However when the time came the Chinese suggested that ratifications be exchanged at Shanghai, Kwelilang or Hwashana. All four powers refused to consider this suggestion.

Harry Parkes was of the opinion that the attitude of the Chinese government on this matter was due to the vacillating attitude of the English government in regard to the question of residence at Peking. At the time of the signing of the treaty, Lord Elgin had insisted that the right be granted to the British minister to reside at Peking. The Chinese were most reluctant to grant this but finally did so.

At the time of the tariff conference which was held in Shanghai in October of 1858, the Chinese again brought up the question of residence in Peking. Lord Elgin was found to be less insistent upon this point. He even wrote to his government advising leniency. He suggested that if the Chinese receive the British Ambassador at Peking the next year, and if all other points of the treaty were carried out, then it might be expedient for the British representative to live elsewhere than at Peking.

Of this Parkes writes:

"Lord Elgin, in his ignorance of the Chinese character, was completely duped. . . He committed the fatal blunder of retreating from the position of the treaty".

From this concession the Chinese took courage. When Frederick Bruce, the brother of Lord Elgin, arrived in China to exchange ratifications, he found the Chinese putting every possible obstacle in the way of his approach to Peking.

The envoys of the four powers proceeded to the mouth

43. Lane-Poole, "The Life of Sir Harry Parkes", Vol. I; p. 310.
of the Pei Ho. The Chinese, seeing the determination of the foreigners, then suggested that the envoys land at Pehtang, which was ten miles up the coast, and proceed overland to Peking. Fearful of any sign of a compromise, the envoys insisted upon proceeding to Peking along the regular route. They felt that any compromise would place them in the position of suppliants.

On June 20, 1859, Mr. Bruce and British and French minister, arrived at Taku with a considerable naval escort. The British had nine gunboats. Upon their arrival they found that the Chinese had barred entrance to the river by staking the channel and by constructing a boom. The Chinese had learned a lesson from 1856. Their forts were strengthened and the gunners given lessons in marksmanship.

The allies expected the same degree of futile resistance which they had encountered before. To their great chagrin and surprise their attack on the forts was repulsed. Three of the British vessels were sunk and others disabled. Out of a total force of 1300 British and French, the casualties in killed or wounded were 464 British and 14 French. It seems quite well established that the Chinese fired first, but only after the allies had attempted to remove the barrier in the river.

Following the British and French The American treaty ratified defeat, the allies were obliged to withdraw and await reinforcements which came out the next year. However instead of waiting, the American minister, Hon. J.R. Ward, decided to go overland to Peking from Pehtang. This he did, having Dr. Martin along as his interpreter. Ward desired an imperial audience, but this
was denied him when he refused to promise to kowtow. Ward said that he knelt only to God and women. While in Peking, Ward was subjected to much surveillance and humiliation. When the British captured the summer palace the year following, they found some state papers in which Ward was called a 'tribute-bearer'. In response to the idea that the President of the United States be considered an equal of the Emperor of China, the Emperor in a rescript noted that such was "an arrogation of greatness which is simply ridiculous". Because of such attitudes on the part of the Chinese, Ward was obliged to return to Peking where ratifications were exchanged on August 15th. By this act toleration of Christianity officially became the law of the land.

The Chinese Fail to Observe the Toleration Clause.

Even though the American treaty with its toleration clause was ratified, the old attitude of suspicion and hostility toward the Christian cause on the part of the government remained unchanged.

Two incidents of intolerance on the part of the Chinese, Ward was obliged to return to Peking, where ratifications were exchanged on August 15th. By this act toleration of Christianity officially became the law of the land.

The North China Herald under date of February 11, 1860 printed a letter of the Rev. W.A.P. Martin in which he told of two cases in which the Chinese ignored the toleration clause. The first incident mentioned took place during the early part of December, 1859, at Hangchow. Two Chinese colporteurs who were sent by American missionaries in Ningpo to work in Hangchow were arrested and charged with the 'gratuitous distribution of religious books' and were ordered to leave the city at once. The American missionaries appealed to the Governor of the Province, who did nothing.

47. See Appendix No. 13 for a copy of the official order.
Of this incident, Mr. Martin wrote:

"The fact is, the magistrate had acted under instructions from the Governor; and the Governor, fresh from Peking, had doubtless entered on his office with instructions direct from the Court as to the treatment of the new religion which was beginning to show itself at important points in the province to which he was appointed. The evangelists were expelled; and the effect of their ejectment from so conspicuous a station, in frustrating the attempts of the native Christians to obtain a footing in subordinate prefectures and districts, may be readily conjectured."

The second infraction of the toleration clause mentioned by Mr. Martin took place at Amoy. The English missionaries there in a letter dated December 31, 1859, told of the action taken against one of the Chinese elders, who was also the chief native preacher, in the court of the district mandarin, "ostensibly on other pretexts, but really because of his Christianity". Even though the missionaries were English, still it was maintained that the infraction was "not on this account the less a violation of the pledge given in the American Treaty."

Mr. Martin also referred to two memorials which were presented to the throne after the four treaties of 1858 were signed. These were received with great favor by the Emperor and were widely circulated. They evidently expressed the Emperor's views on the subject of toleration.

One of the writers, Yin Shan-yung, a high Chinese functionary, received an important promotion after he submitted his memorial.

The following words taken from his memorial reveal the evasive and insincere attitude of the Chinese:

"The Imperial Counsellors offer the excuse that they only mean to allow them to carry on trade and propagate their religion for the present, until our warlike arrangements are completed, and then we can commence (hostile) operations. . . . As to the propagation of their religion, its object is to
unsettle the public mind, and secretly effect a revolution. If such were not the case, they would be satisfied with practising the faith in their own country. They bestow charity upon the poor as a stratagem for winning the hearts of the people. These rebellious barbarians, in swallowing up the lesser foreign Powers, have always made use of these agencies."

The second memorialist also expresses his suspicions regarding the missionaries.

"The Christian religion is utterly subversive of good morals. They made use of the false doctrines of Jesus to poison the minds of the simple; and employ Chinese gold and silver to corrupt the hearts of the intelligent. And at this rate, in a few years, the whole population will embrace the false religion of Jesus. Will not the people of China then become the tools of the barbarians? and then where will the mischief end?"

In the light of such evidence Martin was frankly much concerned over the issues involved. At the time of the signing of the treaties he had felt that a new spirit had become infused into the Chinese government. Now he felt that the signing of the treaties with the toleration clauses was nothing more than a political expedient granted merely for the sake of gaining time. He came to this conviction:

"No stipulation of the Chinese Government is to be relied on further than foreign power can be brought to enforce its fulfillment."

In regard to the toleration of Christianity, this meant that military and naval force must stand behind the missionaries as they went forth to preach a gospel of love.

Frederick W.A. Bruce, the British minister, sent this information to his home government. He made special mention of the incident that occurred at Amoy as illustrating a type of persecution which could always be used by the Chinese against the Christians and which would be most difficult, if not impossible, to check.

50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
A month later Bruce sent another anti-Christian proclamation to his home government which had been issued in Kiangsi province the October previous. The proclamation referred to some natives who had recanted and had proved their sincerity by treading upon a wooden cross.

In all fairness to the Chinese authorities, it should be remembered that these proclamations were issued at a time when the authorities were fearful of the T'ai P'ings. As we shall see later the T'ai P'ings were closely linked with the Christian religion. It was, therefore, very easy for the Chinese imperial authorities to identify Christianity with rebellion. In the fall of 1859 Chekiang and Kiangsi provinces felt the ravages of the T'ai P'ing hordes, and the year following suffered even more severely. The proclamations previously referred to made frequent reference to the rebels. This shows that the officials were partly moved to interdict the Christian religion because of their fear of what they thought would be its political consequences.

On the other hand we cannot escape the fact that the Chinese government was evasive and insincere. The opinion expressed by Martin to the effect that the foreign powers could count on nothing from China unless backed by force was a conviction shared by many others.

Renewal of Hostilities.

The request for reinforcements which the British and French representatives in China sent to their home governments brought out in 1860 some 12,000 men from Great Britain and some 7,000 from France. In addition to these troops the allies had 2,500 Cantonese coolies who rendered valuable services as laborers. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros
were appointed plenipotentiaries. The naval vessels with the transports arrived off the coast near Taku at the end of July, 1860.

Instead of attacking the Taku forts from the sea, as the Chinese expected, the allies landed troops on August 1st at Pehtang, and marched across the country, taking the forts from the rear. This manoeuvre greatly disconcerted the Chinese who, nevertheless, fought bravely. The allied casualties amounted to 341. The Chinese suffered four to five times as many. Tientsin was occupied on the 25th of August. Chinese commissioners arrived who professed themselves eager to negotiate with Lord Elgin and Baron Gros. The foreign envoys insisted upon going to Peking.

In the march to Peking, Harry Parkes was captured, on September 18th, by treachery. With him were Mr. Loch, Lord Elgin's private secretary, four officers or gentlemen, and a guard of twenty English soldiers and thirteen French, all of whom were captured. They had visited the Chinese lines under the white flag of truce in order to make arrangements for further negotiations. The Chinese felt that Mr. Parkes had much more authority than in reality he possessed. They had an exaggerated idea of his importance and felt that with him in their hands they could force the foreigners to talk peace. Parkes, however, steadfastly refused to let his capture embarrass Lord Elgin in any degree whatsoever. The allied armies pressed on toward Peking.

At this time we hear of Yi, the concubine of Emperor Hsien Feng, who afterwards became the Empress Dowager and was known as Tzu Hsi or by the nickname, Old Buddha. Concubine Yi had urged the Emperor to remain in Peking.

52. Lane-Poole, op. cit., P. 368.
"as his presence there could not fail to awe the barbarians."
She had also urged the execution of the prisoners, including Parkes. As the allies approached closer and closer to Peking, the officials became more and more alarmed. Finally the Emperor with his court fled to Jehol, leaving Prince Kung, the brother of the Emperor and the leader of the moderate party in Peking to deal with the foreigners. Prince Kung, then only twenty-eight years old, was the only responsible official left in Peking when the foreigners secured control of the city.

On October 5th, the allied troops occupied the summer palace known as the Yuan Ming Yuan palace. As they entered on one side, Concubine Yi, the most courageous one of the whole court, withdrew on the other. She stayed as long as it was possible to stay. On October 7th, Lord Elgin again demanded the release of the prisoners, threatening to storm the city if they were not delivered. On the next day they were released. Only eleven British prisoners, including Parkes, returned, and five French. Each told terrible tales of the cruelty inflicted by the Chinese. It was later learned that they were released just a few minutes before an order arrived from the Emperor ordering the immediate execution of all of the prisoners.

In retaliation for such treatment as was accorded the prisoners, Lord Elgin decided on the destruction of the beautiful summer palace, which was one of the Emperor's favorite residences. In coming to this decision Lord Elgin was desirous of inflicting a punishment which would be apparent to the whole Empire and yet would be directed especially against the Emperor. The palace grounds were extensive, covering an area of eight or ten miles in extent

53. Bland and Backhouse, "China under the Empress Dowager", p. 16
54. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 358, Vol. I.
and containing some two hundred buildings. To have burnt
the whole city would have inflicted punishment upon the
poor and irresponsible. By burning the palace the punishment
was placed where it was felt it would be the most effective.
So on the 18th and 19th of October the palace was destroyed.

Hardly had the smoke from the smouldering ruins died
down, before Lord Elgin received from Prince Kung full
acceptance of all the demands of the allies.

The Conventions of Peking.

On October 24, 1860, Lord Elgin for Great Britain and
Prince Kung for China signed a Convention of Friendship.
The treaty of Tientsin was ratified. In addition the
following points, among others, were granted by the Chinese:
(1) The payment of an indemnity of 8,000,000 taels, one
half of which amount was called for in the treaty of 1858;
(2) that Kowloon should be ceded to Great Britain to become
part of Hongkong, and (3) that Tientsin should become a
treaty port.

Arrangements were also made to establish a residence
at Peking for the British minister. Nevertheless, Lord
Elgin was obliged to leave China a second time without having
had an interview with the Emperor.

The French Convention was signed on

The French Convention October 25th and it is especially
important for our study, for it granted further rights to the
Christian missionaries. In this agreement the privileges
granted by the imperial rescript of 1846 were repeated. It
specified that:

“such churches, schools, cemeteries, lands, and
buildings as were owned on former occasions by
persecuted Christians, shall be paid for, and the
money handed to the French representative at Peking,

For an account of an eye witness see McChesey's "How We
Got to Pekin", p. 269. He speaks regretfully of the
destruction of the palace but calls it a "stern but
just necessity". See Leavenworth, "The Arrow War", p. 196;
for attitude of the French, Baron Gros felt that the
destruction was an act of useless vengeance.

See Appendix No. 14.
for transmission to the Christians in the localities concerned."

This provision gave rise to an endless amount of friction, as shall be seen later.

At the end of the Chinese copy of this convention, there appeared a sentence which did not appear in the French version, which was the official version. The English translation of this Chinese sentence is as follows:

"It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings at pleasure."

The credit for the writing of this spurious clause into the Chinese version of the treaty goes to M. Delamarre, a member of the Mission Étrangères, who served as interpreter for Baron Gros. Thus through the cleverness of a Roman Catholic missionary, a spurious clause granting a most important privilege, was introduced into the Chinese version unknown to Baron Gros. The toleration clauses had said nothing about the buying or renting of property in the interior. Without this right the Roman Catholics felt that their effectiveness was very much limited. The Protestants had virtually no work in the interior at this time and hence were not so eager to secure such a privilege.

Much has been written about this spurious clause. Some conflicting testimony is available in regard to its effectiveness. Among those who believe that the spurious clause was used to forward the mission cause are the following: Dr. Hawkes Pott, president of St. John's University, Shanghai, writes:

"Although it was illegal, yet it was often appealed to as granting special privileges to missionaries, and became the basis for further demands. It was never distinctly repudiated by the
Chinese authorities, and the right to residence in the interior became confirmed by long usage."

Michie states that the French "took full advantage of this pious fraud." He writes of this clause saying that it was:

"more than condoned by missionaries of all nations and sects, whose legal title to residence in the interior of China, distant from all authority, rests solely on the interpolated French clause, the benefit of which accrues to them under the most-favoured-nation privilege."

On the other hand we find authorities declaring that the clause was never an important factor in the missionary program. Chester Holcombe writes:

"The trickery was unnecessary and harmless of results, as the French Minister promptly notified the Tsung Li Yamen that no advantage would be taken of the interpolated clause."

Parker declares that the British Ministers have always declined to avail themselves of the provisions supposedly granted by the spurious clause. However, we find evidence in a letter written by Sir Rutherford, the British Minister, to his home government under date of September 11, 1868, that the British did not suspect the existence of the interpolation. Sir Rutherford writes:

"It does not seem that any new clause of a Treaty is required to give British Missionaries the right they seek of purchasing land, and residing in all parts of the country. Article VI of the French treaty is perfectly clear on that point, and what is acquired as a right for French missionaries, is equally acquired by the favored nation clause, for the British, as I have recently had occasion to remind the Foreign Board."

As far as the Chinese were concerned, they do not appear to have suspected the existence of the fraud for several years. The exact time is a matter of debate. In 1864, Li Hung Chang, governor of Kiangsi, had imprisoned a Chinese upon the charge of selling land to Mgr. Delaplace,

60. Holcombe, "The Real Chinese Question", p. 199. Holcombe served as interpreter from 1868 to 1876, then secretary of the U.S. Legation, and then was Acting Minister.
vicar-apostolic of Chekiang. The land was sold in the town of Kuiti. Li claimed that the foreigners could only secure land in the open ports. This incident seems to indicate that Governor Li had no faith in the Chinese version of the French Convention.

On the other hand, Wellington Koo states:

"It appears that for nearly a decade after the convention was concluded the clause was understood and viewed in the same light as the remaining provisions of the compact, --without betraying the least suspicion as to its authenticity or conclusiveness."

Koo is inclined to believe that the Chinese did not discover the fraud until early in 1869. Even after becoming aware of the fraud, the Chinese government is accused of never taking any steps to expose it or disallow it. However, this may have been due to the fact that the Berthamay Convention of 1865 made legal this very point. If, therefore, the Chinese Government discovered the fraud of the Convention of 1860 after 1865, nothing was to be gained by attacking the spurious clause.

The spurious clause had no effect upon the Protestant work. Smith declares:

"Contrary to the common representations on the subject, it may be said to have had no relation at all to Protestant missionary residence in the interior."

Up to 1865 the Protestants found the treaty-ports absorbing all of their efforts. They had neither resources or missionaries to send into the interior. The China Inland Mission was organized in 1865. Beginning with that date, the Protestants began their work in the provinces. However, by that time, as we shall see, purchase of property and residence in the interior was legal.

As far as the Roman Catholics and the French Government

63. Koo, op. cit., p. 316.
64. Martin, op. cit., p. 441.
65. Smith, "Rex Christus", p. 147.
were concerned, we can believe that Article VI as it stood in the French version, would have given sufficient grounds to justify them in believing that residence in the interior was legal. The article called for the restoration of the property that had been confiscated during previous persecutions. Surely the French could assume that this article granted by implication the right of missionaries to dwell in this restored property, and also to enjoy those privileges of purchasing or renting additional property, which privileges were theirs before the persecutions.

Contemporaneous Events.

Following the example of the four great treaties with other nations who signed the treaties of Tientsin, other nations sought to enter into diplomatic relations with China and secure for themselves the new rights and privileges gained. On September 2, 1861, Germany signed her treaty of Tientsin. This treaty marked the beginning of Germany's part in Eastern affairs. This treaty had an abbreviated form of the toleration clause. Nothing was said in it of Christianity teaching men to be virtuous. As has already been noticed, German societies had begun work in Kwangtung without such treaty protection, but their results had been few, and they were obliged to labor against persistent obstacles.

Three other nations, namely Denmark, Netherlands, and Italy also signed treaties with China, each of which contained a toleration clause. These treaties opened the way for various continental mission bodies to begin operations in China.

On August 13, 1862, China signed a treaty with Portugal at Tientsin which was not ratified until March, 1887. This

66. See Appendix 12.
67. Ibid.
treaty made no reference to missionaries or to Christianity. It contained an article which defined the status of Macao. China was to retain sovereignty, while Portugal was to pay an annual rental to China. Another diplomatic fraud was perpetrated in the writing of this treaty. And again it was by a Roman Catholic missionary who served as the interpreter. It was his duty to draft the different texts and to certify to their identity. Portugal was slow in ratifying the treaty. In the meantime China's attention had been called to the discrepancy between the Chinese and the French versions of the treaty. In the Chinese version, her sovereignty over Macao was plainly recognized. In the French version, which was the authoritative version, China as plainly relinquished all sovereignty. In the end China had to yield. Macao was thereby formally ceded to Portugal when the treaty was ratified in 1887.

An imperial edict was issued in 1860, following the signing of the Peking Conventions, which called upon the local officials to deal fairly in every question of dispute in which Christians were involved. Two years later, Prince Kung, issued a more comprehensive order in which special instructions were given in regard to the taxes which Christian converts were to pay. In general they were to pay the same as did the non-Christians. However, they were to be excused from contributing to the establishment or support of all non-Christian religions. This meant that the native Christians would not have to contribute to the upkeep of the temples in their respective communities. This, in its practical application, brought some antagonism to the Christians, for the burden of supporting the local temples became heavier.

68. Holcombe, "China's Past and Future", p. 120
for the non-Christians.

Following the signing of the Peking Death of the Emperor Conventions, Prince Kung sought to induce the Emperor to return to Peking. In this he was unsuccessful. On August 17, 1861, Emperor Hsien Feng died at Jehol. The Emperor's only son, Tung Chih, then a lad of four or five years, succeeded to the throne. Since the boy was the son of the concubine Yi, it meant that his mother also became a person of note. For several years there were two dowager empresses. The one was the first wife of Hsien Feng who had given no heir to the throne; the second was Yi, later known as Tsu Hsi. Tsu Hsi, because of her forceful personality, soon controlled the situation and for nearly fifty years virtually dominated the political affairs of China. The anti-foreign attitude of the Chinese government during these fifty years was due, in part at least, to the anti-foreign attitude of Tsu Hsi.

One of the results of the treaties and the Tsung- li Yamen—subsequent conventions was the establishment at Peking of a bureau to handle foreign affairs which was known as the Tsung-li Yamen. This board was composed of the heads of the various governmental departments. In 1901, following the Boxer uprising, it was reorganized. The new board was called the Waipupu. Instead of being a minor board, the Waipupu was placed first among the boards of the Central Administration.

The Berthémy Convention On February 20, 1865, the French and Chinese governments entered into an agreement which is known as the Berthémy Convention, in honor of M. Berthémy, the French minister, who was instrumental in having the agreement drawn up and signed.
This convention dealt with the conditions by which Roman Catholic missionaries could secure property in the interior. The necessity for such an agreement arose out of difficulties which were attendant to Roman Catholic efforts to secure property in the interior, perhaps on the strength of the spurious clause of the French Convention of 1860. In 1864, Li Hung Chang, governor of Kiangsu, arrested a Chinese because he had sold land to Mgr. Delaplace, a Catholic missionary. This brought matters to a crisis which finally resulted in the Berthemy Convention.

A secret agreement evidently kept secret for many years. In 1868, Mr. Denby, U.S. minister at Peking wrote to his home government stating that there was no authority in the treaties permitting missionaries to hold land in the interior except near to the treaty-ports. The Protestant missionaries were unaware of the exact terms of the agreement. In fact they seemed to have been in ignorance of the existence of such an agreement until about 1894 or 1895. In 1895, the French secured a revision of the Berthémy Convention. In 1897, the Chinese Government in a communication addressed to the American minister refers to the privileges granted by the convention as belonging to the Americans as well. Thus it appears that the Berthémy Convention remained a secret between the French and Chinese governments for about thirty years.

At the time of the Washington Conference in 1922 a request was sent out to all nations participating that each nation furnish:

"a list of all treaties, conventions, exchange of notes, or other international agreements which they may have had with China, or with any other Power or Powers in relation to China, which they

72. Ibid, p. 316.
deem to be still in force and upon which they may desire to reply."

In the list that France furnished to the Secretary-General of the conference, no mention was made of the Berthemy Convention.

In the spring of 1928, the author of this A copy secured thesis requested permission to have a copy made of the Berthemy Convention of 1865 together with the revision of 1895 from the French Foreign Office through the American Embassy at Paris. The request was granted and the copies secured. It was then learned that the exact wording of these agreements was made public through a French work which appeared in Peking in 1927. Previous to this date only a summary of these agreements was available.

In brief the convention made legal the spurious clause of the French Convention of 1860 by outlining the procedure by which missionaries might secure land for the mission in the interior. The agreement assumed that the missionaries had the right to buy land in the interior. It specified that when the missionaries bought land the seller was to give his name. The property was to become: "a part of the collective property of the Catholic mission of the locality."

It was not necessary to record either the names of the missionaries or the names of the native Christians.

This convention of 1865 settled any doubts, if any existed, in regard to the last sentence of the Chinese version of the convention of 1860. The fact that Li Hung Chang objected to the sale of land in the interior might be considered evidence to prove that China was then acquainted with the fraud. On the other hand, Wellington Koo might be correct in his contention that the Chinese Government knew nothing of the

74. See Appendix 15.
spurious clause until 1869. Surely it is easier to believe that the Berthemy Convention was granted by the Chinese government because it believed that their version of the French Convention of 1860 to be correct, than it is to believe that this Berthemy Convention granted a privilege of such importance in answer to a protest from the French minister. If the Chinese believed the clause to be genuine, then it would have been easy for them to agree to the Berthemy Convention.

Following the signing of the Berthemy Convention the Tsung-li Yamen sent instructions to the various officials in the different provinces concerning the purchase of property by missionaries. In part these instructions state:

"The practice of building churches in the interior dates back from a very early period, missionaries, however, are after all subjects of foreign nations; therefore, if they desire to purchase land for the purpose of building mission chapels thereon, the title deed should only state that land is sold to become the public property of the local Catholic Church. If foreigners, in violation of treaty, attempt to purchase property in the interior for private ownership, this shall continue to be prohibited as heretofore."

Value of the The agreement was of the utmost value agreement to both the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. The Catholics had their major work in the interior. While fully appreciating the value of the privileges granted by the toleration clauses, still they coveted the right to buy and rent property in the interior. We know that during the years 1860 to 1865 the Catholics were pushing into the interior and wherever possible securing land. Undoubtedly most of the missionaries did this in good faith, for we have no evidence to believe that the interpolation in the convention of 1860 was known to any except Father

76. Koo, op. cit., p. 318.
Delamarre who was guilty of making it. The Berthemy Convention settled any questions which may have arisen regarding the legality of the missionaries' buying and renting land in the interior.

As far as the Protestants were concerned, the spurious clause had no effect upon their work, for up to 1865 the Protestants were fully occupied in trying to take advantage of the opportunities which the treaties had opened up to them at the various treaty-ports. The beginning of inland Protestant mission work really begins with the China Inland Mission activities in 1865. They entered the interior, bought and rented land, in entire ignorance that such acts were legal. Regarding this point Mr. Denby wrote in 1888:

"It has been, by custom and toleration, permitted to many foreigners to reside permanently in the interior and to acquire land."

Denby very definitely states that the spurious clause in the convention of 1860 had "never been adopted under the favored-nation clause by any foreign power, not even by France." He felt that residence in the interior was dependent upon the good-will of the authorities.

It is well to remember that, even though the Protestants were ignorant of the legal aspect of residence in the interior, the Chinese government was aware of this. What had been granted to France had to be granted to the other powers, under the favored-nation clause. The boldness with which the Roman Catholics penetrated into the interior undoubtedly inspired the Protestants to do likewise.

Effects of the International Agreements on Mission Work.

In studying the effects of the treaties and conventions on missionary activities one must remember that these effects

were not fully felt until after the period under review (1858 - 1865) was passed. However, even within this period certain signs were evident of the ways in which the treaties and conventions would help or hinder the mission cause.

New rights gained during this period bestowed upon the missionaries many new rights and privileges which were of the utmost importance to missionary activity. There were, first of all, those rights which were shared with their fellow nationals, such as the right of residence in a number of new treaty-ports. Because of the promise of permanency and safety which these treaty-ports held forth, they became the headquarters for districts. Hospitals and educational institutions were established there. During times of civil war or of anti-foreign agitation, these treaty-ports with their foreign concessions or international settlements became havens of refuge.

In addition to these rights enjoyed by all foreigners, the missionaries gained privileges which belonged peculiarly to themselves and to their converts. Religious toleration was guaranteed by treaty. The missionary won the right to travel in the interior under passport, to buy or rent land, and to dwell there. His converts were excused from certain taxes meant for the support of non-Christian religions. By these agreements China bound herself not only to cease being a persecuting agency but to positively suppress persecutions.

These new rights and privileges vastly enlarged the realm of missionary endeavor. Old obstacles were removed and new doors were opened. Statistics tell the story as to
how these new conditions benefited the mission cause, for immediately the number of converts increased.

However, it was one thing to write Difficulties in enforcement to toleration into the treaties; it was another thing to enforce it. Mention has already been made of the incidents which occurred following the ratification of the American Treaty of Tientsin. These incidents suggested that the Chinese Government would evade the issues involved in the toleration clauses whenever and wherever she felt she could safely do so. The difficulties involved in forcing China to observe the toleration clauses brought up some extremely difficult diplomatic problems. The missionary question became the greatest source of anxiety and concern for many a foreign diplomat.

Sir Alcock, one time British minister, said:

"It is only necessary to read carefully the words of the article to be aware that in the whole range of the treaty, from the 1st to the 56th article, there is nothing stipulated or so difficult to secure as the fulfilment in its integrity of this one clause."

Troubles were bound to come. Sometimes they came because of the mistakes of the missionaries; sometimes because of the intolerance of the people and especially of the literati and the officials; and sometimes because of the ignorance of the common people regarding foreigners and their gullibility in believing the wildest rumors concerning the missionaries.

The Roman Catholics had problems that the Protestants had not. The French agreements called for the restitution of property which had been confiscated more than one hundred and twenty-five years previous. The manner and method in which this restitution was carried out aroused

much bitterness against the church. Oftentimes the
property involved had passed through several hands, yet the
last one in possession was obliged to return it to the
Catholic church without receiving any remuneration. In
some cases the Catholics claimed important sites and after
securing possession of them erected thereon great buildings
which towered over the Chinese homes and temples to the
indignation of the people.

In Canton, for instance, the Catholics claimed the site
on which the Governor-general's yamen stood. They
secured possession of the property and erected on it in
1859 a cathedral which cost three million Mexican dollars.
The action of the Roman Catholic clergy there was in the face
of remonstrances from even the French consul. The Chinese
were deeply offended by this.

A similar situation existed in Peking. The Pe Tang
Cathedral was situated on land originally granted to the
Jesuits by Emperor K'ang Hsi, July 4, 1693. The Jesuits
built on that site, receiving aid for the building from both
the Emperor of China and Louis XIV of France. In 1727,
when the persecutions against Christianity were intense and
wide-spread, the cathedral was destroyed. Following the
1860 Convention, China turned the grounds over to the
French, the Lazarists taking possession. A new cathedral
was erected, the corner stone of which was laid on May 1st,
1865, by the French minister, M. Berthemy. At that time he
is reported to have declared:

"C'est la France qui la pose, malheur à qui
y touchera."

The location of the site, which was under the very
walls of the forbidden city, and the knowledge that the

foreigners would erect a building which would be taller than the palace buildings, gave the Chinese officials much concern. They did all that was within their power to prevent the erection of the new cathedral upon that spot. They offered other sites which were refused by the French. After its erection, the Empress-Dowager found it very obnoxious and sought to have it removed. In 1874 the Tsungli Yamen sought to purchase the site. Both the French Government, which considered itself to be the real owner of the land, and the missionaries refused.

After many years of troublesome negotiations, Li Hung Chang finally succeeded in gaining control of the site for China. The final agreement was signed December 14th, 1887. A new site was given for the old. The Chinese Government was also obliged to pay 400,000 taels toward the construction of a new building. The obstinate attitude of the French in this matter bred much dislike and distrust in the hearts of the Chinese toward them. The Chinese suspected that the missionaries were political and military spies in the service of the French Government.

There also began in this period and continued with increasing frequency up until the Boxer uprising the cases of interference in the law courts by missionaries. In this the Catholic missionaries were much more active than were the Protestants. Frequently when a native convert was obliged to appear in court, the missionary would appear in his behalf and advance the plea that the convert was being persecuted on account of his faith. These cases, justifiable or not, became one of the underlying causes for the Boxer uprising. Of this Williams writes:

"The difficulty of convincing the converts that

82. Michie, op. cit., Chapter XXVII, p. 336.
84. Williams, "Life of Williams", p. 275.
the degree of toleration does not release them from their allegiance to their own rulers has been increased of late years by a kind of semi-protection claimed by K.C. priests."

The Protestants were not faced with the problems involved in the restitution of property, since they had none that had been confiscated. However, they were faced with this same problem of protecting their converts from persecution. Some of the Protestant missionaries felt obliged to interfere in the Chinese courts or appear before Chinese officials for the sake of the enforcement of the toleration clauses.

Such a case occurred in Foochow in 1861, where at that time the native Christians were subjected to considerable persecution. Their houses were spoiled; their rice fields laid waste, their property destroyed; and they were even denied use of the public wells. Their churches and places of worship were desecrated. When the missionaries interfered, the persecutions ceased.

Similar conditions existed at Swatow and at Amoy. Burns, one of the pioneer Protestant missionaries, described what took place at Amoy as follows:

"A formal representation was made to the Chinese authorities, through the British consul, who himself took up the case very cordially, and threatened that, if immediate justice were not done, he would report the case to Peking. This produced the desired result."

As a result, the "Christians secured restoration of stolen property, indemnity, and freedom to worship."

Mr. Burns made a trip to Peking in 1863 to see Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister, in regard to securing a greater degree of immunity for the Chinese Christians. He sought to "obtain the same recognition of the civil rights of Protestants that the Roman Catholics had."

36. Ibid., p. 503.
37. Ibid., p. 513.
There were other cases in which Protestant missionaries intervened on behalf of their converts; and there were probably other Protestant missionaries who were as firm in the belief that such intervention was necessary as was the Rev. Wm. C. Burns. However, on the whole, the Protestants were more reluctant to appeal than were the Roman Catholics.

There were grave disadvantages which were connected with interference in law cases by missionaries. Sometimes the Chinese would enter the church for the purpose of obtaining missionary aid in purely personal affairs. The convert would make it appear that the real trouble was hostility to the Christian religion. This would appeal to the inexperienced missionary. It was not long before many of the Protestant workers were aware of these abuses.

One wrote:

"In nine cases out of ten the real truth is, that the so-called convert being now associated with a movement which seems in his eyes a vigorous and promising one, has presumed on the strength of this allegiance to pay off some of his old grudges or to carry matters with a high hand towards those of whom he had been formerly in fear."

The Protestants experienced some difficulty in securing sites in the new treaty ports. The missionaries who reached Tientsin in 1860 were obliged to secure the aid of S. Wells Williams, then in the service of the U.S. Government, Williams purchased property in his name which the missionaries used. In the same year some missionaries from the Southern Baptist Convention settled at Chefoo. There were two families; one family settled at Chefoo, the other family went to Tengchow. The gentry at Tengchow were opposed to missionaries' securing property. They feared that too much kindness on their part would quickly bring other foreigners. In 1863 another family arrived.

A mob was formed at the instigation of the gentry to prevent the family taking possession of a house which had been rented through a Chinese agent. But for the presence and influence of the U.S. consul, matters might have taken a serious turn. The consul was able to impress upon the gentry the meaning of the treaty rights. After that incident, it was not so difficult to secure property at Chefoo.

In Peking, also, the missionaries found it difficult to secure property. Dr. Lockhart reached Peking in September, 1861, and took up residence with the British minister, Frederick Bruce, at the British Legation. Soon afterwards he secured a house for himself. Under date of November 16, 1862, Williams wrote:

"In Peking I have been able to get a house under such circumstances that the two missionaries whom I left in it are secure of a residence at least, and can invite anyone to meet them there and explain to them the things of the Kingdom of Heaven."

In 1865 Dr. Lockhart secured the use of a Buddhist temple in Peking, which was straightway converted into a Christian hospital.

At Formosa the missionaries were unable to secure a foothold, even with the assistance of the British consul. They were obliged to withdraw for the time being. From such evidence as has been given above, it is clear that the enforcement of the toleration clauses was dependent upon the exercise of constant pressure on the Chinese officials by the officials of the foreign governments.

Surely no one can question the fact that during the days of its weakness, the Christian church was sheltered and protected by the toleration clauses. However, in these days that are so

89. Williams, "Life of Williams" p. 341.
definitely marked with the spirit of nationalism, many Protestant missionaries are wondering whether the disadvantages of such protection have not outweighed the advantages. The Christian religion became more entangled than ever with things foreign. The Kingdom of Heaven seemed to have been identified with some of the kingdoms of earth. The Christian religion is a universal religion, and yet, with powerful nations standing ever ready to secure the observance of the toleration clauses, if need be by force, one can see how the Chinese would look upon Christianity as being a foreign faith.

Notice how some of those who lived and labored during those days analyzed the situation. Holcombe wrote:

"Christianity is objected to, not so much because it is Christianity, as because it is a Western religion. And those who preach it are objectionable to the Chinese, not as preachers of a new faith, but as foreigners."

Gibson declared:

"In the eyes of the Chinese Government the Christian religion has never been wholly dissociated from the hostile and, in their view, immoral action of the British Government."

The Chinese were not always discerning enough to separate the motives and deeds of the Christian missionary from those of the foreign governments or of the foreign traders. The stigma of the opium trade and of the slave trade, together with the destruction of the beautiful summer palace in 1860, was fastened upon the missionary. One missionary reported being driven from a city in Honan by a mob led by one of the gentry. As the missionary was led out of the city, one of the gentry cried out after him:

"You have burned our palace. You have killed our Emperor. You sell poison to the people, and now..."

92. British State Papers, 1870, LXIX, Correspondence regarding China.
you come professing to teach us virtue."

The missionaries were convinced that most of the opposition of the Chinese to the Christian faith was due to this identification of the missionaries with sins and mistakes of foreign governments and foreign traders. As shall be seen later, there were those, including Sir Alcock, who disagreed with this diagnosis of the situation. Many of the officials felt that much of the opposition was due to the mistakes of the missionaries or to the Christian religion itself.

Roman Catholic gains

The first opening of China came in 1842; the second in 1858. The treaties and agreements of 1858 and 1860 gave a tremendous impetus to mission work in China for both the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. New workers were sent out. An ever increasing sum of money was spent annually for property. Converts were being counted by the hundreds, where previously they had been counted by the score. Under the new treaty provisions the missionaries began to realize an unexpected success.

The Roman Catholic force in China practically doubled in the twenty years 1846 to 1866. The number of converts increased some 33,000. However, this increase was more noticeable in the period following this under review. This is, as would be expected, for it would take some time for the new workers to get into their work and for the new conditions to bring forth results.

In 1850, the Catholics sent eight Sisters of Mercy to Shanghai. They were evidently the first women workers to be sent to China by the Roman Catholic church. On March 25, 1855, a school for girls was opened in the district of Mongdam, near Shanghai. It was known as the Convent of our

93. See Appendix 2.
blessed Mother, and met with great success.

Protestant gains of most of this period, 1858 - 1865, had a negative effect upon missionary activities. On the whole, the missionaries were able to carry on without much interruption in the port-cities opened by the treaty of 1842. These five port-cities were located in four of the coast provinces, namely Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, and Hingan.

The treaties of Tientsin opened up port-cities in the provinces of Shantung, Chihli, and Hupeh, besides Manchuria, Formosa, and Hainan. Thus by treaty seven out of the eighteen provinces had been opened for missionary occupation, besides Manchuria, Formosa, and Hainan. Most of these provinces were sea coast provinces. It is interesting to note that the strongest missionary work today is to be found in those provinces which were first opened.

By 1860 there were fourteen residential centers occupied by Protestant workers. Nearly all of these were in the treaty-ports or near-by. As soon as possible after the signing of the treaties of Tientsin, the Protestants occupied the new ports which were opened. In some cases the missionaries settled in these treaty ports before a foreign consul was present, as for instance the Southern Baptist at Chefoo.

In 1861, Griffith John went to Hankow. Wuchang and Hanyang were occupied in 1864. These three cities are called the Wuhan cities. They are near to one another and form a great commercial and industrial center in the heart of China. The other ports on the Yangtze were not occupied until after 1865, after the suppression of the Tai P'ings.

Turning to the treaty-ports opened by the treaty of Nanking, we learn that conditions in the country round about Shanghai and Ningpo were most favorable for itinerating work. Griffith John of the L.M.S. wrote before the ratification of the American treaty of Tientsin:

"I lived for some time with my family at Ping-po (Bing-oo) a city distant from Shanghai about seventy miles. Mr. and Mrs. Williamson took up their abode at Sung-Klong, a city thirty miles distant from Shanghai, about the same time. These, I believe, were the first two cities taken possession of by missionaries and their families in the interior."

Griffith John is mistaken in the last part of this quotation. Missionaries of the Basel mission had resided as long as nine months in the interior of Kwangtung province as early as 1853.

In 1859, the Rev. J.S. Burdon, afterwards Bishop of Hongkong, and the Rev. and Mrs. J.L. Nevius went to Hangchow. They found lodgings in two temples on Chin-hwang hill. After the repulse of the British and French at the mouth of the Pei-ho in June of that year, the attitude of the Chinese changed. Mr. and Mrs. Nevius returned to Shanghai. Burdon stayed until November 28th and then also returned. It was in the fall of this year that the officials at Hangchow forced some Chinese colporteurs to leave the city.

In the south around Canton, we hear of Messrs. Vrooman and Galliard making tours into the Huang Shan district and up the West river as far as Tak Ming. This was beyond the thirty-mile limit. They were the only missionaries at Canton who had exceeded this limit. This they did as early as 1856.

With greater boldness the missionaries were pushing into the interior. In 1856 the Rev. W.C. Burns and the Rev. Hudson Taylor made an itinerating trip in Chekiang

97. Ibid.
province inland from Ningpo. By 1859, Presbyterian missionaries at Ningpo had established three outstations in that vicinity. They report that by that year regular missionary itineration in the vicinity of Ningpo was possible.

In the same year missionaries of the M.E. church (North) started an out-station in a village fifteen miles north of Foochow. For fourteen years mission work had been restricted to the city-limits of Foochow.

No finer example of the quick reaction to political conditions could be found than is to be found in the events of 1859. Following the signing of the treaties of Tientsin, the officials were more friendly to the missionaries and more willing to permit them to itinerate into the interior.

In October, 1858, Griffith John and William Muirhead took a three-hundred-mile trip from Shanghai up the Grand Canal as far as the Yellow River. They have recorded how they were received courteously all along the route. Ten miles beyond Soco-chow, at Hutz Gwan, was a custom-house which marked the limit of foreign travel before the treaties of Tientsin were signed. The officials were very strict there. On this particular journey the two missionaries were allowed to pass that point without question. "Thus" wrote Griffith John "what would have been impossible two years ago, was accomplished with the most perfect ease at this time."

At times, on this trip, the Mandarins even provided the missionaries with a guard of soldiers. This friendly condition continued until the British and the French were repulsed at Pei-ho on June 25, 1859. That event marked a change in the attitude of the Chinese to the missionaries.

99 John, op. cit., p. 85.
Reference has already been made to the changed attitude of the officials at Hangchow because of this repulse of foreign forces. The gates of Soochow were closed to the missionaries. In the early part of 1860, Griffith John and Edkins visited that city but were refused admittance. Griffith John explains how easy it was for missionaries to raise a tumult merely by means of an unguarded word or deed.

Then, when the foreign forces captured Peking, the attitude of the Chinese changed again to that of friendliness and courtesy.

Following the signing of the Peking conventions the missionaries found itinerating in the interior easier than ever before. The central and northern parts of China were always more friendly to the foreigner than was the southern part. Yet, because of the foreign military success, itineration became possible even in the south. In the early sixties the Rev. and Mrs. Nathan Sites of Foochow were able to take long itinerating trips into the country. Missionaries from Foochow began to itinerate in the Hingwa district, which is on the seacoast about halfway between Foochow and Amoy, in 1860. Later the Methodist developed a flourishing work there.

The C.M.S. report that in the Foochow district work was confined to the city until 1864. In that year and in the following other large nearby cities were occupied by native evangelists. Much hostility was met with, and at one time, in 1864, a popular outbreak threatened to destroy their mission.

Further south, we learn that in 1860 Mr. Winnes of the Basel mission made a three-hundred-mile journey inland.
The Protestants and the spurious clause

Roman Catholics in particular have received much criticism because of the spurious clause in the Chinese version of the French Convention of Peking. As far as the Protestant work was concerned, we can find no connection between the spurious clause and their work. For years the Protestants were not aware of the existence of the clause. Even after they did know of its existence, we do not hear of their pleading its application.

By 1865, according to the Berthemy convention, the rental or purchase of property in the interior was made legal. However, the Protestants were unaware of the exact wording of this document until recent years. The year 1865 marks the beginning of the China Inland Mission. That mission took the lead in sending its workers into the interior to settle. The Protestants rented and purchased land in the interior on the strength of the argument that what was allowed to the Roman Catholics would likewise be permitted to them. They also relied upon the goodwill of the people.

Previous to 1865, we find that there are but isolated instances of Protestants' securing property in the interior. These few cases had no connection with the spurious clause in the Convention of Peking.

By 1847 the various Protestant reinforcements had sent out a total of one hundred and twelve missionaries to China. By 1859, this total had been increased to two hundred and fourteen. In other words, during twelve years nearly as many new workers had been sent out as in the previous forty years. These figures speak of the impetus given the mission work in China by the treaty of Nanking.

104. MacGillivray, op. cit., Appendix II, quoting from Dean, "China Missions."
Out of the list of those who had been sent out by the year 1859 we notice that twenty-eight were doctors, of whom eleven were also ordained, five were printers, and one hundred and fifty-four were married. In the list of the married men we find that nineteen had married the second time and four the third time. The strain of living amidst unsanitary conditions in a trying climate fell the hardest upon the women. The statistics which tell of the death of so many missionary wives speak for themselves.

The second opening of China furnished additional inspiration to the Protestant churches in the home lands. The boards which were already represented in China sent out reinforcements. At least three new boards began work during the period under review. They were the Baptist Missionary Society, 1859; the English Methodist New Connexion Mission Society, 1860; and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which began work in Manchuria in 1865. By 1867, a total of three hundred and thirty-eight missionaries had been sent out to China, of which number one hundred and twenty-four were on the field. This meant an increase of one hundred and twenty-four workers in eight years. The average span of a missionary's ministry in China was about seven and a half years.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, which sent out Mr. Lay in 1836, who returned in 1839, was stirred to new effort. In 1860, it sent out Mr. Alexander Wylie. In 1863, the National Bible Society of Scotland began work.

Even as the missionaries had congregated at Hongkong near the close of the first Anglo-Chinese war, waiting to take advantage of the new opportunities, so we hear of more than a hundred missionaries who were 'penned up' in

105. Ibid. p. 214.
106. In the foreign cemetery at Ningpo lies buried the Rev. E.C. Lord, who was married six times. Near his grave are the graves of four of his wives, Jemima d. 1869; Lucy d. 1876; Freeslove A., d. 1860; and F. B. Lightfoot, d. 1887. The other two are buried elsewhere.

Shanghai in the fall of 1860, waiting for the final declaration of peace.

By 1922, there were more women missionaries in China than men, provided we include the wives of the men as well as the single women. Thirty percent of the total force were single women. When the wives were included, then the women outnumbered the men by a ratio of three to two.

However, in the pioneer days it was very difficult for women to live. Improved sanitary conditions; the building of missionary residences; and the greater ease with which foreign supplies could be secured, together with the greater safety assured by the new treaties and agreements, made it possible for women to go out to China in ever increasing numbers after 1860.

Referring to the early conditions the Rev. R.H. Graves wrote:

"In former times we all lived in Chinese houses and had very few of the varieties of food we now have. There was no condensed milk, no tinned goods. Foreign flour and butter were not easily obtained. I have gone for years without butter; pork and rice being the substitute for bread and butter. Nearly every summer we had deaths in the missionary circle."

Eleven single women missionaries are reported to have gone out to China previous to 1860. Some of these married missionaries and remained in China as married women. With the establishment of foreign concessions and the general improvement in living conditions, the Protestant boards felt free to send out more unmarried women. These women were able to do certain types of missionary work much more effectively than men, such as primary work and nursing.

The China Inland Mission sent out many unmarried women. Whereas there were but two single women working

111. See Appendix 3.
in China as missionaries in 1856, by 1877 there were sixty-three. By 1890, the number had grown to 361; while in 1907 there were 1,038.

The ability to use single-women workers was one of the indirect results of the treaties and agreements made with China. Mention should be made of the fact that it was contrary to Chinese ideas of propriety for single women to live in China and so publicly engage in their work. It took some time to overcome this prejudice.

The first Chinese Bible-woman was employed in 1863, and in the same year public meetings for Chinese women were begun.

And what were the results of the Protestant efforts for this period? The new opportunities with the reinforcements received brought more converts. In 1853 only 350 converts were reported. By 1865 the number had grown to 2,000.

Work was difficult and discouraging. The Presbyterian Church of England reported in 1863 that as a result of ten years' labor at Amoy together with the Dutch Reformed Church, only forty six adult converts had been won. Too short a time had elapsed for any noticeable results of the treaties of 1858 and the agreements of 1860 to show in the above figures. These converts were won largely as a result of the rights and privileges secured under the treaty of 1842 and the agreements immediately following.

These were the days of small beginnings. The first Protestant church at Foochow was organized in October 19, 1857, under the care of the A.B.C.F.M., with six members. On October 5, 1862, the Tengchow Baptist church was organized with eight charter members under the direction of the Southern

Baptist Convention. It is believed that this church was the first Protestant church to be organized north of Shanghai.

The first Christian Chinese to pay the supreme price for his faith, -- referring now to the Protestants --, was Ch'ea Kin Kwang, who was put to death, after being fearfully tortured, in the fall of 1861. He refused to recant. His story is interesting because it throws some light upon the problem of enforcing the toleration clauses.

Ch'ea lived in Kwangtung province about one hundred miles from Hongkong. He became interested in Christianity by reading a copy of the New Testament given to him by a colporteur. In 1856 or 1857, he was baptised at Hongkong by Dr. Legge, who was impressed by his deep earnestness. Entirely on his own initiative and without financial aid from the missionaries, Ch'ea returned to his own village of Pok-lo and was instrumental in the conversion of many. In 1861, Legge and Chalmers, to Ch'ea's great joy, visited the village and found a very flourishing work. The following year persecutions broke out over the question of the erection of a church. Ch'ea and others were obliged to flee to Hongkong.

Dr. Legge took up the matter with Sir Harry Parkes, the consul. Parkes then referred the matter to the Viceroy, who appointed an officer to accompany Dr. Legge to go to the village to settle the matter. They started in October, 1861. The local officials heard of their coming and met them with the purchase-deed of the house in question all made out and officially stamped. While the government itself was willing to settle the question in favor of the Christians, still it was unable to control the lawless bands in the vicinity. After the officials had departed, one of these bands came.

carried off Ch'ea Kin Kwang, and killed him. This first Protestant Chinese martyr belongs among the saints of the church universal.

Two Protestant missionaries also lost their lives during these years. The Rev. H.M. Parker of the American Episcopal Mission and the Rev. Mr. Holmes of the Southern Baptist Mission were killed by robbers near Tengchow in 1861, as they were voluntarily interceding on behalf of the people of Tengchow.

The new outlook for the mission cause in 1865 was brighter than it ever before had been in China. The T'ai P'ing rebellion was over. Improved conditions in China meant increased interest in the homelands. This in turn meant that more workers and more money would be forthcoming. For years the missionaries had prayed for the doors of China to open. Now they were open wide. The missionaries now prayed for resources to match the opportunities.
CHAPTER III
THE T'AI P'ING REBELLION
1850 -- 1865

Geography are the political and religious strands of this study were intertwined then in the story of the T'ai P'ing rebellion. This rebellion can be ranked as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, mass conflict that history records, if such judgments are to be the number of lives involved, and the blue it lasted. The rebellion is a story of our special study because of Christianity's influence upon the movement and vice versa.

PART TWO
1842 -- 1927

CHAPTER III
THE T'AI P'ING REBELLION
1850 -- 1865

Roughly speaking, the rebellion covered

Extent of the rebellion: a period of fifteen years, 1850 -- 1865.
Beginning in the south around Canton, it swept north some two thousand miles to within a short distance of Peking. It was a blight upon nine great provinces which was not thrown off until comparatively recent times. Even to this day extensive rains caused by the T'ai P'ings can be seen in such cities as Foochow and Hankow, seventy-five years after they were caused. Wells Williams writes of it:

"Their presence was an unmitigated scourge, attended by nothing but disaster from beginning to end, without the least effort on their part to rebuild what had been destroyed, to protect what was left, or to repay what was stolen. Wild beasts roamed at large over the land after their departure, and made their dens in the deserted towns; the peasant's whistle resounded where the hum of busy populations had ceased, and weeds or jungle covered the ground once tillage by patient industry. Besides millions upon millions of tents irrecoverably lost and destroyed, and the misery, sickness, and starvation which were endured by the survivors, it has been estimated

1. Wells Williams, "Middle Kingdom". Vol. II, Ed. 368. 11.
CHAPTER III

THE T'AI P'ING REBELLION

1850 - 1865

Nowhere are the political and religious strands of this study more intertwined than in the story of the T'ai P'ing rebellion. This rebellion can be ranked as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, armed conflict that history records, if our standards of judgment are to be the number of lives lost, the area devastated, and the time it lasted. The rebellion is worthy of our special study because of Christianity's influence upon the movement and vice versa.

Roughly speaking, the rebellion covered a period of fifteen years, 1850 - 1865. Beginning in the south around Canton, it swept north some two thousand miles to within a short distance of Peking. It cast a blight upon nine great provinces which was not thrown off until comparatively recent times. Even to this day extensive ruins caused by the T'ai P'ings can be seen in such cities as Soochow and Nanking, seventy-five years after they were caused. Wells Williams writes of it:

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by foreigners living at Shanghai, that, during the whole period from 1851 to 1865, fully twenty millions of human beings were destroyed in connection with the Tai-p'ing rebellion.

If this estimate is true, then the T'ai P'ing rebellion was nearly as destructive of human life as the recent World War.

It is interesting to note the remarkable parallel that can be drawn between the T'ai P'ing rebellion and the modern Nationalist movement in China. Both began in the south around Canton. Then they swept north toward Peking. Both aimed at the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. The Nationalist movement claims that it failed to realize its full objective in 1912 and so in 1926 and the following years it had to complete the task begun by the revolution. Both movements made Nanking the capital. In the days of the recent trouble in China, there was some talk of the Nationalists' erecting a monument in Nanking to the great T'ai P'ing leader, Hung Hsia-ch'uan.

Certainly the influence of Christian teachings has been felt in both movements. In the T'ai P'ing movement, it was a misguided influence based upon a limited understanding of Christian truth. In the more recent movement, we find such men as Sun Yat Sen, a Christian, taking the lead. When a Chinese official who held a high position in the republican government, was asked, shortly after the establishment of the republic, when the revolution began, he replied by saying that it started when Robert Morrison landed at Canton in 1807. Surely the teachings of Christianity and particularly the interpretation as given by the Protestants were incompatible with the corruption and even the form of government which existed under the Manchus. To educate

and enlighten were but to plant the seeds of discontent. Pouring Christian truth into China was pouring new wine into old wine-skins. The inevitable happened. Perhaps some of the objection to the Christian missionaries on the part of the intelligentsia and the officials can be traced to a dim understanding on their part of this inherent conflict between the old order and the new ideas.

The causes for the rebellion were many, wide-spread, and varied. To begin with, there was the first Anglo-Chinese war, which had left an indelible effect upon the country. It had revealed the weakness of the old Chinese military system. One contemporary authority states that the war showed that the Chinese army was composed of 'men of straw', and that the revelation of the weakness of the Chinese military system was "one of the predisposing causes of the great Taiping rebellion". Following the war, many of the disbanded soldiers drifted into the T'ai Ping ranks. The war, too, had cost China much money. Even before these added burdens, the Chinese officials had had difficulty in collecting sufficient funds to run the government. The additional burden caused additional unrest.

Another factor which contributed toward the rapid rise of the rebellion was the existence in the southern provinces of a number of secret societies which were dedicated to the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and to the re-establishment of the Mings. The most prominent among these societies was the Triad society, or the Society of Heaven and Earth.

Mention should be made of the dissolute character of the reign of Emperor T'ao Kuang. Because of the difficulty in raising the necessary taxes, the authorities had resorted to the sale of public offices and titles. The

currency was debased. During the years 1846 and 1847, parts of the provinces of Hunan and Kwangsi suffered crop failures. This gave rise to robber-bands which often had followers that numbered into the thousands. In defense other sections of the country organized bands to fight off the bandits. The T'ai P'ings grew out of such volunteer bands in Kwangsi. In addition to bandit bands within the country, pirate-bands thronged along the coast. Before all of these the government was more or less helpless. Foreign observers, before the insurrection began, were prophesying the fall of the Manchu dynasty.

In 1850, Tao Kwang died and was succeeded by his fourth son, Hsien Feng. The next year, the T'ai P'ings inaugurated their new government and installed two of their leaders as co-rulers. It may be that the death of the emperor at that time suggested to the T'ai P'ings the idea of setting up their claimants for the throne. There was also a report abroad that the T'ai P'ings had with them a descendant of the Mings, and that they were about to proclaim him emperor. This claim would win the support of the Triads.

Another factor accounting for the rapid rise of the T'ai P'ings must be found in the ineffective measures taken by the government to put down the rebellion in its early days. The Chinese system of military control was well adapted for times of peace, but was wholly inadequate to handle such a rebellion as the T'ai P'ings inspired. The military garrisons were widely separated and loosely co-ordinated. In the early days of the rebellion the T'ai P'ings met with no serious resistance from the imperialists.

Moreover, the cruelty of Yeh, Lin, and other officials at Canton drove thousands into the ranks of the T'ai P'ings. Even before the rebellion started, according to one observer, decapitations were daily taking place at Canton. After the rebellion started the officials made frantic efforts to halt the movement. Fishbourne reports that as many as 300 were beheaded in one day at Canton. Of this he writes:

"These all could not possibly be the heads of insurgents, or even the people remotely connected with the movement. It is much more probable that they were the heads of helpless and unoffending people, that were taken off to satisfy the Emperor that Lin, the Viceroy, was making some progress against the insurgents."

Another authority speaks of the fact that more than 700 were beheaded in Canton in the course of the year 1851. "The severity of the mandarins seemed to increase in the same proportion as the extension of the insurrection." Still another writer states that Yeh boasted of having decapitated upwards of 70,000 rebels in one month in the province of Kwangtung alone, and that at a time when the T'ai P'ings were far away on their northward march.

On the other hand, the rebels extended a welcome to all who did not oppose them. Their early moderation and justice won the confidence of the people. Their ranks were swelled by thousands seeking to escape the tyranny of the mandarins.

**Christian Influences on the Rebellion at the Beginning.**

Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, sometimes known as the T'ai-p'ing-wang. He was a native of Hua-hsien, a village not far from Canton. He was born in 1813, being

7. Ibid.
9. Lindsey, "The History of the Ti-p'ing rebellion" Vol. I, p. 95. See also Williams, "Middle Kingdom", Vol. II, p. 604 who states that nearly 100,000 men were executed in fourteen months up to August 1856, in addition to those who committed suicide by official order.
of Hakka blood. In 1833, Hung went to Canton to sit for the
public examinations. There he met Liang A-fah, the first
Chinese to be ordained to the ministry by the Protestants,
who gave Hung nine small volumes entitled "Good Works
Exhorting the Age." These volumes were prepared by Liang
A-fah and contained a brief account of Christian doctrine.
Some sections of the tracts contained nothing more than
whole chapters taken out of the Bible. Hung took the
volumes home and after glancing at their contents laid them
aside. Perhaps he had discovered that they taught a
prescribed doctrine.

Hung did not succeed in securing the coveted honors
in the 1833 examinations. However, his failure does not
necessarily mean that he was a poor student. Not more than
thirty out of at least a thousand who aspired could get the
highest degree of "siu-ts'ai". For the second degree there
might be ten or fifteen thousand competitors, out of which
number only eighty or ninety would be chosen. In 1836 or
1837, Hung went to Canton again to try for honors at the
public examinations, and again he failed.

11. See p. 118 of this thesis.
14. There is considerable confusion among writers on the
T'ai P'ing rebellion regarding this period of Hung's life.
Such authorities as Soothill, "China and the West," p. 199;
Moule, op. cit., p. 27; Hall, op. cit., pp. 35-4; Labourette,
that Hung probably received the Christian tracts while sitting
in his examinations in 1836. Williams, "China, Yesterday and
Today" says that Hung received the tracts in 1837. Hall and
Labourette both declare that Hung tried for honors again in 1837.

The author of this thesis, following such authorities as
Brins Fishbourne, and Wells Williams, assigns the earlier
date as the correct time when Hung received the tracts. A
bit of supporting evidence in favor of 1833 is found in the
fact that Liang A-fah had to flee from Canton in 1834, and
did not return until 1841 or 1842. He was not in Canton in
1835 or 1837, and there is no evidence to show that any other
native evangelist was distributing tracts during that time.
The later date evidently comes from an article written by the
and the Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection," which was written
in 1852. Hamberg quoted Hung Jen as saying that the tracts
had been received about sixteen years previous, or in 1836.
Due to the passing of time Hung Jen could have been mistaken, as,
indeed, Hamberg himself suggests.
Hung was so deeply disappointed over his second failure that his health was affected. He finally succumbed to an illness which continued for about forty days, during which time he had some remarkable visions.

In one of his visions he found himself taken up to heaven in a sedan-chair. After leaving the chair, he was taken to a river by an old woman who said: "Thou dirty man, why hast thou kept company with yonder people and defiled thyself? I must now wash thee clean." After this Hung went with others, among whom he noticed many of the ancient sages, into a large building. There his body was opened with a knife, his heart taken out and a new one put in in its place. As soon as this had been done, the incision healed, leaving no trace of the operation.

Then the company was taken into another large hall, the beauty of which passed description. There Hung saw a venerable old man with a "golden beard, and dressed in a black robe". As soon as this venerable old man saw Hung, he began to weep. He said to Hung: "All human beings in the whole world are produced and sustained by me; they eat my food and wear my clothing, but not a single one among them has a heart to remember and venerate me; what is, however, still worse than that, they take of my gifts and therewith worship demons; they purposely rebel against me and arouse my anger. Do not imitate them."

Hung received a sword and the command to exterminate the demons, but to spare his brothers and sisters. The venerable old man led Hung out of the building to a place where they could behold the earth, and there said: "Behold the people upon the earth! Hundredfold is the perverseness of their hearts!" Hung looked and saw so much depravity

and vice that he turned his eyes away.

During those forty days of illness, Hung had several of these visions. In some of them he met with a man of middle age, whom he called his elder brother. This man gave more detailed instructions as to what Hung was to do. He accompanied Hung in his wanderings in the spirit-world and assisted Hung in the slaying of evil spirits. Hung once heard the venerable old man reprove Confucius for his failure to expound the true doctrine. "Confucius seemed much ashamed and confessed his fault."

His visions are interpreted. When Hung regained his health, he continued his former employment of teaching school in a village about ten miles from his own.

In 1843, Hung tried a third time to win imperial honors through the examinations and the third time he failed. In that same year, though it is not clear whether it was before or after the third failure, Hung was living with his cousin Li (or Le). One day Li, in looking over Hung's books, ran across the Christian tracts which Hung had received at Canton some ten years previously. Li asked regarding their contents. Hung professed ignorance. Li borrowed them, and after reading them was greatly impressed by the new doctrine therein set forth. He induced Hung to read them. Hung did so and was astonished to find in them what he considered to be an interpretation of the extraordinary visions which he had had six or seven years previously. "Hung-sew-tseun felt as if he were awakening from a long dream."

The venerable old man was God. The elder brother was Jesus Christ. The false demons were the idols in the temples and shrines. People were sinning by worshipping these instead.

16. MacNair, "Modern Chinese History", p. 337, states that he tried the third time in 1847.
17. According to one report, Soothill, op. cit., p. 139, Hung visited the Rev. Issacher Roberts, a Baptist missionary in Canton, at this time. The visit belongs to the year 1847.
18. Hall, op. cit., p. 35; Brine, op. cit., 72; Lindsey, op. cit., p. 41; Williams, op. cit., p. 584, state that Li was a brother-in-law. 
of worshipping the only true God. Hung felt that he had been divinely commissioned to destroy these idols and to restore the worship of the one true God. Despite all the varying fortunes of the T'ai P'ing movement, Hung never wavered from this conviction.

Reading in the tracts about baptism and its necessity, and remembering how the old woman had taken him in his vision to the river to be washed, Hung and his cousin baptized each other. They discarded their idols and even removed from their schoolrooms the tablets of Confucius.

Hung experienced a real change of character:

"Persons of vicious habits fled from his presence, but the honest sought his company."

In that same year, 1843, Hung won two First converts, both of whom became influential leaders in the movement. They were Hung Jen, a cousin, and Pung Yun-san, both school teachers.

Hung Jen is one of the most interesting characters that the rebellion produced. He was with Hung on his visit to Canton in 1846 or 1847. He took part in some of the early fighting, was captured, but escaped. He found refuge in a German mission, where he met Mr. Hamburg. He was sent to Hongkong in April, 1852. He returned to the interior and visited Mr. Hamburg again in November of 1853. Upon his repeated requests for baptism, Mr. Hamburg baptized him.

It was during the first visit that Hung Jen gave Hamburg an account of the beginnings of the rebellion. By this time Hung Jen had become separated from the main body of the T'ai P'ings. In 1854, with a small band of followers, he set out for Nanking. Failing to reach his objective, he returned to Hongkong, where he was subsequently employed by members of the L.M.S. as catechist and preacher from 1855 to

22. About June, 1858, Hung Jen started out again for Nanking, disguised as a pedlar. This time he succeeded.

His cousin, Hung Heiu-hsien, then known as the T'ien Wang (or Heavenly King) received him most cordially. Hung Jen was made prime minister and was called the Kan Wang (or Shield King).

Dr. Legge had a high opinion of Hung Jen and had strongly advised him to have nothing to do with the rebels. Hung Jen, however, avowed his intention of joining with the T'ai P'ings at Nanking, declaring that should he succeed, he would do two things. First, he would straighten out their religious errors. Since Hung Jen had had several years experience with the missionaries, he was more qualified to do this than any other Chinese. Secondly, he would try to work out a conciliatory policy toward the foreigners. When installed in power at Nanking, he did make a sincere effort to fulfill these intentions. Had the foreigners been more sympathetic to him and had they co-operated with him, he might have saved the movement from the excesses into which it fell.

Hung Jen was captured when Nanking was taken by the Imperialists in July, 1864. He was sent to Peking, where he was beheaded.

The second influential convert won by Hung Heiu-hsien in 1843 was Fung Yun-san, a man of education, being a graduate of the first degree. Fung was a promoter. He organized the congregation known as the "Society of God-worshippers", out of which came the T'ai P'ings.

In the spring of 1844, Hung and his two converts clashed with the local authorities where they were teaching school over the question of idolatry connected with the
spring lantern festival. As a result they all lost their position as school teachers. Hung Hsiu-ch'\textsuperscript{1}wan and Fung Yun-san set out for the province of Kwangsi to the west, and after travelling some three hundred miles came to the Kwei district in southern Kwangsi, where they tarried in the home of a relative of Hung's by the name of Wang. Within five months their preaching had won them some one hundred converts. Hung then returned to his native village, while Fung went to Thistle Mount near-by, where he continued preaching and winning converts until 1846. It was there that Fung organized the "Society of God-worshippers".

Meanwhile Hung returned to school teaching. At the same time he did considerable writing which was subsequently put forth by the T'ai P'ings. In 1846, word came to him through a Chinese by the name of Moo who visited his village, that a foreigner was preaching in Canton. This foreigner was the Rev. Issacar J. Roberts, a missionary of the American Baptist Board, who had arrived in Canton the year previous. Roberts was not only an evangelist but was also a medical practitioner. Moo was one of his assistants. Moo reported to Mr. Roberts regarding his visit with Hung and Hung Jen, with the result that Roberts invited the two to visit him.

Either in the latter part of 1846 or in the early part of 1847, Hung and Hung Jen went to Canton and lived for about a month in the home of Mr. Roberts.

Hung told Roberts of his visions. Regarding these Roberts writes:

"In giving the account of his visions, he related some things which I confess I was at a loss, and still am, to know where he got them without a more extensive knowledge of the Scriptures. He requested to be baptised, but he left for Kwangsi before we were fully\textsuperscript{25-28}

\textsuperscript{25} Brine, op. cit., p. 75.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., p. 75. Mr. Roberts himself is not clear on this point.
\textsuperscript{27} "Chinese and Japanese Repository," p. 108.
\textsuperscript{28} Brine, op. cit., p. 79, quoting from the "Chinese and General Missionary Examiner," where Robert's account was originally published.
satisfied of his fitness."

If it had not been for the jealousy of two of the assistants of Mr. Roberts, it is quite possible that Hung and Hung Jen would have been baptized and would have received training for native evangelistic work. The two assistants, fearing for their own positions in view of the superior talent which Hung and Hung Jen displayed, advised Hung to apply to Mr. Roberts for a loan or for monthly support. This Hung did, not realizing that the missionary looked with suspicion upon such requests. Mr. Roberts was displeased. Hung therefore left and proceeded to Kwangsi. Hung Jen remained for a time in Canton.

An Outline of Events.

When Hung reached the Kwei district, he learned that Fung had succeeded in winning at Thistle Mount a following of some two thousand who were known as the 'Shang-ti luei', or 'Society of God-worshippers'. The form of worship was rather vague. They were unanimous, however, in their convictions that idols should be destroyed. Upon receiving complaints from an influential resident of the district, Fung was arrested and imprisoned along with another. After eight months or so of confinement, Fung was released. His companion died in prison.

In November of 1846 Hung and Fung met again in their native village. There they remained until July, 1849, when they returned to the Kwei district. There was then no thought of rebelling against the government. So far the movement had been almost exclusively a religious one. While the two leaders were absent, remarkable things were taking

place at Thistle Mount. The converts were going into ecstasy and trances. A new convert by the name of Yang Sin-thin was particularly prominent in these forms of expression. He later became a powerful figure in the movement, becoming the Eastern King.

Hung and Fung rejoined the Society of God-worshippers in August of 1849, and for another year the movement retained its religious character. Early in 1850, Hung sent word to his relatives in Kwangtung to join him in Kwangsi. The people in Kwangtung were suffering from a crop failure. They obeyed his injunctions.

The movement did not assume a political aspect until the fall of 1850, at which time the T'ai Ping rebellion can be said to have really begun. The first clash with the authorities was due to a clan conflict. The Punis and the Hakkas, two tribes of the Kwei district, engaged in a civil war. Fighting began September 28, 1850. The Hakkas, to which tribe Hung belonged, being defeated, fled to the Society of God-worshippers for protection, which was then extended. This protection inspired others who were persecuted to flee to them. The Society of God-worshippers received all who came, on the condition that they subject themselves to the rigid religious discipline imposed by the Society. The Society still continued to destroy idols whenever possible, even when the idols were the private property of other people. The local authorities were urged to take action.

Hung and Fung then felt it best to go into hiding to keep out of the way of the magistrates. The officials, who learned where they were hiding, sent a detachment of
soldiers to get them. At this critical time Yang had a vision in which he received the commission to go and rescue his brethren who were in danger. He raised a force and in the resulting skirmish badly defeated the soldiers. This episode, which took place in about October, 1850, marks the real beginning of the political aspect of the movement. Now the members of the Society of God-worshippers were not only religious enthusiasts—they were also rebels.

The members of the Society cut their queues, which were the symbols of submission to the Manchu dynasty. The revolutionists of 1911-12 did the same thing. The rebels let their hair grow long, a custom which gave rise to the name 'long-haired rebels'. This definitely and openly put a political stamp on the movement.

The first phase of the rebellion was from October, 1850, to the capture of Nanking on March 19, 1853. Following the skirmish in the fall of 1850 with the soldiers, the rebels took possession of the market-town of Lieu-chu in which some of their opponents lived. Soon afterward they evacuated this town and moved to the larger town of Tai-tsun.

On February 1, 1851, the new government inaugurated their new government, calling it 'Taiping Tienteh', or the 'Heavenly Government of Great Peace'. Hung Hsu-hsien and Hung Ta-chuan were installed as co-sovereigns. The former was known as Tienwang, while the latter was called Tienteh. There is a considerable variance of opinion regarding this. Hung Hsu-hsien did not assume for himself the imperial seal until November, 1852. In April of that year, a Tai P'ing chieftain of high rank was captured by the

32: Hail, "Tseng Kuo-fan", p. 43
33: Ibid., see Chapter III for a good review of this question as to who Tienteh was.
imperialists. His capture gave Hung the opportunity of claiming sole sovereign rights. Some authorities believe that this chieftain was Tianteh.

Hung has been described as one "utterly incapable of heading a government." He secured his place of leadership mainly because of his visions and religious claims. The first main organizer was Hung. All through the T'ai P'ing movement, the military success of the rebels depended upon the able leaders who were loyal to Hung and never upon Hung himself.

While the T'ai P'ings were still at Tai-tsun, eight chiefs of the Triad Society signified their desire to join the movement. Hung consented on the condition that they conform to the religious practices. After a little experience with the T'ai P'ings, seven of the eight chiefs withdrew. Later the Triads and the T'ai P'ings were bitter enemies. For a time the Triads succeeded in occupying the native city of Shanghai and the district round about.

The central government awoke slowly to the true nature of the movement. At first the government treated it as a local matter to be suppressed by local troops. From April to August, 1851, the "Peking Gazette" makes frequent mention of the defeats of the insurgents by the imperial troops. In reality, each defeat reported was the escape of the T'ai P'ings from one city to a larger city. And so they gradually worked their way northward.

The T'ai P'ings took their families with them. They lived off the country as they went, a procedure which in part accounts for their constant marching to and fro.

34. Hail, op. cit., p. 61.
35. The "Peking Gazette" was the official bulletin of the government. It mentions the Society of God-worshipers in the issue of August, 1850. Hung is first mentioned in an issue a little more than a year later.
On August 27, 1851, the important city of Yungnan in eastern Kwangsi was taken by the T'ai P'ings. At that time their following numbered about 37,000, out of which number not more than 5,000 composed the fighting force. Their continued success attracted many to their banners. Hung was willing to welcome any and all who would promise to conform to his religious ideas. At Yungnan certain reforms were made in the organization. Five additional 'kings' were made, one for each point of the compass and one at large.

In the spring of 1852 the imperialists attacked the city. If they had been successful in the attack, the T'ai P'ing rebellion would have been crushed there once for all. But the imperialists failed. They did succeed in capturing an important chieftain who was probably Tienteh. This chieftain after his capture was bitter against Hung.

"I longed from the bottom of my heart to hear of his defeat and death, as, but for him, I should have succeeded in seizing the reins of power."

He accused Hung of being addicted to various forms of debauchery. A specific charge was that Hung had thirty-six wives. Later on we hear more of Hung's harem.

On April 7, 1852, the T'ai P'ings broke through the ranks of the besieging imperialists and continued their northward march. They left behind them ruin and desolation, for they plundered all that was in their pathway. Yet, throughout the long march to Nanking, all guilty of murder, rape, and similar crimes were punished by death. The discipline was most rigid. The women were segregated into camps of their own. Those guilty of adultery were beheaded.

Hail quotes the Bishop of Victoria as saying of them:

"With more than Puritanical strictness, they waged an internecine war with the most cherished sensual

36. Hail, op. cit., p. 36. Hail feels that possibly he was a scion of the Hsing dynasty. He was put to death by the slicing process. The body is literally sliced to pieces, thus slowly killing the victim with extreme torture. Hot irons are sometimes applied to stop bleeding.
38. Lindley, op. cit., p. 89.
habits of their countrymen. The ten moral rules of the Decalogue were enforced, and a stricter interpretation attached to its terms."

On May 15, 1852, the rebels besieged Xwellin, the capital of Hunan province. At that time the entire force, counting women and children, was under 10,000. The T'ai P'ings, after besieging the city for a month, were unsuccessful and withdrew. During the summer they proceeded northward, taking numerous smaller cities on their way to Changsha. Early in September they began a two months' siege of Changsha. During this siege the able Fung Yun-san was killed. This siege also was unsuccessful. The T'ai P'ings then began the descent of the Yangtze river by boats. They occupied Hanyang and Hankow on December 23rd and Wooschang on January 16, 1853. These three great cities in the heart of China are known as the Wuhan cities.

On the 6th of February they proceeded down the river toward Nanking. A number of cities were occupied en route. They arrived before Nanking on March 6th with an army of about 80,000 men. Their army had grown as their successes had continued. After an eleven-day siege, Nanking was taken. The Manchu garrison offered practically no resistance. Although they knew that it was the policy of the T'ai P'ings to kill all the Tartars captured, still the Tartars did not fight but fell upon the ground, begging for mercy. Out of the 20,000 Manchus or Tartars, men, women, and children, some of whom were babes in their mothers' arms, all were ruthlessly slaughtered, except about one hundred who managed to escape. The ruins of the destroyed Tartar city can still be seen in Nanking.

For the next eleven years, Nanking remained the capital of the T'ai P'ings. Here Hung as Tienwang, the

Heavenly King, remained in the seclusion of his palace surrounded by his harem, while his generals fought his battles for him against the imperialists.

Proclamations and teachings of the T'ai P'ings.

The teachings and objectives of the T'ai P'ings were a mixture of the political and religious. As long as the Triads were with the T'ai P'ings, one of the objectives was the restoration of the Ming dynasty. When the Triads left, we find that they had no further thought of restoring the Ming dynasty. On the contrary, Hung at Changsha proclaimed himself Emperor. But whether the ideal, politically, was the restoration of the Ming or the establishment of a new dynasty, the movement was always bitterly anti-Manchu. No quarter was ever given to a captured Manchu garrison.

The religious element was the dominant motive which moved Hung. Before the movement developed into a rebellion, Hung and those associated with him, set out to establish a religion which was, to the best of their knowledge, the same as Christianity. From the tracts written by Liang A-fah and from the instruction received from the Rev. Issachar Roberts, all of which seemed to corroborate and explain his visions, Hung grasped such great thoughts as these: the supremancy of one God, the wickedness of worshipping idols, the necessity of practising certain high and noble virtues. With these convictions came another from which Hung never wavered, namely the conviction that he was God's appointed one, divinely commissioned to carry the new faith to the Chinese people. Later on that conviction grew to that of being, not merely God's appointed one, but also God's anointed one, for he placed
himself on the same level as Jesus Christ.

Foreign impressions The foreigners had no contact with the movement or with any of its leaders from the time Hung left Roberts in the latter part of 1846 or in the early part of 1847 until 1853. During this time Roberts lost track of Hung and was considerably surprised to learn that the leader of the rebellion was a former pupil of his.

Reports of the peculiar religious teachings and practices of the T'ai P'ings sifted through to the foreigners. In the July, 1851, issue of the "Chinese Repository", the following statement appears in an editorial:

“There is a very general impression in Canton and its vicinity, that they (i.e. the rebels) are somehow connected with foreigners and with Christianity."

Under date of April 22, 1853, which was shortly after the T'ai P'ings captured Nanjing, Sir George Bonham, the British consul at Shanghai, wrote:

“There is a somewhat strange peculiarity that distinguishes these insurgents. The accounts received from Mr. Meadows describe them as Puritanical and even fanatic. The whole army prays regularly before meals. They punish rape, adultery, and opium smoking with death, and tobacco smoking with the bamboo. The women captured in battle are lodged in separate buildings, as well as the children, who are at the same time clothed and educated."

However, Tartar women were not treated this way. Sir Bonham marvelled at the mixture of Christian teachings in their doctrines, and wondered,

"if there is any real sincerity in their faith, or whether it is not used merely as a political engine of power by the chiefs to sway the minds of those whom they are anxious to attach to their cause."

Sir Bonham decided to visit the T'ai P'ings at Nanjing and investigate at first hand. That visit

41. British State Papers, 1852-3, LXIX "Papers Respecting Civil War in China."
constituted the first contact that western Christians had with the T'ai P'ings. The British consul, his interpreter, T.C. Meadows, and others reached Nanking on the "H.M.S. Hermes" on April 27th. Both the foreigners and the T'ai P'ings were in great ignorance of each other. The British found the T'ai P'ing leaders eager to talk about their faith. Meadows was sent ashore to make preliminary arrangements for an interview between Sir Bonham and the T'ai P'ing chiefs. In that interview with Meadows, one of the T'ai P'ing leaders asked him if the English worshipped the "God Heavenly Father". To this Meadows replied that "the English had done so for eight or nine hundred years." Meadows was then asked if he knew the "Heavenly Rules". The name was not familiar to him, but surmising that they may have been inquiring about the ten commandments, Meadows asked if there were ten such rules. The T'ai P'ing prince answered eagerly in the affirmative. Meadows then began repeating the substance of the first of the ten commandments, but had not proceeded far before the prince laid his hand upon his shoulder in a friendly way and exclaimed: "The same as ourselves! The same as ourselves!

The T'ai P'ing leaders were much impressed by this discovery. One of them asked why the British, who were old enemies of the Manchus, did not aid the T'ai P'ings. Their failure was especially inexplicable to the T'ai P'ings in view of the fact that they acknowledged God and Christ and were therefore brethren in the same faith. Sir Bonham replied that it was the rule of his government not to interfere in the internal struggles of foreign states. Yet a few years later the British did interfere by assisting the imperialists in subduing the T'ai P'ings.
The British secured a number of tracts and pamphlets which were printed and distributed by the T'ai P'ings. These were translated by Mr. Medhurst. These publications show that the T'ai P'ings had a fair understanding of early Jewish history. They refer to the coming of Jesus, to His crucifixion, and of the atonement as an "expiatory sacrifice." They also refer to the resurrection and the ascension. One of the tracts, called the "Trimmetrical Classic" contained the following passage which closely parallels the thought of John 3:16:

"But the great God
Out of pity to mankind,
Sent his first-born son
To come down into the world.

His name is Jesus,
The Lord and Saviour of men,
Who redeems them from sin
By the endurance of extreme misery.

Those who believe will be saved
And ascend up to heaven;
But those who do not believe
Will be the first to be condemned."

The term used for God was 'Shang-ti'. Thus Hung identified the God of the Bible with the Shang-ti of the classics.

Directions were given as to how the candidate was to confess his sins. The T'ai P'ings had a crude understanding of baptism. The candidates were to wash or bathe themselves in the river. The prayer of the recipient of baptism was as follows:

"I -- -- kneeling down with a true heart repent of my sins and pray the Heavenly Father, the Great God, of His abundant mercy, to forgive my former sins of ignorance in repeatedly breaking the divine commandments, earnestly beseeching Him also to grant me repentance and newness of life, that my soul may go to Heaven; while I, from henceforth truly forsake my former ways, abandoning idolatry and all corrupt practices, in obedience to God's commands.

44. Ibid. See also British State Papers, op. cit.
45. Hail, op. cit., p. 94.
46. Fishbourne, op. cit., p. 316."
I also pray that God would give me His Holy Spirit to change my wicked heart, deliver me from all temptation, and grant me His favour and protection, bestowing on me food and rainment, and exemption from calamity, peace in this world and glory in the next, through the mercies of our Saviour and Elder Brother, Jesus who redeemed us from sin. I also pray that God's will may be done on earth as it is done in Heaven. Amen.

Grace was ordered to be said before and after every meal. The following prayer was to be given:

"I pray God our Heavenly Father to bless me, to give me food and rainment, and to exempt me from calamity and sorrow, and to take my soul to heaven."

Ceremonies for marriages and births were given. These ceremonies included sacrifices of "animals, wine, tea, and rice". The idea of sacrifice was somewhat influenced by certain Old Testament teachings on the subject, and also by Buddhist or Confucian ideas as well.

Great emphasis was laid upon the observance of the ten commandments. The T'ai Piing version of these commandments was as follows:

1. Worship the Great God.
2. Do not worship departed spirits.
3. Do not take God's name in vain: His name is Jehovah.
4. On the seventh day is the Sabbath, when you must praise God for His goodness.
5. Honour father and mother.
6. Do not kill or injure people.
7. Do not commit adultery or practice any uncleanness.
8. Do not steal.
9. Do not lie.
10. Do not covet.

Summing up his findings in regard to the teachings of the T'ai Piing tracts, Medhurst said that they contained much that was good. In many places the reasoning was sound; the prayers were good; and he had little objection to the ceremonies outlined with the exception of the sacrifices.

"The statements of the doctrines of depravity, redemption by the blood of Jesus and renewal of the heart by the influence of the Holy Spirit,"
are sufficient to direct any honest inquirer to heaven."

Indeed some of the T'ai P'ing tracts could have been taken over and circulated without change by the missionaries. One of the tracts was a "mere reprint of the first twenty eight chapters of Genesis, Dr. Gutzlaff's version." Another tract was a reprint of an elaborate treatise on the attributes of God, written by Medhurst at Batavia some twenty years previously.

The T'ai P'ing took the ten commandments practices seriously. The first commandment inspired a ruthless iconoclasm. Even the beautiful porcelain pagoda at Nanking, which has been well described by foreigners who saw it before its destruction, was destroyed. The second commandment has reference to the common custom in China of honoring the spirits of the departed, which ceremony borders upon worship, if it is not actually worship. The fourth commandment was taken literally with the result that Saturday was observed as a day of worship. Attendance was required for worship. The leaders were regarded more or less as priests and lead in the worship. The second absence on the part of an official from the great assembly, which was held once a month, was punishable by death. Lindley says that the addresses on these occasions were largely patriotic. Communion was observed once a month, perhaps at these great assemblies. Heavy penalties were meted out to those who did not attend the religious services.

There seems to be unanimous opinion on the part of contemporary foreign observers that a remarkable degree of sobriety and discipline reigned amongst the T'ai P'ings during the first few years. The ten commandments were the

48. Lindley, op. cit., Vol. I, pp 319-321. Lindley lived with the T'ai P'ings for several years as a foreign military adviser and is very sympathetic to them.

basic law of their government. They were read each week at
the religious service. Each new recruit was obliged to
 memorize them within three weeks upon pain of death.

The T'ai P'ings instituted several reforms, among
them being the revision of the calendar. The new calendar
was similar to the western calendar in that it had 366 days.
There were six months with thirty-one days, and six with
thirty. Through this reform all lucky and unlucky days
were automatically abolished. The new calendar meant a
repudiation of old astrology. The year began February 4th
at about the time of the ordinary Chinese New Year festival.

The T'ai P'ings also abolished the terrible custom of
footbinding. They insisted that every single adult woman
be married, no single women were allowed in their territory.
A plebeian T'ai P'ing man was allowed but one wife.
Divorce was unknown. Some of the women were formed into
fighting battalions. These women soldiers sometimes took
part in battle, frequently displaying great bravery. One
observer felt that the status of women was not elevated by
the T'ai P'ings. He claims that:

"women have little else to look for under the
Pretender than to be set to drudgery work,
petrolled as recruits, and quartered as soldiers
in the city."

Unchristian
aspects
which did not receive the approval
or sympathy of the Christian missionaries, especially in
the closing years of the movement. For instance, in one
of the tracts, the Trimotrical Classic, both God and Jesus
were pictured as having heavenly consorts. Here is the
description given of the spouse of Jesus:

"The spouse of his heavenly brother (Jesus) is an
honourable lady, very prudent and thoughtful, and
always advising (her husband) the elder brother to be

50. Hail, op. cit., p. 113.
52. "Edinburgh Review", October 1855, see article on T'ai
P'ings. The article is unsigned but undoubtedly comes
from the pen of W.C. Mills, who in his book, "Life in China",
p. 366 claims authorship.
53. Ibid., pp.356 ff.
particularly cautious in his movements."

This tract was evidently written by Hung.

Another objectionable feature was the fact that while polygamy was not allowed amongst the T'ai P'ings, yet Hung had surrounded himself with a harem. Under date of March 3, 1853, Hung issued a decree in which rules and regulations were given as to the treatment the members of the harem were to receive. The women were to be called 'ladies'. All discussion about them was strictly forbidden.

"No subject is ever to look upon the face of any of the inmates of the harem...for whatsoever glances at the faces of the inmates of the harem shall be beheaded without mercy."

Whatever was said in the harem was not to be repeated outside on penalty of death. The edict closed with these words:

"To keep the harem distinct is the foundation of good government, and honest morals; it is not that we are desirous of making severe restrictions, but we wish to carry out the holy will of our heavenly Father, and celestial Elder Brother (Jesus Christ), in beheading the lewd and sparing the correct."

Probably the most serious objection that the missionaries in particular had to Hung, was his presumptuous and blasphemous claim to be equal to Jesus Christ. When the British visited Nanking in April, 1853, Hung was described to the foreigners as being "The True Lord or Sovereign. The Lord of China is Lord of the whole world; he is the second Son of God and all people in the world must obey and follow him." Hung called himself the Younger Brother and made himself one of the Trinity. There was God the Father, the Elder Brother, (Jesus Christ), and the Younger Brother. Of these claims Milne writes:

"It is impossible to read these assumptions of superhuman power and of divine authority, without feeling that Hung Slutesun deserves to be classed among the grossest fanatics or impostors who have appeared in

54. Ibid., p. 356.
55. Id., p. 373.
the world, and that all attempts to palliate his friends are futile and mistaken."

Hung also claimed the ability of having direct communication with God in a special and distinct manner, and of having the right to universal homage.

One of the tracts maintained that two thousand years earlier the Chinese had worshipped with the foreigners the one true God. One of the Han Emperors "more stupid than the rest" introduced Buddhism. This condition of idol worship continued until:

"God in his displeasure sent his son (i.e. Hung Hsiu-chien) into the world, first to study the classics and then in the Ting gew (i.e. 1837) took him up to heaven, where he instructed him in celestial matters."

Hung was not the only one who assumed titles that we usually ascribe to Deity alone. Yang, King of the East, who was killed in the internal dissensions of 1856, assumed such titles as "Comforter" and "Holy Spirit". These terms he got from Gutzlaff's version of the Bible. When the Americans visited Nanking in 1854 they found that Yang was even putting his name in the Doxology where the name of the Holy Spirit occurs.

The basis of these T'ai P'ing teachings and practices was undoubtedly the Bible. The interpretation of the Bible was often tinted by Confucian or Buddhistic conceptions. As the movement developed, Hung diverted further and further from the Christian conceptions. Undoubtedly he did use the religious aspect of the movement to further his own purposes and to satisfy his own desires. This in the end brought ruin to the whole cause.
Further History of the T'ai P'ings.
1853 - 1865

The capture of Nanking by the T'ai P'ings on March 19th, 1853, really marked a crisis in their program. After that their policy changed. No longer were the T'ai P'ings a migratory horde. Hung made Nanking his capital. He himself withdrew into the seclusion of his palace and gave an ever increasing amount of his time to his harem.

In May of 1853, an expedition was dispatched northward against Peking. This consisted of an army of six or seven thousand fighting men, commanded by one of the inferior chiefs referred to as General Li. Without attempting to keep open a line of communication with Nanking, this small force set out on a most remarkable march of 1,300 or 1,400 miles. Kaifung, the capital of Honan province, was attacked but was not taken. The T'ai P'ings then crossed the Yellow River near that city and continued northward, capturing many cities en route. In September they entered the province of Chihli, in which Peking is situated. On October 30th they attacked Tientsin without success. A force, which included the garrison of Peking, under General Sankolinsin, there succeeded in giving the T'ai P'ings an effectual check. Seven years later this same General tried to stop the foreign allied forces from going to Peking at about the same place but failed.

Following this defeat the T'ai P'ings went into winter quarters, and then in February, 1854, began their retreat. Surely the story of this expedition, small in number, isolated in hostile territory, speaks well for the strength of the T'ai P'ing organization. This General Li,

who is supposed to have been an ex-charcoal seller, was none other than the famous Chung-wang, who captured Soochow and made the attack on Shanghai. He was one of the ablest generals that the T'ai P'ing movement produced.

In 1854 the T'ai P'ing were in the possession of the Yangtze river from Chinkiang to Hankow. The Imperial Government at Peking was continuing its endeavors to suppress the rebellion. The outstanding figure in this endeavor was General Tseng Kuo-feng, who for eleven years waged his fight against the T'ai P'ings. He was seriously handicapped by a lack of funds and by the failure of other Chinese officials to cooperate with him. His total expenses for the eleven years amounted to only 1,300,000 taels, which tells one reason why the rebellion was not suppressed before 1865. To General Tseng more than to any other person, not excluding General Charles Gordon, belongs the credit of suppressing the insurrection.

The outlook for the T'ai P'ings was bright in 1855. The following years saw many conflicts with the Imperial troops. Cities were taken and retaken. Hankow, for example, was the center of fighting on six different occasions during the six months ending in May, 1855. It was then left a heap of ruins. In August, 1856, Yang, King of the East, one of the most powerful of the T'ai P'ing leaders, was killed in an internal dissension. It is reported that he was plotting for the overthrow of Tien-wang.

The year 1858 marked the beginning of the end. During that year and the following Nanking was more or less continuously besieged by the Imperial forces, though

57. Lindsay, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 162.
58. See the new Life of General Tseng by Hail.
60. Brine, op. cit., p. 212.
strange to say, they permitted the T'ai P'ings in Nanking to maintain communication with the T'ai P'ing armies in the field. Sometimes the soldiers of the two sides would fraternize. Meanwhile the center of fighting was shifting from one province to another.

Hung Jen reappears disguised as a pedlar. He came with fresh ideals and had received cooperation from the foreigners he might have redirected the T'ai P'ing policies and thus would have saved the day for them. For four years and more Hung Jen had been associated with missionaries of the E.M.S. mission at Hongkong thereby receiving a training in Christian doctrines which Hung and his companions had not. Hung Jen was eager to correct the mistakes of the T'ai P'ings. Upon his arrival in Nanking, he received a cordial welcome by his cousin Hung and was made second in command. He was then known as the Kan-wang, or Shield King.

Hung Jen instituted a number of reforms, some of which purified the religious practices of the rebels and put new life into their worship. He had the ten commandments and portions of the Sermon on the Mount written out in large characters and posted near the main gates of the city, that all might be acquainted with the laws of the heavenly kingdom. Dr. Legge refers to a report to the effect that Hung Jen kept four hundred printers busy, principally in the production of copies of the Christian scriptures. Numerous tracts were also printed. Kan Wang issued a proclamation which substituted the Bible as the textbook rather than the classics for public examinations.

61. See page 266 of this thesis.
62. Legge, "Life of Legge", p. 94
In 1860, Hung Jen wrote to Mr. Edkins, a missionary, telling of his desire to spread the true religion, and of his feeling of inadequacy for his new responsibilities. Hung Jen referred to Hung Hsui-ch'uan in these words:

"On meeting with his relative, the Celestial King, and having daily conversations with him, he was struck by the wisdom and depth of his teaching, far transcending that of common men."

In May, 1860, the T'ai P'ings, under the capable leadership of their last able general, Chung-wang, captured Soochow. Following that event Hung Jen invited some missionaries to meet with him there. The invitation was accepted by Edkins, John, Magowan, Hall, and possibly one other. This conference was held in August. Under date of August 16, 1860, Griffith John wrote:

"We were all much pleased with Kan-wang. His knowledge of Christian truth is remarkably extensive and correct. He is very anxious to do what he can to introduce pure Christianity among his people and to correct existing errors."

The Edict of Toleration, Nanking, promising to provide them with chapels. Griffith John accepted the invitation and visited Hung Jen in the T'ai P'ing capital. He sought for, and, with the help of the Kan-wang (Hung Jen), secured from the Tien-wang an edict of toleration. This edict was issued in November, 1860, in the name of the Tien-wang's son. This edict promised toleration to both the Protestants and the Roman Catholic missionaries. The edict is a good example of the style used by the T'ai P'ings in their official utterances. We can give Hung Jen most of the credit for such an edict. By the beginning of 1861 the T'ai P'ings were still in a strong position. They

64. Ibid., p. 249.
66. See Appendix 16.
had five armies in the field, including the expedition which had been sent into Szechuen. In 1862 the Imperialists were aided by the forces of Great Britain and France in addition to private individuals from other countries. We can only surmise what would have been the course of recent history in China had the foreigners given their support to the T'ai P'ings rather than to the Imperialists. Certainly, had they done so, the Manchu dynasty would then have come to an end, rather than have lingered on for another fifty years or so.

With the aid of the foreigners, the Imperialists captured Shanghai on January 31, 1863. The conflict between the Imperialists and the T'ai P'ings continued through that year, with the Imperialists gradually winning. In December, Chung-wang succeeded in getting into Nanking. He begged Hung Hsü-ch'uan to remove to Hangai or elsewhere, but Hung refused to go. Hung still firmly believed in the providence of God to the extent that he would not take the means of escape or protection which his generals and advisers urged. The siege of Nanking pressed closer and closer in the spring of 1864. On June 30, 1864, Hung committed suicide. On July 19th, the city fell. The Imperialists in their victory slaughtered at least 100,000.

Chung-wang and the son of Hung escaped but were subsequently captured, and on August 7th beheaded. Before Chung-wang was executed, he was allowed to write his story. These memoirs constitute one of the chief sources of information regarding this movement. It is interesting to note that Chung has very little to say about religion.

67. Hail, op. cit., p. 290
Certain numbers of the T'ai P'ings continued to resist the Imperial forces for a number of months after the fall of Nanking, especially in the southern provinces. However, the movement gradually died out. We hear of a T'ai P'ing victory in Fukien province as late as February 1, 1866.

Foreign Reaction to the Rebellion.

When the British expedition to Nanking of April, 1853, returned with first-hand information regarding the T'ai P'ings, the Christian world was profoundly impressed, especially the Protestants. The Christian cause in China had suffered so much because of the anti-foreign and anti-Christian policies of the Manchu government that when the T'ai P'ings came with their teachings based upon the Christian's Bible, most Protestant missionaries felt that a new day had indeed dawned. For a time it looked as though the T'ai P'ings would be successful and that a Christian ruler would sit upon the throne of China.

The Protestant missionaries at once saw the importance of getting into touch with the T'ai P'ing leaders in order to give intelligent direction to their religious teachings. And likewise, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan felt this same necessity. Shortly after the capture of Nanking, Hung wrote to his old friend and teacher, the Rev. Issacher Roberts, inviting him to come to Nanking. The following is an extract from the letter:

"It is indeed praiseworthy that you have traversed myriads of leagues of ocean to publish the true doctrine of the Redeemer and that you, with all your heart, serve the Lord. I respectfully make known to you that, notwithstanding my unworthiness and incapacity, the Heavenly Father has not cast me off. . . .

In consequence of the multiplicity of public affairs engaging my attention, I have not had leisure to instruct (the people) morning and evening.

69. Brine, op. cit., p. 201.
But I have promulgated the Ten Commandments to the army and to the rest of the population, and have taught them all to pray morning and evening. Still, those who understand the Gospel are not many. Therefore, I deem it right to send the messenger in person to wish you peace, and to request you, my elder brother, if you are not disposed to abandon me, to (come and) bring with you many brethren to help me propagate the Gospel and administer the ordinance of baptism. So shall we obtain the true doctrine. Hereafter, when my enterprise is successfully terminated, I will disseminate the doctrine throughout the whole empire, that all may return to the one Lord, and worship only the true God. This is what my heart desires."

The messenger left Nanking with this letter four or five days after Nanking was captured by the T'ai P'ings but did not reach Canton until May 11th. Roberts made immediate arrangements to go to Nanking, via Shanghai.

Upon his arrival in Shanghai he learned of the difficulties which were before him. Communication between Shanghai and Nanking had been broken. Imperial troops on land and Imperial war vessels on the river effectively blocked the approach of foreigners.

In May, 1853, evidently before Roberts reached Shanghai, Dr. Taylor, an American missionary had made an effort to reach the T'ai P'ings but failed.

In addition to the difficulty of communications, there was the opposition of the American officials. Under date of June 30, 1853, Humphrey Marshall, the American Commissioner, wrote to Roberts saying:

"I should consider your going to Nanking to preach to the followers of Tiente as a violation of the neutrality of the Govt. of the U.S. desires to observe in the pending contest of the Chinese."

However, Roberts disregarded this protest from the American official and together with Dr. Taylor set out for Nanking by water. The two reached Chinkiang but were there turned back by the Imperial fleet.

It was on this trip that Dr. Taylor succeeded in getting in touch with the T'ai P'ings. The Christian tracts which he distributed awakened much interest among the rebels, who declared that since their doctrines were so much alike that they must be brothers. Taylor's observations concerning the doctrines and practices of the T'ai P'ings corresponded with those of Meadows. Grace was said before each meal. Taylor attended their worship and heard them chant the doxology and saw them kneel in prayer, while one led them, praying audibly. He was much impressed. Taylor did not overlook their errors. He objected especially at the T'ai P'ing custom of offering sacrifices to the Trinity.

Two other Protestant missionaries tried to reach Nanking in 1853 but without success. They were W. C. Burns and W. A. P. Martin. In both cases failure was due to the effectiveness of the Imperial blockade.

In April, 1854, the Baptist mission made another effort to render assistance to the T'ai P'ings by sending to Nanking two native Christians. These men succeeded in reaching the city but were unable to do anything in the line of Christian teaching.

Following the British expedition to Nanking in April of 1853, three other foreign expeditions visited that city within a year or so afterward. A French expedition visited Nanking in December, 1853; an American in May of 1854; and a second British in June of 1854. These expeditions gathered new information which greatly affected the attitude of the missionaries to the T'ai P'ings.

73. Martin, "Cycle of Cathay" pp., 129-31.
Two American missionaries, Dr. Bridgman and Mr. Culbertson, accompanied the American expedition which went on the war vessel "Susquehanna." The Americans were given a friendly reception although they, too, found, like the British and the French, that Hung was still making claims of universal sovereignty. The T'ai P'ings informed the Americans that not only should all nations obey and worship the same one true God, but also:

"ought they to bow submissively, and respectfully bring tribute, rare and precious gifts, to their heavenly king, even to Hung Siu-tseun."

This assertion of supremacy reminds us of the traditional Manchu claim of superiority over the barbarians.

It was with difficulty that the T'ai P'ings understood the status of the foreigners in the treaty-ports. Some of the T'ai P'ings felt that the failure of the foreigners to admit the supremacy of the T'ai P'ings meant that they admitted the supremacy of the Manchus. However, the T'ai P'ings usually referred to the foreigners as foreign brethren rather than as foreign barbarians.

The missionaries who accompanied the American expedition discovered that strict discipline was maintained in Nanking. They noticed that the T'ai P'ings were iconoclasts of the strictest order, and while having both the Old and the New Testaments, still they had a very imperfect idea of some doctrines, especially those of the inspiration of the Scriptures and of the Trinity. The use of tobacco was prohibited and the prohibition was effective, likewise the use of opium. The T'ai P'ings practiced a form of communism, in that practically everything was held as common property under the control of the government.

The T'ai P'ings were then engaged in reprinting the Old

76. Meadows, op. cit., pp. 311, ff.
testament from Gutzlaff's version, having proceeded as far as the book of Joshua. The missionaries noted instances of un-Christian claims and practices which checked with previous information.

The American commissioner came to the conclusion that intercourse with the T'ai P'ings could not be established or maintained on terms of equality. This seemed to have been the attitude of the other powers.

Change in missionary opinion missionsaries were wholeheartedly in sympathy with the T'ai P'ings, but these early hopes were clouded by a fuller knowledge of what the T'ai P'ings believed. As early as August, 1853, we find two missionaries, Dr. Ball and Dr. Harper, taking strong sides against the T'ai P'ings. They stood alone among the missionaries in holding this opinion. Dr. Harper even urged foreign interference to put down the rebellion.

The blasphemous claims of Hung did much to alienate favorable opinion. Milne declared:

"(Hung's) imperfect acquaintance with the religion of Jesus is sufficient to counterbalance the frightful pretensions which are unblushingly made throughout his own books and proclamations."

Hail sums up the nature of the T'ai P'ings' belief in these words:

"The Taiping religion contained some that was wrong, little that was Christian, much that was blasphemous, and not a little that could be traced to the mores of a primitive people."

If Hung had been fully sincere in his efforts to propagate Christianity, surely he would have made greater efforts to get missionaries to go to Nanking, and would have more fully co-operated with those who did go.

77. Political Science Quarterly, op. cit., p. 575.
By 1855 most of the English and American missionaries had lost faith in Hung. Following the second British expedition of June, 1854, the foreigners had little or no contacts with the insurgents until after Hung Jen succeeded in reaching Nanking in 1859. New hope in the movement was inspired in the hearts of the missionaries by the presence of Hung Jen. In August, 1860, a conference of T'ai P'ing leaders and Protestant missionaries was held at Soochow. The missionaries then began to feel that perhaps with Hung Jen's help the movement could still be saved.

In August, 1860, immediately following the Soochow conference, J.L. Holmes, an American missionary, succeeded in visiting Nanking. Conditions of overland travel had improved with the capture of Soochow by the T'ai P'ings. Mr. Holmes met members of Hung's family but was not permitted to see Hung himself. Holmes inquired of Chung-wang about the differences between certain Christian doctrines and certain T'ai P'ing doctrines. Chung-wang lightly dismissed the subject by saying that since the Tien-wang came later he was therefore the more authoritative. Holmes returned utterly disillusioned, after having been most sympathetic. He said:

"I found to my sorrow nothing of Christianity but its names, falsely applied, applied to a system of revolting idolatry."

Tien-wang was held to be the Son of God in the same manner as Jesus Christ. Holmes claimed that Hung had one hundred women in his harem. The other kings had only thirty, while other high officials were limited to but two. The common man could have but the one. Holmes claimed that one half of Nanking was then in ruins and that the T'ai P'ings had done little for the welfare of the people or for trade.

80. Brine, op. cit., p. 266. See also British State Papers, 1861, lxvi, on the T'ai P'ing rebellion.
As a result of this first-hand information, many of the Protestant missionaries felt that it would be inadvisable to send missionaries to Nanking, for the policies and teachings of the missionaries would surely clash with the blasphemous claims that Hung was making for himself.

In the fall of 1860 Griffith John visited Nanking and with the help of Hung Jen secured the edict of toleration of which mention has already been made.

Regarding his experience in Nanking John wrote:

"The Chung-wang at Nanking begged me to inform the 'Foreign Brethren' for him, that the following are his views: 'You have had the Gospel for upwards of 1800 years, we only, as it were, eight days. Your knowledge ought to be correct and extensive; ours must necessarily be limited and imperfect. You must therefore bear with us for the present, and we will gradually improve. As for the Gospel, it is one, and must be propagated throughout the world. Let the Foreign Brethren all know that we are determined to uproot idolatry and plant Christianity in its place.'"

In January, 1861, Mr. Muirhead of the L.M.S. went to Nanking on the strength of the edict of toleration. He traveled by way of Soochow, pausing at various points to preach. He was pleased "to see the knowledge and appreciation of the truth that prevailed" among his hearers.

When Muirhead reached Nanking he found Issacher Roberts there. While Hung Jen gave Muirhead a warm welcome, still he advised the missionaries not to come to Nanking to live, for, he said, the city was nothing else than a camp. This seems to have been quite the opposite of what he had said at the Soochow conference a few months earlier. Muirhead was unable to get permission to preach in the country about the city. Hung Jen told of a plan which Hung had in mind of spreading the knowledge of Christianity

82. Brine, op. cit., p. 293.
by native means. All public officers had to submit annually to an examination in the Bible. Only those who were successful were to receive office.

Mr. Muirhead, knowing the Mandarin dialect, was able to do some street preaching, which Mr. Roberts was not. As a result Muirhead noted the favorable response in the minds of his hearers. The common people seemed to have had a rough understanding of some of the cardinal truths of the Christian religion. He looked upon Nanking as a most promising field for missionary endeavor, if favorable conditions for the missionaries could be secured from the authorities.

It was very evident that a change had come over Hung Jen. After associating with his cousin and tasting of the high authority which was his Hung Jen forsook some of his Christian principles. He, too, had a harmo. He naively informed the missionaries that he had baptized his four wives, and also that he had refused to accept two more whom the Celestial King was urging upon him.

Hung Jen was faithful in the daily observance of family worship, both in the morning and in the evening, but as far as the propagation of the Christian faith in Nanking was concerned, Hung Jen discouraged it. As far as the edict of toleration was concerned, it really had little effect. Muirhead returned to Shanghai with the advice that no effort be made by the foreigners to make Nanking a missionary center as long as the T'ai P'ings were there.

The experience of Roberts Of all the Protestant missionaries who had associations with the T'ai P'ings, none had a more interesting experience than the Rev. Issachiher J. Roberts. Upon his arrival in Nanking
near the end of October, 1860, Roberts was treated with
great courtesy by his former pupil, who invested him with
yellow robes and a crown and bestowed upon him the office
of Foreign Secretary of State. Roberts respectfully
decided the office but accepted the robe and crown. As a
result the Europeans who were able to visit Nanking
while he was there saw the spectacle of an American Baptist
missionary being arrayed in a "dirty yellow robe and a
high peaked crown". Undoubtedly Roberts wore these symbols
of honor because he felt that by so doing he could exercise
some influence for good over the Tien-wang.

However, even with the advantage of having had former
associations with Hung, Roberts found himself unable to
accomplish much. Not once during all of his fifteen months
stay in Nanking did he have the privilege of an interview
with Hung, nor was he consulted as to the ways and means
of propagating Christianity.

Finally on January 20, 1862, Roberts left in disgust.
He went on board the "H.M.S. Renard," which was lying in the
river at Nanking. Under date of January 30th he wrote a
letter in which he set forth his reasons for leaving the
T'ai P'ings. He wrote:

"After living among them fifteen months, and
closely observing their proceedings, political,
commercial, and religious, I have turned over entirely
a new leaf, and am now as much opposed to them, for
good reasons, I think, as I ever was in favour of
them. Not that I have sought personally against
Hung-siu-tseun; he has been exceedingly good to me.
But I believe him to be a crazy man, entirely unfit
to rule, without any organized government; nor is he,
with his coolie kings, capable of organizing a
government of equal benefit to the people with even
the old imperial government... His religious toleration,
and multiplicity of chapels, turn out to be a farce,
of no avail in the spread of Christianity—worse than useless.
It only amounts to a machinery for the promotion and spread of
his own political religion, making himself equal with

Jesus Christ, who with God the Father, himself, and his own Son, constitute one Lord over all. Nor is any missionary, who will not believe in his divine appointment to this high equality, and promulgate his political religion accordingly, safe among these rebels, in life, servants, or property. He told me, soon after I arrived, that if I did not believe in him I should perish, like the Jews did for not believing in the Saviour."

Roberts's decision to leave Nanking was inspired by an incident which occurred in his home at the hands of Hung Jen. It seems that Hung Jen had called upon Roberts to punish a servant in the employ of Roberts for some offense. Roberts promised to remonstrate with the servant. Hung Jen's elder brother was dissatisfied and reported to Hung Jen. Evidently in great anger Hung Jen visited Roberts again and took it upon himself to punish the servant. In the letter written January 30th, 1862, Roberts explained:

"Kan-wang (i.e. Hung Jen) moved by his coolie elder brother—literally a coolie at Hongkong—and the devil, without fear of God before his eyes, and with malice aforethought, murdered one of my servants with a large sword in his own hand in my presence, without a moment's warning, or any just cause... And not only so, but he insulted me myself in every possible way."

Later Roberts retracted these words. When it became known that the charge of murder was incorrect, Roberts wrote under date of April 3, 1862, from Hongkong:

"But as to that boy, I have since been told that he evinced indications of life after he was dragged out, by one who saw him. But I think it would have been less cruel in Kan-wang to have smoothly cut off his head than to send him out even half killed, destitute, and naked, to freeze and starve to death."

Lindley, who was in the employ of the T'ai P'ing and very sympathetic to them, claims that Roberts frequently provoked unpleasant discussion in the T'ai P'ing capital by his 'dogmatic obstinacy'. Lindley claims that Roberts did more harm than good at Nanking. Certainly the conduct of Roberts lays him open to criticism and the inconsistency

86. Brine, op. cit., p. 296.
of his statements in regard to the treatment of his servant by Hung Jen makes it necessary for us to closely examine his testimony.

Later attitudes missionaries had lost hope in the T'ai p'ings. The increasing antagonism on the part of the British officials to the T'ai P'ings meant that as far as British missionaries were concerned, no passports were granted or permission given to visit them. In May, 1862, Lindley smuggled the Rev. W. Lobshied into Hankin, who wrote to the *Daily Press* of Hongkong on June 10, 1863, saying that "there was no worship of Taiping-wang". Mr. Lobshied was the last Protestant missionary to have any contact with the T'ai P'ings.

Lindley remained the last foreign defender of the faith and practices of the T'ai P'ings. He writes sympathetically of such practices of the rebels as family prayers; the new status of womanhood; and declares: "I have never found occasion to condemn their form of worship".

When the religious character of the Roman Catholic reaction movement first began to be known, one Roman Catholic writer sought to ascribe to the Roman Catholic church the credit for its Christian teachings. Huc, writing in the early days of the movement, refers to the fact that the Roman Catholics had for a long time distributed tracts which contained a summary of Christian doctrine. This is true, and some of them may have come into the hands of the T'ai P'ings, yet evidence is overwhelming in favor of the claim that the leaders of this movement got their Christian ideas from Protestant sources. Huc comes to this conclusion:

89. Ibid., p. 301.
90. Ibid., p. 306.
"These books (i.e. Roman Catholic tracts) are diffused in great numbers throughout all the provinces, and it is more probable that the Chinese innovators (i.e. the T'ai P'ings) have drawn the ideas in question from these sources than from the Bibles prudently deposited by the Methodists on the sea-shore."

However, it was not long before the Roman Catholics were outspoken in their dislike of the T'ai P'ings. Many writers, including Roman Catholics, have pointed out the similarities between Roman Catholicism and Buddhism. The Virgin Mary with the Babe in her arms bears a remarkable likeness to Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, who also carries a babe. In the iconoclastic practices of the T'ai P'ings the Roman Catholic chapels often suffered desecration along with the Buddhist temples. The T'ai P'ings could not tell the difference between the two.

In the T'ai P'ing attack on Shanghai during August, 1860, a Catholic priest attached to the work at Zikawei, was killed. Regarding the death of this French priest, Chung-wang wrote to the ministers of Great Britain, France, and the United States, explaining how it happened. He claimed that he had given strict orders that no foreigner was to be molested. However, four foreigners were with the Imperial troops who resisted the T'ai P'ing advance and in the conflict one of these was killed. He added:

"However, in order to maintain my good faith, to treat the foreigners well, I caused the soldier who had killed the foreigner to be at once executed, thus keeping my word."

The "North China Herald" under date of August 25, 1860, makes mention of the damaged pictures and statues in the church at Zikawei as the result of the presence of the T'ai P'ings. From such incidents the Roman Catholics felt that should the T'ai P'ings be successful their cause would suffer.

92. See British State Papers, 1861, LXVI, "China & Japan"
Since the French government was so closely linked with the Roman Catholic movement in China, the hostility of the Catholic church to the T'ai P'ings partly, if not wholly, accounts for the readiness of the French government to co-operate with the British in taking active military measures against the T'ai P'ings. In this co-operation the French were even more aggressive than the British.

At first the attitude of the various foreign governments was that of neutrality. Sir George Bonham outlined such a policy for Great Britain upon his return from Nanking in the spring of 1853.

Events in the vicinity of Shanghai led the foreigners there to take active measures for the defense of the foreign settlement. The Triads, having broken away from the T'ai P'ing movement, started out on an insurrection of their own. Amoy was captured in July, 1855, and on September 7th of that year some Cantonese desperadoes belonging to the Triad society succeeded in capturing the native city of Shanghai. Shortly before this event, the foreign merchants at Shanghai, fearing for the safety of their property, organized the Shanghai Volunteer Corps. This corps grew out of a long discussion, for we find the British and Americans talking about the need of defense as early as April 8, 1853. Sir George Bonham, writing to his home government under date of April 12th, stated that the foreign trade at Shanghai then amounted to $25,000,000 annually. The foreign merchants were not willing that such a trade should be imperilled and so decided to organize a corps for the defense of their property should need arise.


94. Ibid.
The first conflict of the Volunteer Corps was on April 3, 1854, when it made an attack on the main camp of some 20,000 Imperialist troops and forced them to take a position further from the city. The Imperialists had sent this force to win back from the Triads the native city of Shanghai. Several of the officers among the Imperialists were bitterly anti-foreign. They did many things to annoy the foreigners, such as placing the target for their gun practice in such a position as to permit the rifle bullets to fall into the foreign settlement. This encounter is known as the battle of Muddy Flat.

During 1854 the foreigners continued by foreigners their policy of neutrality, though the presence of the Triads, who were then in no ways connected with the T'ai P'ings, seriously affected business. Following the capture of Shanghai by the Triads, the Chinese customs were closed, for the officials had fled. The service was completely disorganized. From September 7, 1853, to February 15, 1854, there was no acknowledged imperial authority in Shanghai. Finally the Chinese requested the foreigners to take over the management of the customs service. On July 6, 1854, this was done, with France, Great Britain, and the United States co-operating.

The service was organized by Mr. Wade, the British consul. Then Mr. H.N. Lay took charge. He was succeeded by Sir Robert Hart, under whose faithful and efficient labors the service was built up to a high point of efficiency. The establishment of the Chinese Maritime Customs under foreign control was one of the most important results of the T'ai P'ing rebellion. From 1858 to 1902 the 5% import tax remained unchanged. The foreign control of the customs has

95. Manning and Couling, 'History of Shanghai', p. 311; state that no muddy flat was involved. The name is a misnomer and is due to a misprint. It should be Muddy Foot, because of a tradition that a sailor in crossing a ditch got his foot dirty.
become one of the focal points of irritation between China and some of the foreign powers.

The Shanghai Municipal Council was organized on July 11, 1854. In the fall of that year, foreign sentiment began to crystallize in favor of taking some definite action against the Triads, who were still in possession of the native city and who were being besieged by the Imperialists. The fact that the French concession adjoined the native city made it impossible for the Imperialists to effect a blockade. The French finally agreed to co-operate. A wall separating the French concession from the native city of Shanghai was begun toward the end of 1854. In December the French attacked the Triads. This was the first time any foreign government co-operated with the Imperialists against either the Triads or the T'ai P'ings.

Again, on January 6, 1855, the French joined forces with the Imperialists in assaulting the city. They were repulsed. Soon after, the wall was finished. On January 27th the Triads evacuated the city, leaving it amid flames and carnage. The Imperialists entered and gave themselves over to a three day orgy of looting and pillaging.

The French were, therefore, the first to co-operate with the Imperialists. The English reaffirmed their neutrality in 1855. Sir John Bowring issued an ordinance at Hongkong in which he called upon British subjects to observe neutrality to both sides. England observed this policy up until 1860.

The United States never departed from its policy of neutrality, although an American, Frederick Ward, rendered valuable aid to the Imperialists. Once, when taken before...
the American Consul in Shanghai, Ward secured his release by claiming to be a Chinese citizen and therefore not amenable to American jurisdiction.

Discontent against the T'ai P'ings was growing, especially in British commercial circles. Opium was still an important item in British trade, and with this the T'ai P'ings refused to deal. Lindley tells of the vain attempt of Dent & Co., one of the principal mercantile houses in China at that time, to sell opium to the T'ai P'ings. For six months this company stationed its opium ship, "Nimrod," at Wuhu. After its failure to sell opium to the rebels, this company "became their most signal revilers, and used all the interest they possessed against them."

The Treaty of Tientsin of 1858 was also effective in bringing about a change of attitude toward the T'ai P'ings on the part of the British. By that treaty, Great Britain won new commercial privileges from China, among which was the right to reside and trade at several ports on the Yangtze as soon as the rebellion had been suppressed. This treaty made the further progress of the T'ai P'ings unprofitable to the British. Brine sums up the situation in these words:

"Perhaps the principal reason for the decline of popularity for the rebellion amongst the Europeans may be found in the great change that has occurred in our political relations with the Manchu government."

Article IX of the Treaty definitely stated that the Imperial Government would grant no passports to Nanking or to other cities held by the insurgents until those places had been recaptured. Although the T'ai P'ings permitted a little trade in tea and silk, the fact remains that commercial reasons did much to bring about a change of

Following the failure of the central government to observe the stipulations of the Treaty of 1856, an expedition of British and French troops was sent to Peking. This caused Lord Elgin, the British representative, to consider seriously the advisability of opening negotiations with the T'ai P'ings. In this he was opposed by Baron Gros, the French representative. Gros reflected the attitude of the French Catholic missionaries, who were by that time bitterly opposed to the T'ai P'ings.

In the early summer of 1860, the T'ai P'ings demonstrated a new vitality. They broke through the ranks of the Imperialists who were besieging Nanking and on May 3rd utterly routed them. Soochow was captured on May 24th. This stirred the British. Under date of May 26th, Bruce, as Superintendent of British trade, issued a proclamation which contained the following extract:

"Shanghae is a port open to foreign trade, and the native dealers residing therein have large transactions with the foreigners who resort to the place to carry on their business. Were it to become the scene of attack and civil war, commerce would receive a severe blow, and the interests of those, whether foreign or native, who wish to pursue their peaceful avocations in quiet, would suffer loss."

The proclamation went on to state that the military and naval forces of Great Britain would be used if necessary to "prevent the inhabitants of Shanghae from being exposed to massacre and pillage...and to protect the city against any attack."

Under date of July 28, 1860, the British Consul wrote, expressing his conviction that if the rebels captured Shanghai, the city and vicinity would lapse "into the wretched state of anarchy which exists beyond the rebel lines."

102. Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient", p. 211.
104. Ibid., p. 406.
When the party of missionaries visited Soochow in August, 1860, to meet Hung Jen, Bruce admonished them to warn the T'ai P'ings that should they attack Shanghai, the foreigners would take part in the defense. The T'ai P'ings found it hard to believe this, for at that time the British and French were fighting the Imperialists in the north. On August 1st the allies had landed troops at Pehtang. Tientsin was occupied on August 25th. The T'ai P'ings had never taken any aggressive action against the foreigners. Instead they felt that since they worshipped the same God and acknowledged Jesus Christ, that they were all brothers. Hence it was difficult to take seriously the warning sent to them through the missionaries.

The T'ai P'ings attacked Shanghai on August 17th. They were repulsed by the Anglo-French-Imperialists forces. What a strange paradox! While the British and French were fighting against the Imperialists in the north, they were co-operating with them at Shanghai. There is no doubt but that the active participation of the foreigners saved the city from falling into the hands of the T'ai P'ings.

The British State Papers contain some interesting side-lights upon the official British position at that time. Before the attack on Shanghai, under date of June 10th, Bruce wrote to Lord Russell stating that the Tautae (the highest Manchu official in the city) was anxious to have protection extended as far as Soochow and that the Roman Catholic missionaries shared that feeling as they were "uneasy as to the fate of the Christians (some 13,000), should that place fall into the hands of the insurgents, whose iconoclastic tendencies are well known."

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105. As late as 1926 there lived in Shanghai, Mrs. Young J. Allen who was in Shanghai at the time the T'ai P'ings attacked the city. She and her husband were under the Southern M. E. Board. She gave the author of this thesis an interesting account of those exciting days.

These papers show that the British were loath to use force and that the French were more eager to do so. Motion is made of Hung Jen under date of August 1st. He speaks of the advanced and liberal views of Hung Jen, yet at the same time was unwilling to enter into negotiations with him. Had Bruce sent Meadows or some other able man to Soochow with the missionaries, it is quite possible that the T'ai P'ing attack on the city could have been forestalled. Hung Jen made a definite effort to get into touch with the foreign consuls. Upon the advice of Bruce, the consuls took no notice of this effort.

On December 9, 1861, the T'ai P'ings captured Ningpo. The city was won back on May 10, 1862, by the Imperialists, who had the assistance of the French and the British. The allied forces pursued the T'ai P'ings as far as Shaoshing, which is eighty miles from Ningpo. The French went even further, besieging them in Hangchow. The British orders were that military activities should be restrained to the area within a thirty-mile radius of Ningpo. The British officer, Captain Dew, exceeded his instructions when he went as far as Shaoshing.

Frederick Ward, the American adventurer, with his band of foreigners and foreign-trained Chinese, was active from 1860 to 1862 in behalf of the Imperialists. He was killed September 21, 1862, while leading an attack against the T'ai P'ings at the town of Tzuchi, which is about fifteen miles from Ningpo. He was buried at Sungkiang and was awarded honors by the Chinese government which have never been accorded any other foreigner, in that special temples have been erected to his memory both at Ningpo and Sungkiang.

Following Ward's death, his army known as the 'Ever
Victorious Army' was led by another adventurer, Burgevine, who subsequently went into the employ of the T'ai P'ings. On March 25, 1863 Major Charles Gordon (later known as Chinese Gordon) was appointed by the British to lead this force. Gordon co-operated with General Li Hung-chang. Soochow was recaptured in December, 1863. Gordon co-operated with the Imperialists until June, 1864. There is no question but that the foreign assistance given the Imperialists hastened the overthrow of the T'ai P'ings. Had such assistance been given the rebels, it is quite possible that the Manchu government would have been overthrown.

The Effect of the Insurrection upon Mission Work.

In summing up the results of the insurrection as they affected Christian missionary progress, mention should first be made of the establishment of the Chinese Maritime Customs under foreign control. This stimulated commerce and served as a security for certain foreign loans which were used to develop the land. It is interesting to note here that the Maritime Customs was the first branch of Chinese official life to observe the Christian Sunday. This started a custom which was adopted by the schools and other phases of the rational life and which has been of the utmost value to the Christian work.

From a negative point of view the association of Christian doctrines with the T'ai P'ings aroused the prejudice of the central government to Christianity and to the missionaries. Many Chinese officials held the missionaries responsible for the widespread devastation.
caused by the insurrection. The following is said to have been written by the great Li Hung-chang in 1864:

"They (i.e. the T'ai P'ings) are rats of disease caught from the leprous missionaries of Canton, and they would run into all the holes of the center and north and spread this vile malady. The lingering death (i.e. death by the slicing process) should be applied to all those who have countenanced this foreign doctrine, or in any way aided the marauders."

In 1865, Li wrote again:

"I hated the foreign religion more violently than all other scourges in the world; and I prayed and hoped that not alone would the Tai Pings be destroyed, but that earthquakes, eruptions of mountains; and terrible fevers would make the Christian nations without a man, woman, or a child."

However this violent hatred did not last long, for in 1870, Li wrote again:

"Tseng Kuo-fan, like myself, has changed his views exceedingly in the past five or six years, and is no longer a hater of the Christians."

Many similar testimonies could be given along this line. The very fact that the leaders of the T'ai P'ings claimed to have been Christians was sufficient in itself to make the whole body of Christian missionaries suspected and undesired.

On the other hand, many of the missionaries felt that the teachings and practices of the T'ai P'ings formed a valuable preparation for the preaching of the gospel. The wholesale destruction of idols; the many social reforms; such as the abolition of foot binding and the prohibition of opium smoking; the free distribution of the Scriptures by the government ("the first government that has done so"); the wide diffusion of Christian tracts; and such practices as baptism, the Lord's Supper, and family devotions, all undoubtedly prepared the way for a fuller and more comprehensive exposition of the Christian position. Those of the missionary body who preached among the T'ai P'ings bear witness of this. Following the suppression of the T'ai

108. Political Science Monthly, Vol. 43, pp. 596 ff, for this and the following quotations.

p'ings, some missionaries testified that it was easier to gain converts in territory previously occupied by the rebels than it had been before the rebellion. The Bishop of Victoria reported that in Amoy more progress was made after the rebellion than in any other city in China. He felt that the T'ai P'ings prepared the way for the missionary.

Some of the missionaries were deeply impressed with the readiness of the natives to receive Christian doctrines at the hands of the T'ai P'ings. They showed a susceptibility far beyond what was expected. Through the distribution of Christian literature by the T'ai P'ings, the knowledge of Christian doctrines was "made known over regions much broader in extent than could be reached by the agencies set on foot by Europeans missionaries."

It is not the author's intention to weigh the disadvantages of the movement in relation to the Christian cause with the advantages to see which were the more far reaching. Certainly there were two sides to the story. On the whole the insurrection was a strange combination of the religious and the political, and of internal and external politics. Beginning as a local rebellion in the south, it grew until it assumed an international character. And we trace the beginnings back to some Christian tracts given away by Liang A-fah, the first ordained Chinese Protestant preacher, to an aspiring scholar at the examinations in Canton.

CHAPTER IV

THE APPLICATION OF THE TREATIES

1865 -- 1890

In order to appreciate the problems connected with the application of these treaties, we must keep in mind the historical background.

Emperor Hsien Feng, who reigned until 1861, was assassinated by his ministers in 1861. His successor was the young emperor, T'zu Hsi, known also as Li Hung-chang. She was the daughter of the great minister Hsien Feng. She was a very able and capable woman, and she was able to carry on the policies of her father.

The Chinese were very much alarmed by the treaty of Nanjing, which was signed in 1842. This treaty opened China to foreign trade and required the Chinese government to pay indemnities to the foreign powers. The Chinese people were very much opposed to this treaty, and there were many revolutions throughout the country.

The Chinese government was very much alarmed by the treaty of Nanjing, and they tried to negotiate a new treaty with the foreign powers. This new treaty, known as the Treaty of Tientsin, was signed in 1858. This treaty opened China to foreign trade and required the Chinese government to pay indemnities to the foreign powers.

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The present chapter deals with the twenty-five year period extending from 1865, in which year the Berlin treaty was signed and which also marked the end of the T'ai P'ing rebellion, to 1890, when the third missionary conference was held in Shanghai. A review has already been made of the background out of which the various treaties came. Special attention was given to the toleration clauses. We are now to study the effects of the application of these treaties, especially as they applied to the Christian mission cause.

The Historical Background.

In order to appreciate the problems connected with the application of these treaties, we must keep in mind the historical background.

Emperor Hsien Feng, who fled with his court to Jehol in the summer of 1860, when the allies were approaching Peking, never returned to see the ruins of his burned summer palace. He remained at Jehol, where he died in 1861. The successor to the dragon throne was a six-year-old child, T'ung Chih, who was the son of the concubine Yi. Yi, therefore, had the honor of sharing the reign with the first wife of Hsien Feng, who, upon the death of the Emperor, was the real Empress Dowager. Yi, or Tzu Hsi, had a most forceful personality and soon dominated the situation. She was nicknamed the "Old Buddha" by one of her chief eunuchs, which nickname

1. See page 226 of this thesis for an account of the burning of the summer palace.
remained with her until she died in 1908.

Technically speaking, the Chinese did not permit a woman to rule. Hence the period of her power is designated in Chinese history under the names of her son, T'ung Chih, and his successor (her nephew), Kwang Hsu. The Emperor's first wife was co-regent with Tzu Hei until she died in 1881. The title of Empress Dowager then passed to Tzu Hei and is perhaps the title by which she is best known to all occidentals.

From 1861 to 1908 Tzu Hei was the real ruler of China. On two occasions she relinquished her power for a time, only to reassume it when she thought conditions demanded it. The first time was when T'ung Chih came of age in 1873; the second time was when Kwang Hsu instituted his reforms following the China-Japan war of 1894-5. When T'ung Chih died in 1875, Tzu Hei skilfully manipulated events so that the four-year-old lad, Kwang Hsu, who was not in the direct line of succession, was proclaimed Emperor. This gave her another lease on the power she coveted.

Tzu Hei never forgot the humiliation which visited the Chinese court when it had to flee to Jehol in 1860 before the allied advance. She was anti-foreign and her spirit dominated the foreign relations of China of this period as far as conditions permitted. She made no concessions to the foreign powers except those which she felt obliged to make. One interesting incident took place during this period which deserves mention here. On June 29, 1873, for the first time in China's history, an imperial audience was given to the foreign representatives without the kowtow being demanded. This came as a result of the insistent demands of the foreigners and was hailed by them as a victory.
The bitter anti-foreign feeling which smoldered in the hearts of so many of China's officials found its justification in at least two factors. The first was the continued opium trade; the second was foreign aggression. In both cases foreign powers took advantage of China's weakness and forced on her that which she did not desire.

During these years under review the opium trade continued to flourish. Notice how it grew. Between 1790 and 1800 the average annual importation of opium was between four and five thousand chests. In 1824, the amount had risen to 12,639 chests. At the time of the first Anglo-Chinese war around 30,000 chests were being imported each year.

The Treaty of Nanking which followed that conflict said nothing about opium. Trade in the contraband continued. This trade was legalized by the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858. By that time the importation of opium had grown to 75,000 chests annually. By 1878-9 we learn that 91,200 chests had been imported.

An analysis of the returns received from a chest of opium is illuminating. A chest averaged about 121 pounds in weight. The Indian farmer who cultivated the poppy received about $125.00 for his labor to produce one chest. The British government received about $425.00 in revenue, while the Chinese government received about $50.00. In the year 1878-9 England derived a revenue of some $38,500,000 on the 91,200 chests, which at the same time gave China a revenue of only $4,560,000.

In 1868 a special appeal was sent by the Chinese government to Queen Victoria for the purpose of winning her

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2. See Appendix No. 5 for statistics on opium importation up to 1830. See also U.S. Foreign Relations, 1881-82, No. 1, Part 1, p. 314, where the statement is made that in 1881 the importation of opium amounted to 13,300,000 pounds.

sympathy and aid in the suppression of the opium traffic.

China never received an answer to this appeal. Prince Kung, who was an influential official in Tzu Hsi's government, once declared that if the importation of opium from India could be stopped, China could suppress the cultivation of opium within its borders.

In 1880 the United States and China signed a treaty which contained an article which forbade American citizens from taking any part in the opium trade. Following the signing of this treaty Holcombe reported Li Hung-chang as having said:

"I have watched and have had to do with the foreign relations of China for many years. I have read the Bible, in which you foreigners believe, and have seen in it the same golden rule which Confucius teaches. And this action of the United States is forbidding its people to deal with opium in China is the first and only application of that golden rule to be found in all the conduct of foreign governments toward China."

Holcombe claims that the opium trade did much to feed the anti-foreign feeling. He writes:

"It is quite unnecessary to vilify the missionary body, in order to discover the cause of this bitter anti-foreign feeling so universal in China."

The second factor which aggravated the anti-foreign feeling was the fact of foreign aggression. History records a series of incidents that belong to this period which kept alive the feeling of suspicion and of hatred for the 'barbarians'. As early as 1858 we find foreign nations beginning to take certain dependencies of China. In that year France and Spain sent an expedition into Annam. Certain missionaries had been murdered there and China was held responsible. Not satisfied with what the officials were doing, France and Spain took matters into their own hands.

Trouble over this affair continued for three and a half years. It ended with the Treaty of Saigon, which was drawn up June 5, 1862. By this treaty France and Spain received an indemnity of four million dollars. In addition France received Saigon, three provinces of Cochin-China, and the island of Pulo Condor.

This affair was not settled to the satisfaction of either France or China. In 1864 it looked as though hostilities would break out again. Even though war had not been declared, the French decoyed the Chinese fleet into the harbor at Foochow and then destroyed it. The French fleet also blockaded Chinhai on Chusan island, near Ningpo. At that time great excitement and indignation reigned in Ningpo. In that city were important Roman Catholic mission interests conducted by the French. A bishop, many priests, and some Sisters of Charity were in residence, yet they were not molested. Instead the Chinese authorities gave strict orders for their protection. Another treaty was drawn up between France and China which was signed June 9, 1865. In this treaty China gave up all claims to Tonquin.

In 1871 the Japanese government threatened China with war because of the murder of fifty-four Louchewan sailors by the natives of eastern Formosa. Japan occupied the southern half of Formosa on the ground that China was either incapable or unwilling to govern the island. The Chinese government was obliged to pay half a million taels indemnity, whereupon Japan withdrew.

Soon after the Japanese affair came the Burmah incident with the British. Great Britain wanted a trade route through Burmah which would touch southwestern China.

Such a trade route had once been opened but it was closed during the T'ai P'ing rebellion. In 1868 a British party was sent to investigate the reason for the cessation of trade. In 1874 another party, with Chinese passports, was sent across China from Hankow to Burmah. On January 17, 1875, Augustus R. Margary, a British official reached Thano in Burmah, having made the trip overland from Hankow. He was sent down to meet a party coming up through Burmah and guide it across China to Hankow. He met the party according to previous plans. Hearing that the Chinese were going to offer armed resistance to the progress of the party, Margary went over the boundary of Burmah into China, where he was murdered on February 23rd.

The British, through Sir Thomas Wade at Peking, took up the case and demanded the punishment of the officials concerned. They tried to hold the Governor of Yunnan responsible. The Chinese government claimed that the natives were to blame. This affair resulted in the Chefoo Convention, which was signed September 13, 1876. This convention called for the payment of an indemnity of 200,000 taels; proclamations calling for the protection of the Englishman were to be issued and posted throughout the Empire; the Chinese were to send an embassy to the Court of London to express regret; new regulations were made regarding the opium traffic; and finally four new ports, those of Ichang, Wuhu, Wenchow, and Pakkoi, were to be opened for trade. All because one Englishman had been murdered!

Three thousand copies of the proclamation calling upon the people to respect the foreigner were distributed in 11 provinces alone. This did much to increase the trade.

11. Ibid., p. 782.
prestige of the foreigner and to secure further immunity against attack.

One of the brighter aspects of China's foreign relations, from China's viewpoint, was the Burlingame mission. The Hon. Anson Burlingame was the first minister from the United States to be sent to China. He was appointed by Abraham Lincoln. In 1867 Mr. Burlingame retired from the service of his government. About that time China was being urged by Sir Robert Hart and others to send an embassy to foreign lands. Since Mr. Burlingame had been very sympathetic to China, he was asked to represent her abroad. Two Chinese delegates were also appointed to go with Mr. Burlingame to make up the goodwill commission. Since this was the first effort that the Chinese government had made to establish diplomatic connections abroad, the embassy created world-wide interest.

Mr. Burlingame, hopeful and enthusiastic, earnestly pled China's cause wherever he went. He counselled patience and sought for co-operation. His enthusiasm carried him, at times, much further than China was ready to go. One of his statements in the United States was: "China invites Protestant missionaries to plant the shining Cross on every hill and in every valley." The Chinese Government was obliged later to publicly disavow some of the promises made by her envoy.

While in the United States, Burlingame negotiated the United States-China treaty, which was signed July 28, 1868. This treaty consisted of eight additional articles to the treaty of 1858 between the same nations. The treaty was unique in that it granted reciprocal privileges. China was treated as an equal. The treaty granted liberty of conscience...
in religion for Chinese in America as well as for Americans in China. At that time there were five Buddhist temples in San Francisco. This treaty also reciprocally denied naturalization to citizens of either country in respect to the other.

When the news of the treaty reached China, some of the American missionaries were not altogether satisfied. Some of the missionaries residing at Ningpo forwarded a petition to the American minister, then J. Ross Browne, asking him to include a clause "requiring protection for those who rent houses." Knowlton, one of the Ningpo missionaries, urged the enforcement of reciprocal provisions secured by the treaty whereby an American in China would enjoy the same privilege as a Chinese in America in reference to travel, residence, etc.

Along the line of reciprocity it is interesting to note that when the Chinese minister in the United States under date of November 10, 1880, asked for $30,000.00 indemnity for the anti-Chinese riots in Denver, he was refused. In this riot which took place October 31, 1880, one Chinese was killed and much of the property of Chinese laborers was destroyed. Wm. Evarts said for the U.S. State Department:

"I know of no principle of national obligation, and there is certainly none arising from treaty stipulation, which renders it incumbent on the Govt. of the U.S. to make indemnity to the Chinese residents of Denver."

At the time of the negotiation of the U.S.-China treaty by Burlingame, Great Britain through her minister in China, Sir Rutherford Alcock, was also endeavoring to secure a new treaty. The British-China treaty of 1858 had an article which called for a revision in ten years. Alcock

14. Ibid.
was taking advantage of the opportunity by demanding a wider opening in China for British commercial interests. He was seeking, among other things, for the right of inland residence for the business man. At this opportune moment for China, a copy of the proposed treaty negotiated by Burlingame with the United States, arrived. The Chinese government was surprised, for it had not commissioned Burlingame to negotiate a treaty with the United States. However, the tone of the proposed treaty was so different from that suggested by the British, that it gave China the courage to give Alcock a flat refusal to many of his demands.

The British carried on negotiations for another year. Finally the Alcock Convention of 1859 was signed on October 23rd of that year. Whereas the British gained a few minor concessions, on the whole they were out maneuvered by the Chinese. Sir Alcock frankly stated that his failure was due to Mr. Burlingame's influence.

From the United States, the Burlingame party went to Great Britain and there, too, won much sympathy for China. There he was undoubtedly influential in further tying the hands of the British minister in China. The party then visited France, Germany, and Russia. Mr. Burlingame died in Russia in February, 1870, before the mission had completed its itinerary. The mission accomplished a vast amount of good for China by giving the western world a more sympathetic understanding of conditions in that land.

Mr. Burlingame has been criticized for being too sentimental. However, most of this criticism comes from those whose plans were thwarted by China's foreign representative.

The mission led to the establishment of the first
Chinese legation abroad, which was established at London in 1876. It was not long before other legations were established in other foreign capitals.

Summary of Treaty Rights as They Applied to Missions.

With the signing of the Burlingame Treaty, virtually all of the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Christian missionaries or their converts, had been granted. Some of these rights and privileges were restated in later treaties. A few new privileges were subsequently granted, such as the bestowing of official rank on missionaries in 1898. A summary of these rights and privileges granted from 1842 to 1868 under the three-fold classification previously given is as follows:

I. "Privileges customary to internation law, and apart altogether from special rights or concessions."

(1) The right to travel under passports. Treaties of Tientsin of 1858.
(2) The right to learn the language. Treaties of Tientsin of 1858.
(3) The right to establish churches, schools, hospitals and cemeteries where foreigners lived. Treaty of Whangpoo, 1844; Treaties of Tientsin, 1858; Conventions of Peking, 1860; Burlingame Treaty, 1868.
(4) The protection of life and property of foreigners in China.
(5) The right of appeal to consular or diplomatic officials in cases of injustice.

II. "Special privileges secured by treaty, of a non-reciprocal character, and shared with all fellow-nationals."

(1) Extraterritoriality. Treaties of 1842, 1844, and 1858.
(2) Foreign concessions or international settlements. Treaties of 1842, 1858, and 1860.
(3) Foreign control of customs. Received by the foreigners at the request of the Chinese during the T'ai P'ing rebellion.

17. See page 150 of this thesis.
18. When no special treaty is mentioned under the right or privilege gained, then that right or privilege is expressed or implied in all of the treaties of this period.
III. "Special privileges peculiar to missionaries and not shared by their non-missionary fellow-nationals."

(1) The right to propagate Christianity without molestation. Toleration clauses of the treaties of 1858.
(2) Protection for native converts and exemption of the natives from taxes levied for the support of non-Christian religions. Treaties of 1858; Conventions of Peking, 1860.
(3) The right to rent or buy property and to dwell in the interior. Berthemy Convention of 1865.

With the historical background of this period already sketched and with this brief summary of the treaty rights and privileges, we can now turn our attention to the problems arising out of the application of these treaties.

The question as to whether or not these special rights and privileges secured by treaty did the Christian cause in China more harm than good is a debatable question. There were both advantages and disadvantages; good fruits and bad fruits. In regard to the toleration clauses, Wells Williams wrote under date of September 12, 1878, from New Haven:

"Though Christianity does not depend upon treaties for its progress and power, these articles have proved to be a check upon the native officials, who have been taught there not to destroy what they did not approve. I thank God that the Imperial Government was thereby bound not to become a prosecuting government, as it has more than once since wished to be."

Williams firmly believed that the treaties extended to the infant church the protection which was absolutely essential for its life.

On the other hand, the application of the treaties, and especially of the toleration clauses, brought complications of an international character. It stigmatized the Christian religion more than ever as being a foreign religion intimately connected with foreign gunboats and

foreign troops. The enforced observance of the toleration clauses in some sections of the country aroused increased antagonism. A study of several of these incidents, and especially those that occurred at Yangchow and Tientsin, will illustrate the nature of the problems and the complications involved. These incidents involved the three great powers, Great Britain, France, and the United States. It is interesting to note the reaction of these various governments to the violation of the toleration clauses by the Chinese.

The Application of the Treaties.

Before the important incident at Yangchow some minor incidents occurred in August, 1868, we find an occasional reference to consular action to enforce the treaties. A few years previous the French consul at Shanghai had sent troops to Hangting to settle a minor difficulty. In April, 1868, anti-Christian demonstrations, which resulted in the death of a native catechist in Formosa, led the missionaries to appeal to consular authorities for protection. Formosa was then a part of Fukien province. For three years the Chinese authorities there had continually disregarded the provisions of the treaties as they applied to missionaries and to their converts. In response to the appeal of the missionaries, a gunboat was sent to Tiawanfu, Formosa. Gibson, the British consul, was later reprimanded by Alcock, the British minister, for the vigor of the steps taken to enforce the treaties.

The Formosa incident might be compared to a weather-vane indicating the attitudes of the parties involved. Wherever possible, the Chinese would evade the treaty

stipulations; the missionaries would appeal for consular protection; some protection would be forthcoming, which would arouse doubts of its advisability on the part of the government concerned.

The Yangchow incident involved the application of the toleration clauses was the Yangchow affair. This became a test case and precipitated a debate both in China and in England which led to a thorough discussion of the issues involved. The debate resulted in a wide divergence of opinion, with the missionaries on one side and the officials on the other.

The details of the Yangchow affair are as follows: In July, 1868, the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, founder of the Chinese Inland Mission, established a mission station at Yangchow. This city is on the grand canal about fifteen miles from Chinkiang, a treaty port on the Yangtze. Yangchow was an important literary center.

On or about August 18, inflammatory posters appeared throughout the city, charging the missionaries with such hideous crimes as that of boiling up children for medical purposes and of administering drugs in order to win converts. Another common libel therein repeated was that the foreigners gouged out the eyes of the Chinese to make medicine. Such accusations against the missionaries were then receiving widespread circulation throughout China and were usually accepted as truth by the mass of the people. The posters which were distributed in Yangchow were broadcast at the instigation of the literati, who had resolved to drive the missionaries out of the city.

The posters and the literati aroused a mob which

attacked Mr. Taylor's house on the 22nd of August. In the house were ten women and children. The house was set afire. The women and children escaped by jumping from an upper story window. Several suffered minor injuries. One of the men, Mr. Reid, lost the sight of an eye. Much mission property was destroyed.

When word of the trouble reached Mr. Allen, the British consul at Chinkiang, he proceeded at once to Yangchow. The local Chinese authorities had offered protection after the worst part of the trouble was over. The missionaries were escorted by Chinese soldiers to Chinkiang.

Details of the incident were sent to Mr. Walter Medhurst, then British consul at Shanghai, who at once demanded redress and apologies from the Chinese authorities. Since the Chinese were rather slow in settling the incident to the satisfaction of the British, a gunboat was sent to Nanking. There an ultimatum was served on Tseng Kuo-fang, of T'ai Ping fame, who was viceroy of the province. One of Tseng's steamers was seized. This hastened negotiations. An immediate settlement was made with the British to their satisfaction. Most, if not all, of the missionaries were pleased with the prompt action taken by the British. They felt that the unprincipled officials were taught a lesson that would have been learnt in no other way. Following this incident Yangchow became one of the safest places for foreigners to dwell in all of China.

In England the British action in regard to the incident was bitterly criticized both in Parliament and in the press. Such statements as "propagating Christianity with gunboats", "the gospel from the cannon's mouth," and "forcing conviction down with the point of the bayonet" were
In the fall of 1868 another incident occurred which again brought to public attention the question of the right of British missionaries to dwell in the interior and the amount of protection that they were entitled to receive. This case happened at Chefoo. There a certain Chinese family, who were Christians, had given a temple to the Baptist mission. The local Chinese magistrate had then subjected the head of the family to torture. The unfortunate victim received four hundred blows with the bamboo, and two others received three hundred and two hundred respectively. The Baptist missionaries appealed to Alcock, and made inquiry as to whether or not British missionaries had the right by treaty "to hire, purchase, or receive as a gift land or buildings in China if natives were disposed to let, sell, or give?"

The questions involved in the application discussed of the treaties were of sufficient importance to cause Alcock to write at length to Lord Clarendon of the British Foreign Office. In general, Alcock criticized the missionaries for attempting to dwell in the interior. He maintained that their presence was a "continual source of danger" which tended "greatly to complicate relations both political and commercial."

This correspondence which began December 9, 1868, lasted for one year. Under date of April 15, 1869, Lord Clarendon, evidently moved by the opinions of Alcock, wrote to the directors of the L.M.S. saying:

"It is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to protect missionary establishments in places where no consular authority is at hand."

The official Chinese reaction to the problems involved

23. Sir Rutherford Alcock was British minister 1865 - 1869.
24. British State Papers, "Correspondence respecting inland residence of Eng. Miss. in China." Unless otherwise noted, the quotations in this section come from this correspondence.
is revealed in a note from Wan-tsiaang, senior minister of the Tsungli Yamen, to Sir Alcock, under date of June 26, 1869. Wan-tsiaang suggested that since much of the missionary trouble was due to the fact that the missionaries took advantage of immunity from local jurisdiction and that many of the converts sought the protection of the missionaries and under that protection committed many wrongs, therefore it would be well if the missionaries, like the other teachers of religion, should subject themselves to local control. He made mention of the fact that Buddhism was an alien creed and yet it prospered in China without treaty protection.

Another note came from the Tsungli Yamen under date of July 18th to Sir Alcock. This said in part:

"The object of the missionary, no matter where he comes from, is to circulate virtue. But their converts are not all alike; they are good and bad. The bad constantly look to their creed for protection, so as to compromise the good name of the missions and render them universally unacceptable. But in addition to this the missionaries, desirous only of a large number of proselytes, make no inquiries into the every-day behaviour of their converts, but accept whoever chooses to come."

This note also claims that the missionaries ought to be under the rule of local authorities as were the priests of Taoism and Buddhism.

It continues:

"Many missionaries have adopted the Chinese habit without obeying Chinese laws. They thus separate themselves from the people and manifest a superiority. Their converts, improving on this, oppress and insult those who are not of their faith, and learn to oppose the Government. It is not to be wondered at if men's minds accumulate ill-feeling and if there be a prevalent feeling of alarm. It only remains to put them (i.e. the missionaries and their converts) under the direct control of local officials; but these should be prevented from being oppressive; then each party having its measure of justice, there need be no fear of accidents.

"The matter is one which seriously affects the

interests of commerce, and it is necessary, therefore, to take measures of precaution, to the end that friendly relations may be strengthened."

The attitude of Alcock and of the Foreign Office, together with public criticisms of the 'gun-boat policy' brought forth rebuttals from the British missionaries. Under date of July 14, 1869 four Peking missionaries, namely John S. Burdon and Wm. H. Collins of the C.M.S., and Joseph Edkins and John Dodgeon of the L.M.S., sent a letter to Alcock in which they took exception to some of his views and set forth their side of the case. Alcock replied under date of July 16th. Another reply came from J.S. Burdon under date of July 23rd.

A number of very important issues were discussed in this correspondence. There was the question of the legal right of British missionaries to dwell in the interior away from the treaty ports. Under date of March 12, 1869, Alcock had maintained that the missionaries had no such right:

"Save in so far as it can be shown to be a right secured to French missionaries by the convention which France signed at Peking on the 25th of October, 1860."

Alcock seemingly knew nothing of the Bertheemy convention, nor did the Protestant missionaries, or surely reference would have been made to it. Alcock was aware of the spurious nature of the clause in the Chinese version of the French convention of 1860, which related to the purchase or rental of property in the interior.

The question regarding the right to own property was discussed. Of this Alcock wrote:

"A conditional right appears to have been admitted, under protest, by the Chinese government; and that what the French missionaries enjoy cannot, according to Treaty, be denied by the Chinese authorities to the British. But in both cases the conditions of enjoyment are such as to make it entirely
contingent on the disposition of the Chinese local authorities to promote or oppose it, and the acquisition of any place of residence by missionaries in the face of such opposition, would be impossible without the direct interference of a foreign power."

The Earl of Clarendon replied to this statement, saying that the British Government agreed with Alcock's position and that therefore:

"it is not incumbent on them to insist in favour of British missionaries on the privileges conceded to Roman Catholic missionaries, and brave the consequence of doing so. But still less would they feel disposed to do so, when, as appears to be the case, the privileges claimed for the Roman Catholic missionaries rest on no sound foundation, but on an interpolation of words in the Chinese version alone of the French treaty with China."

This was written in May, 1869, and proves that the British Government then had no knowledge of the Berthenay convention. Alcock was instructed to warn the British missionaries:

"that if they seek to assert greater privileges they will do so at their own risk and responsibility and must not expect any action or forcible interference on the part of Her Majesty's Government for their relief."

One missionary writing to the Times maintained that the point at issue was not the legal right to dwell in the interior, but whether or not missionaries were entitled to the protection due them as British subjects. He maintained that it was beside the point to discuss the authenticity of the French convention of 1860, for the clause under discussion treated of the purchase of property, an issue which was not raised in the Yangchow affair.

Another point discussed was the matter of commerce. Alcock held that the presence of the missionaries in the interior might easily stir up trouble, which would at once adversely affect commerce. He wrote:

"It is futile to graft onto a treaty of commerce a proselytising agency for the conversion of the nation to Christianity."

Again in a letter dated October 1, 1869, to the Foreign Office, Alcock writes:

"A Government may well be permitted to hesitate before it sacrifices a vast commerce on which the greatness of the power of the nation mainly depends."

Since Alcock brought up the matter of commerce, the missionaries begged him to look at the nature of that commerce. In 1867 the total amount of Indian opium imported was worth 45,071,357 taels, of which amount over one third was smuggled into China from Hongkong. For the same year the total amounts of exports of tea and rice was 49,478,389 taels.

In reply Alcock said:

"I am not concerned to disprove any assertion as to the immorality of the commerce or the evils attending the consumption of opium. But the whole argument is scarcely relevant."

The debate waxed warm around the question as to whether or not the trouble at Yangchow was due to the fact that the foreigners were missionaries or whether the missionaries were foreigners. Alcock took the former position; the missionaries the latter.

Alcock maintained that the Chinese objected to the content of the Christian message. He claimed that while the Chinese disliked the merchant, they feared the missionary. In his dispatch of December 4th, Alcock dwelt much on the political and revolutionary tendencies of Christianity and argued that "as the missionary from the very nature of the doctrines he teaches, must of necessity teach revolution" he ought, therefore, to be restrained from going into the interior. He added that the Chinese officials looked upon the missionaries as "agents of a revolutionary propaganda" and "political instruments of enroachments" rather than as religious teachers. To further
prove his point he mentioned the fact that such libels as those circulated at Yangchow were directed only against the missionary.

Another and a most important criticism of the situation arising out of the application of the toleration clauses was the tendency to create an "imperium in imperio". Alcock and the Protestant missionaries agreed that the arrogant pretensions of the Roman Catholic missionaries aggravated this problem. The Chinese did not always distinguish between the two great branches of the Christian faith, thus the Protestants suffered with the Roman Catholics.

In reply to such arguments, the missionaries stoutly defended their position. They maintained that the opposition of the Chinese came not because they were missionaries but because they were foreigners. Therefore the issue involved at Yangchow was not that of propagating Christianity with the aid of gunboats, but rather that "of securing the rights of British subjects as such." In defense of this view they pointed out the fact that the missionaries assaulted at Yangchow had not yet started to preach, and that, therefore, the local Chinese could not have objected to their doctrines.

The position of the missionaries is well summed up in this statement made by them:

"What we object to is, that the missionaries when they meet with outrages and report them, as in duty bound, at the Consulates, should be told that they are applying for gunboats to help in carrying on their work, and that if they would cease going into the interior, the necessity for gunboats would cease also. The outrages were perpetrated on them as foreigners, and had nothing to do with their peculiar calling. The missionaries, as such, are neither responsible for the outrages nor for the necessity of punishing them. They will do anything, to avoid these troubles, short of relinquishing their treaty rights to settle in the interior."
In further justification of their right to appeal to consular authorities, the missionaries pointed to the example of Paul, who appealed three times to Rome.

Regarding the charge that their teachings were revolutionary, the missionaries replied by saying that it was an old accusation. Christ himself was accused of stirring up sedition. His apostles had to meet the same charge. The missionaries pointed out the different meanings of the word 'revolutionary'.

"When the Chinese accuse Christianity of being revolutionary, they also mean that it teaches sedition. Now we know this is untrue. Christianity may be revolutionary of customs and opinions, but it is not sedition."

The missionaries maintained that the very presence of the Angle-Saxon in the orient was in itself revolutionary.

Alcock, commenting on this to Lord Clarendon, said:

"Thy admit what I maintained, it is revolutionary. How then can the missionaries doubt that it is a cause of implacable hostility to them, and to their works, on the part of those rulers?".

Alcock asked the difference between:

"sowing broadcast seeds of revolution and insurrection by enlightening and purifying the people, and so making a pagan and vicious government an object of hatred and insupportable; or by preaching sedition?"

He said that the end was the same in either case.

In regard to the control of missionaries in the interior, the missionaries pointed out the fact that the Government did have an effective check upon them, for the British Government had a rule that should any missionary be guilty of publicly deriding any religion observed in China, he would be liable to two years' imprisonment or to a fine of $500.00.

On the whole the missionaries reputed the idea that they sought to propagate the gospel by means of the sword. They maintained that they did not appeal except in

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"the most flagrant cases of injustice", and then only after the native authorities had refused to do anything. The use of force was "most abhorrent to their feelings". They suggested that in time of trouble the British authorities could first exert "friendly influences" or exercise diplomatic pressure to secure justice. Occasionally it might be necessary to call in a gunboat to "whip a pig-headed refractory provincial mandarin into the line of his duty in observing the stipulations of the treaty."

To sum up Alcock's position we can choose his own words:

"To the missionary, all the liberty and to the Government all the cost and responsibility, seems scarcely a fair division. In any case neither individuals nor Governments can be justly called upon to accept responsibility without any power of control. And it is precisely this claim to control or restriction that the missionaries so vehemently repudiate."

He felt that if the use of force were abhorrent to them, then the missionary should take care not to give cause for the use of such. He believed that the missionary cause would prosper more if it were entirely independent of governments and treaty protection.

On the whole Alcock's views prevailed in the Foreign Office. British missionaries were definitely ordered to remain in the vicinity of the treaty ports. They were warned not to expect any more protection than would be accorded to other British nationals.

As far as the converts were concerned, the Bishop of Victoria was notified by the Foreign Office under date of November 13, 1869, that no British authority would be used to protect converts who "set themselves above" the laws of China. The converts were to be warned that becoming a Christian did not relieve them from the duties they owed their government. The Bishop was asked to notify the other

mission bodies of this policy.

The Bishop protested against this attitude and in turn requested a larger degree of protection. He said in part:

"If Roman Catholic missionaries have penetrated to the far west and reside there under French protection, is it fair or just that the missionary of the Church of England should be prohibited from advancing into the interior?"

The Foreign Office remained adamant. It was convinced:

"that any other course would tend to endanger the maintainance of peace between this country and China, and to put in jeopardy the vast commercial interests of Her Majesty's subjects in that country."

In the latter part of 1869, Alcock left Peking for England. He was succeeded in Peking by Mr. Thomas Wade (afterwards Sir Wade). Before his departure Prince Kung told Alcock that he wished Alcock would take away with him both the opium and the missionaries.

The Tsungli Yamen Advises Caution.

Following the Yangchow affair, the Tsungli Yamen addressed a memorial to the Emperor regarding the missionary problem. The memorial itself and the Emperor's reply were both favorable to fair treatment.

The memorial spoke about the necessity of deliberate and fair investigations in cases of trouble, "no matter how it might prick the hand". Special mention was made of the converts "who, relying on foreign power, have grown boasting, arrogant, and sought to gratify their spite.

The memorial makes reference to the restoration of a church building at Nanyang in Honan, where public opinion was strongly against the restoration. It also refers to the riots at Yangchow and Taiwan. It speaks of the methods the Yamen had taken to smooth out the difficulties which had arisen. The memorial recognizes the fact that

since the Christian religion had received the sanction of the treaties "it would be difficult to oppose it openly". The memorial suggests that an imperial edict be issued which would require all high provincial officials to inform local authorities under them that if foreigners are in their vicinity spreading Christianity:

"they must command the scholars and people to attend each to his own affairs, to pay no heed to flying rumors, and to abstain from gratuitous criminations; that should any Christian teachers depart from their vocations and create disturbances among the people, they must at once inform their Consuls, that they may be dealt with according to treaty."

The Yemen felt that this would help abolish the causes for trouble. The Emperor did as was suggested.

The edict undoubtedly did much to prevent trouble, yet incidents centering around the missionary problem continued to occur. In January, 1869, Roman Catholics in Szechwan suffered persecution. A foreign priest armed some of his converts and took refuge in a church. The church was burned, causing the death of thirty, including that of M. Rigault, the missionary. The trouble arose there over the interference of the priest in judicial cases.

Early in that year Protestant missionaries at Ningpo met with difficulties in the renting of houses, due to the opposition of the literati. On August 24, 1869, the Rev. James Williamson was murdered by robbers near Tientsin.

In September, 1869, missionaries of the American Board had difficulties with rented property at Ichao, a city about seventy miles south west of Peking. On November 3rd, the premises of the C.I.M. at Anking, the capital of Anhui province, were pillaged and destroyed by a mob. There the missionaries sought and secured refuge in the Taoutai's Yam en.

32. British State Papers, LXIX, 1870.
The Tientsin Massacre.

The next outstanding incident was the Tientsin massacre. This occurred on June 21, 1870, and took the lives of twenty foreigners and a number of native Christians. The Yangchow affair involved Great Britain and the Protestant missionaries. The Tientsin affair involved France and the Roman Catholic missionaries.

Reasons for the massacre were partly local and partly due to the widespread anti-Foreign feeling of the time, which was aggravated and inflamed in Tientsin by vicious falsehoods.

In 1861 the French consul had taken a temple in Tientsin for his consulate. This had angered the citizens of the city. By 1870 Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity had become established in most of the treaty ports, if not in all. At Tientsin they were conducting a foundling hospital and an orphan asylum.

Finding that the Chinese were suspicious of the foreigners and adverse to the placing of children in these institutions, the Catholics pursued the policy of paying a certain sum for each child placed under their care. In such cases it was agreed that thereafter the Catholics had sole rights to the child. This practice of the Catholics, as many Chinese and non-Catholic foreigners later felt, inspired the practice of some unscrupulous Chinese to kidnap children and then deliver them to the Sisters of Charity for the sake of the bounty offered. The kidnapping of children is a common crime in China. Hence the people are in a constant state of alarm. The charge of kidnapping children which was made against the missionaries was a most

34. Williams, "Middle Kingdom", Vol. II., p. 700.
35. Ibid.
serious charge and one which was certain quickly to arouse
the passions of the people. Sometimes children in the
last stages of disease were taken to the hospital. These
were baptized before they died.

The death of such children, combined with the secrecy of
the establishments, furnished new reasons for the suspicions
of the people. The old lies of foreigners' making medicine
out of the vital parts of the body were widely circulated.

They were accepted as truth by the credulous people. The
officials made no effort to deny them. Toward the end of
May or the beginning of June, 1870, an epidemic prevailed
in the institution at Tientsin which brought about the death
of a number of the children. This caused great excitement
among the natives, who began to gather outside the gates
and demand the liberation of the children.

The massacre 

The Sisters of Charity, becoming alarmed
over the demonstration, finally consented
to an investigation by a committee of five Chinese. The
French consul, M. Fontanier, hearing of this, very foolishly
stopped the whole proceedings. The district magistrate
called on the French consul and begged permission for the
committee to investigate, saying that if the permission were
not granted, he could not foretell the result. The consul
considered his language to be a threat. The attention of
the mob was now directed against the consulate as well as
against the religious institutions. The next day, June
11th, Fontanier visited the Yemen and threatened the
magistrate with his revolver. He then went out into the
street, where he was killed by the mob. There is every
reason to believe that he acted unwise through the
whole affair.

36. Rodney Gilbert, a modern writer, in "What's Wrong With
   China", p. 219, states that he could produce witnesses who
   believe that the Rockefeller Institute in Peking was founded
   so that the U.S. Government might benefit from knowledge
   gained from the corpses of poor Chinese inveigled into the
   institution and murdered in cold blood in the interests of
   science."
The mob then attacked the mission property and massacred the ten Sisters of Charity. Their bodies were hacked to pieces and thrown into a fire. Three Russians, including a bridal couple, were mistaken for Frenchmen and were also killed. A number of priests were massacred. The native Christians suffered heavily both in loss of life and property. One report states that from sixty to seventy converts were killed; others, including some Protestants, were wounded, beaten, or imprisoned.

The orphanage, the cathedral, the French consulate were all destroyed. Eight Protestant chapels, including both American and British, were either destroyed or damaged.

Seven foreign powers signed a joint note foreign reaction asking for immediate redress. The Chinese were slow in meeting these demands. The absence of armed vessels at Tientsin probably accounted for some of this tardiness. In a few weeks the naval forces assembled and the Chinese began to speed up the negotiations. The native troops sympathized with the people. This made the task of the Chinese Government exceedingly difficult. The foreign powers maintained that three officials, namely the magistrate, the prefect, and the intendant, were responsible and demanded their punishment.

The Chinese Government ordered Tsang Kuo-feng, who was Governor-General of the Province, to go to Tientsin to settle the matter. There was no doubt but that popular sentiment was openly in favor of the deed. Fans, on which were printed a picture of the crime, were publicly sold in the city.

38. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 150.
39. Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 212 ff. gives the testimony of Rev. C.A. Stanley of the Am. Board who was then stationed at Tientsin. He claimed that the disturbances were not spontaneous but planned. He felt they were preventable if the native officials had taken action. "Soldiers took part in the work of destruction."
Finally after considerable pressure had been laid on the Chinese by the foreign powers, and especially by France, twenty prisoners were condemned to be executed and twenty one were to be banished. On October 18th, sixteen of the twenty condemned to death were beheaded. The other four were held for a retrial. The spirit in which the execution was conducted showed that the Chinese looked upon the condemned as victims who had to be sacrificed in order to appease the anger of the foreigners. The victims were dressed in costly silks and superior coffins were prepared for them. Some foreigners felt that they were purchased victims. The Chinese government awarded a sum of five hundred taels to the families of each of those executed.

The French Government received an indemnity of 460,000 taels, of which sum 250,000 taels were for the families of the victims. The balance went to pay for the property damaged or destroyed. The American Protestant Boards received an indemnity of 4,500 taels to cover their property losses. English boards also received a small indemnity. A Chinese mission was sent to France to render an official apology. The magistrate and prefect were banished to the Amoor district.

The Tsungli Yamen Circular of 1871.

Ten years had elapsed since the signing of the Conventions of Peking. They were years of adjustments, during which both the foreign and the Chinese governments were beginning to realize the full issues involved in the toleration clauses. The Chinese Government itself was becoming increasingly sensitive on the subject. The

The Tientsin affair stirred the Chinese officials of the Teung Yemen to a serious study of the whole matter of the relationships existing between the missionaries and the government. As a result of this study, the Yemen on February 9, 1871 addressed a circular to the representatives of the different powers having treaty relationships with China. This circular resembles somewhat the memorial which the Yemen submitted to the throne following the Yangchow incident. The appeal was now made to the foreign powers. 41

The circular began with this prelude:

"Tungchi 9th year, 12th moon, 24th day. Sir. In relation to the missionary question, the members of the Foreign office are apprehensive lest in their efforts to manage the various points connected with it they shall interrupt the good relations existing between this and other governments, and have therefore drawn up several rules upon the subject. These are now enclosed, with an explanatory minute, for your examination, and we hope that you will take them into careful consideration.

With compliments (carde of) Hanzlang Shan Kei-fan."

The circular with the explanatory sections was quite lengthy. It proposed eight rules for the regulation of the Christian mission work in China.

In the introduction, the circular made mention of the fact that trade relationships had not been a cause of friction since China had signed the treaties. That could not be said about Christian missions, which "engender ever increasing abuses". It made specific mention of the Roman Catholic religion:

"Although in the first instance it may have been declared that the primary object of the missionaries was to exhort men to virtue, Catholicism . . . has produced a contrary effect in China."

It stated that since 1860 the:

"majority of the converts are persons without virtue who seek the aid of the church in wicked designs . . . . It is therefore urgent that steps

42. British State Papers, 1871, LXX. An abbreviated copy is found in Chinese Recorder, Vol. IV, July, 1871. It was printed in full in the November issue, pp. 141 ff. and takes nine pages of small print.
should be taken to remedy this evil and to search for a satisfactory solution of the difficulty... wherever Catholic missionaries have appeared they have drawn upon themselves the animadversion of the people."

The introduction further defines the problem by stating that the common people in China were unable to distinguish between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. Since they did not distinguish, all foreigners were exposed to the same dangers. "The Prince and the members of the Yemen, during the ten years in which they have been at the head of affairs, have been a prey to incessant anxiety."

The introduction sets forth the necessity of more adequate regulations. The Yemen suggested eight rules for the consideration of the foreign powers.

Rule one referred to the conduct of Christian orphanages. The Chinese wanted the right to check on all the children. They suggested that permission be given for Chinese to adopt children out of the orphanages, or that the orphanages might limit their ministrations to children of Christians. The circular made mention of the fact that orphanages were being conducted in every province. The Chinese could not understand why the foreigners should want to establish them in China.

"It would be a good thing to abolish these foreign orphanages, and to transport them to Europe, where they could practise their charity at their ease."

Rule two would govern the conduct of women. The freedom of foreign women was an offense against Chinese ethics. "There are some places where men and women are together, not only at church, but also in the interior of the house". This gave rise to suspicions. The circular suggested that Sisters of Charity should not come to China.
Rule three suggested that the missionaries residing in China should conform to the laws and customs of China. The Christian converts should not be placed outside the pale of Chinese law. The circular accused the missionaries of giving asylum to those guilty of crime and even that they "make themselves advocates before the local authorities" on behalf of their converts who were involved in law-suits. A specific instance was cited which involved a French bishop.

Rule four maintained that the foreigners themselves should be amenable to the same laws that applied to the Chinese. For instance, murder should be punished by the death penalty. The missionaries should not defend or exculpate Christians who have transgressed the laws. If they did, then the missionaries themselves should be punished or sent back to their own country. Instances were given of the miscarriage of justice due to the missionary's interference. This rule also suggested that in cases of trouble no indemnity be asked.

Rule five governed passports. The passports "ought clearly to bear mention of the province and of the prefecture where they intend to repair". As it was, the missionaries passed freely from one province to another. The passports were not to be transferred but to be returned when no longer needed. Reference was made to the abuse of passports by the French missionaries.

Rule six suggested that the missionaries should exercise greater caution before admitting persons into their faith. The candidate should be carefully examined to see whether or not he was guilty of crimes. The missionaries were to report to the authorities when a convert was won, in order to let the authorities ascertain whether "he has ever
undergone any sentence, or if he has ever changed his name. This rule also called for an official inspection of the mission at stated intervals.

Rule seven forbade missionaries making unlawful use of official seals. It prohibited them from assuming the manner and style of mandarins. The missionaries were to conform to custom, even performing the kowtow before certain Chinese officials as the Chinese did.

Rule eight referred to the unreasonable demands made by the Roman Catholic missionaries for the restoration of houses and lands according to the provisions of the Peking convention of 1860.

"Missionaries shall not be allowed to claim, as belonging to the Church, the property which it may please them to designate; in this way no difficulty will arise."

The missionaries had made claims,

"without troubling themselves as to whether it wounds the susceptibility of the people or is injurious to their interests. Besides there are fine houses belonging to the literates that they claim, and expel the proprietor from them at the shortest notice. But what is worst, and what wounds the dignity of the people, is that they often claim as their property yamen, places of assembly, temples held in high respect by the literates and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood."

The missionaries had taken no account of the different hands through which the property had passed, but demanded it without indemnity from the last owner. In some cases they even demanded that repairs should be made, or if not repairs, then some money. Such actions had aroused the indignation of the people.

This eighth rule also set forth the ways and means of acquiring property.

"If the missionary wishes to buy a portion of land of which to build a church or hire a house in which to take up his residence, he must, before concluding
the bargain, go with the real proprietor and make a declaration to the local authority who will examine whether the Fung Chouy (43) presents any obstacles. If the official decides that no inconvenience arises from the Fung Chouy, it will then be necessary to ask the consent of the inhabitants of the place. These two formalities fulfilled, it will be necessary, besides, in the text of the contract, to follow the ruling published in the fourteenth year of the reign of Tongche (i.e. the Berthemy convention of 1865.) that is to say that the land belongs with full rights to the Chinese Christians.'

The circular made mention of the fact that should all of China come to detest the foreigner as had the people of Tientsin, then "the supreme authority itself could not longer be able to interpose efficaciously. Such are the dangers which the present situation implies."

This was a remarkable document, for it Protestant reaction showed that the Chinese Government meant to face the issues raised by the toleration clauses in a frank and serious manner. Nearly all of the eight suggested rules aimed at the Roman Catholics. Williams maintains that Protestant missionaries were hardly known to the Chinese magistrates.

Griffith John wrote a reply to the circular in which he set forth the Protestant opinion. He admitted that the Chinese had good reason to complain against the Roman Catholics.

"The French Protectorate in China, and the arrogant assumptions of the bishops and priests in many parts of the country, cannot be defended on any principle whatever."

Regarding the eight rules, several of them referred only to Roman Catholic work. For instance, the Protestants had no orphanages in China. The rule governing women missionaries affected the Protestant work vitally, for then the number of women missionaries was rapidly growing. John felt that the third rule applied only to Roman Catholics. Regarding

43. Fung Chouy—literally, 'wind-water.' It is an expressive term which refers to the animistic belief of the Chinese that the elements of nature have a controlling influence over life.
the fourth rule, John felt that the foreign powers should have the right to claim indemnity when conditions demanded it. Without that fear hanging over the heads of the officials, there would be no end of outrages. In regard to rule five, the missionaries asked merely for the same rights as were granted to other British subjects. The Protestants did not react favorably to the suggestion that the Chinese officials be informed as to who became a convert. They felt that such a custom would expose the candidate to dangers.

In regard to rule seven, John, while not upholding the arrogance of the Roman Catholics, still would refuse to kneel and perform the kowtow. John felt that there was much truth in the criticism of the Roman Catholics in the manner in which they claimed the restitution of confiscated property. He did not agree with the suggested rules regarding the purchase of property. The difficulty would be found in consulting the Fung Shuey (or Chouy). The Protestant experience was that on the whole the people were ready to sell to foreigners. The mandarins and gentry usually were the ones to object. John felt that:

"the real aim of this regulation is to keep the missionaries out of the cities and towns; for the people are at the bidding of the mandarins, and it can always be shown that the Fung Shuey is not favorable."

The Protestant missionaries were thoroughly alarmed over the circular. The Roman Catholics were equally disturbed. John further declared:

"These demands strike at the very root of Christian missions in China, and they will, if complied with, close every church, chapel, and school in the land."

Although the rules were aimed primarily at the Roman Catholics, yet if accepted and applied they would adversely affect all Protestant work.

46. The November and December, 1871, issues of the Chinese Recorder are almost entirely given over to a discussion of this question.

The majority sentiment of the Protestant missionary body at this time, as revealed by the articles and editorials in the Chinese Recorder during the years 1868 - 1871 was certainly in favor of the use of force by foreign powers to secure the rights and privileges granted by the treaties.

Dr. Chalmers, a missionary stationed at Canton, wrote:

"We are here under the protection of powerful Christian nations. Force is in some shape or another has been employed in order to secure that we and other foreigners may be here at all, and force in some shape or another has to be applied from time to time to enable us to remain here. But for the 'gunboat' we evidently could not remain. But for the 'gunboat' we could not put into circulation a single Bible or tract. But for the 'gunboat' every genuine convert to Christianity would have to hide himself away or be killed."

However, a few voices were being raised in protest.

One dared to write:

"We disclaim the right of governments to negotiate on account of Christianity, or to insist either upon its toleration or suppression. ... Personally they (i.e. the missionaries) may claim certain rights and privileges in virtue of their nationality but as missionaries, if they are persecuted in one city, they are simply to flee to another. We disown the civil establishment of religion in every form."

Most of the foreign ministers who received the circular delayed some time before replying. They felt it necessary to refer the matter home to their governments. The French minister felt that a collective answer would be best. The British minister felt that each nation should make its own reply. Mr. Low, the American minister sent the circular to his government and also under date of March 20, 1871, wrote to the Tsungli Yemen commenting on the circular. He was the only one to do this. In brief Mr. Low felt that the regulations were unnecessary, as the missionaries had no treaty rights to do the things of which the circular complained. He pointed out

48. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 156.
49. Ibid., p. 163.
50. British State Papers, 1871, LXX,"Correspondence respecting the circular of the Chinese Government."
the fact that the abuses which formed the basis of complaint "came from the action of the Roman Catholic priests and the native Christians of that faith; although the rules proposed for the government of the missionaries apply equally to Protestants and Catholics". There were at that time no American Roman Catholic missionaries in China. The remedy of the situation, therefore, was France's responsibility. He further said that the United States did not seek to establish authority, by means of a protectorate, over the converts of American missionaries.

In reply to Mr. Low's letter, Mr. Davis of the United States State Department, wrote under date of October 19, 1871, saying in part:

"If I rightly apprehend the spirit of the note of the foreign office and of the regulations which accompany it, there is, to state it in the least objectionable form, an apprehension in the Yemen that it may become necessary to curtail some of these rights, in consequence of the alleged conduct of French missionaries. This idea cannot be entertained for one moment by the United States."

"The President will see with deep regret any attempt to place a foreign ecclesiastic, as such, on a different footing from other foreigners residing in China. . . . The President would look with equal regret upon any attempt to withdraw the native Christians from the jurisdiction of the Emperor without his free consent, or to convert the churches founded by the missionaries into asylums."

The British reply was more emphatic in the rejection of the proposals. Mr. Wade wrote to the Earl of Granville in the British Foreign Office under date of June 8, 1871, saying that the circular contained statements "easily contradicted and some imputations which cannot be sustained". He pointed out the fact that three-fourths of the Roman Catholic missionaries in China were French, and that this branch of the Christian faith was popularly termed "the religion of France". The Protestants were innocent of

51: U.S. Foreign Relations, 1871, p. 107, gives this correspondence. Parker, "China and Religion", p. 223, suggests that Mr. Low's attitude was more or less influenced by his "ex-missionary secretary, Mr. S.W. Williams".
most of the complaints made in the circular for they had no orphanages and received back no confiscated property.

Mr. Wade suggested that the Chinese Government harbored a secret fear of the increasing number of the Roman Catholic converts.

The British Foreign Office replied on August 21. The British Government repeated its position that it would not offer any form of protection which would draw the natives away from the allegiance they owed their government. Neither would England seek for any privileges for the missionaries which was beyond "those granted by Treaty to other British subjects". On the other hand, the British missionary was not to forfeit his rights secured by treaty which were due him as a British subject, just because he was a missionary.

Germany also sent a reply to the circular which embodied about the same ideas. In general, it may be said of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany that these governments abstained from asking from China any rights or privileges which their other nationals did not or could not enjoy. France's attitude was much different.

France had exercised a protectorate over the Catholic missions in China for many years. In fact the beginning of the protectorate dated back to the days of the rites controversy. France had no great commercial interests in China. Her interests in China were largely ecclesiastical interests. Some observers have pointed out the fact that certainly at times this protectorate did not rest upon a homage that France would pay to religion, but rather it rested upon the power and influence that it gave France in Oriental affairs for the same government which persecuted

52. See page 41 of this thesis.
the Jesuits in France, protected them at the same time in China.

France's protectorate extended over Roman Catholic missionaries of Austrian, Spanish, and Italian nationalities as well as over the French. There were never many British Roman Catholics. Great Britain took care to see that her nationals did not recognize France's claim. Other nations also objected. In 1860, the Spanish minister tried to bring his Roman Catholic missionary nationals under his jurisdiction but failed. In 1864-5, the Italian minister was successful in withdrawing his nationals from French jurisdiction. This claim on the part of France to be the special protector of the Roman Catholic church in China was not based upon any treaty provision. It was a claim that had gradually been assumed by France and tolerated by China and the other nations involved.

Therefore France was especially interested and affected by the circular. The French Government claimed that the "pretensions were inadmissible" and that the Chinese Government was seeking "in pretended abuses justification for new regulations".

Yet the circular must have made some impression on the French minister, for, according to one Chinese writer, the French minister in 1872 said that he would entertain no more claims from the Roman Catholic missionaries for the restitution of property. The Roman Catholic missionaries were not altogether pleased with the way in which the negotiations over the Tientsin affair had been conducted. M. Delaplace, head of the Catholic mission in Peking, finally succeeded in freeing his mission from the control of the French legation and until the time of his death in

53. British State Papers, 1872, LXX.
54. T'ang Leang-li, "China in Revolt."
1882 conducted his affairs directly with the Tsungli Yemen.

China sought to abolish this protectorate claimed by France by seeking early in 1886 to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican. A messenger from the Vatican was given an imperial audience on April 8, 1885. The Tsungli Yemen considered the time opportune to terminate the French claim. The Chinese Government even appointed George Dunn, a British merchant, to represent it at Rome.

When this news reached France, a strenuous effort was made to counteract the proposals. The French ambassador at the Vatican convinced the Pope that the protectorate was advantageous to the Catholic cause in China and that no other nation was prepared to do what France had done and would continue to do. The result was that the Vatican approved France's claim to the protectorate. The protectorate continued until 1906.

Undoubtedly this claim on the part of France was a constant source of irritation to the Chinese Government. Some Protestants referred to it as "notorious". That it was not altogether pleasing to the Catholic missionaries themselves is seen in the effort of Delaplace to deal directly with the Tsungli Yemen. Mr. Wade in a memorandum sent to his government said of it:

"I remember that, in a conversation with Sir Frederick Bruce, in the second year of our residence at Peking, a Romish father, long resident in the country, admitted of his own accord, that the personal position of Romish priests in China was anything but ameliorated by the support they now received from the French Government. The comparatively amicable relations which had previously existed between the missionary and the mandarin had been disturbed; the mandarin and men of the lettered class who had been formerly friends, stood aloof."

Due to this protection some of the superior ranking missionaries had assumed "a somewhat mandarinic position

58. British State Papers, 1871, LXI, Appendix.
and this arrogation had been seriously resented by the highest authorities."

The discussion provoked by the Tsungli Yamen circular of 1871 did much good. The Catholic priests became more discreet. The French were more cautious. The Chinese themselves became more careful.

The United States Insists upon Treaty Observance.

A minor incident took place in the fall of 1874 which involved an American missionary and gave an indication of the attitude of the United States to the observance of the toleration clauses. In the fall of 1873, Mr. Corbett, of the American Presbyterian (North) Mission, moved his family to Chi-mi, a large town about one hundred and thirty miles south of Chefoo in Shantung. He had received sufficient encouragement from the natives in that district to make him feel that the move would justify itself. After living in Chi-mi for several months, he moved to the village of Kow-pu, nearby. For a time all was well. Then rumors began to circulate that Mr. Corbett was stealing children and was plotting an insurrection. On November 30th, while passing through a nearby village, he was stoned. His return trip necessitated his passing through the same village. Again he was stoned. Mr. Corbett complained twice to the magistrates of Chi-mi in whose jurisdiction the village lay.

The magistrate promised to issue a proclamation forbidding such acts, but failed to do so. Mr. Corbett complained a third time, after which a few posters were put up. Two weeks later Mr. Corbett was stoned again in the same village, this time barely escaping with his life. He was informed that if he complained and if as a result the rioters were punished, their friends would retaliate on him
and his children. Upon receiving this information, Mr. Corbett took his family to Chefoo. While he was away, rioters broke into his home, plundered his goods and assaulted native Christians in the neighborhood.

This was the background of the case. Mr. Corbett then laid the matter before the U.S. vice-consul at Chefoo, Mr. Cornabe, who was unable to secure satisfaction. Wells Williams, then charge d'affaires at Peking, was notified. Williams sent Mr. Sheppard of Tientsin, an U.S. consul, to Chefoo to settle the case. Mr. Sheppard, after satisfying himself of the truth of Mr. Corbett's complaints, had an interview with the Taotai, who finally conceded substantially everything that Mr. Sheppard demanded.

The Taotai had received a list of the names of forty-two Chinese who had been involved in the affair. A few weeks after the interview with Mr. Sheppard, the Taotai sent to Chefoo fourteen, of whom ten were concerned in the riot, but all of whom were insignificant men. The real ring-leaders had not been touched. When Mr. Sheppard learned of this, he proceeded to the Taotai's Yamen in Chefoo with Mr. Cornabe and Lieutenant Commander Bridgman of the U.S. gunboat Palos, and with others. The interview lasted three and a half hours, and as a result the Taotai gave promises in writing to arrest and bring to Chefoo all of the accused. This was done.

The trial of the accused began the 25th of May before the Taotai, with Mr. Sheppard present and with Mr. Corbett as the accusing witness. The trial continued until June 3rd. It was clearly proved that the local authorities had taken no steps to assuage the feelings of the people. As a result of the trial, six of the leaders of the stoning were
beaten with the large bamboo. Three of them received eighty blows apiece, two received sixty, and one received forty. The local constables were deprived of their offices and given eighty blows each. The stolen goods were returned and the Taotai issued stringent regulations governing the treatment of foreigners. The accused were also obliged to put up a bond for Mr. Corbett's personal safety as long as he remained in Chi-mi.

The Question of Inland Residence:

With an ever-growing body of Protestant missionaries and with the desire to penetrate into the interior as had the Catholics, it was inevitable that the legality of missionary residence in the interior should be raised.

In December, 1872, C.G. Beebe wrote from Kiu-kiang to Mr. F.F. Low, U.S. minister at Peking, asking whether or not American citizens could legally purchase property outside a treaty port, and whether, if such could be done, the U.S. Government would hold the Chinese Government responsible in case of the destruction of mission property. Similar questions were asked in regard to the rental of property.

Mr. Low replied under date January 15, 1873, by pointing out that all American citizens, missionaries and business men alike, were on the same basis. Mr. Low felt that there was no authority under the treaties for any citizen of the United States to purchase land outside of the limits of the treaty ports. In case such property were secured and subsequently destroyed by mob violence, then any claims for damages would "be an equitable, rather than a legal one." In such a case, should the Chinese authorities refuse to respond:

"it is extremely doubtful if our Government would sanction any proceedings which might be instituted by its diplomatic or consular officers to collect it." He made reference to the spurious article in the French convention of 1860 by saying that that article "on which missionaries have hitherto relied for their protection, is an interpolation in the Chinese text" and therefore without authority.

Regarding those American missionaries who had already settled in the interior, Mr. Low stated that he would protect them to the utmost of his ability. It was his "decided opinion that no further efforts should be made to establish stations inland, until we have a clear and undisputed right to do so by treaty".

Despite the restrained bitterness against the missionaries, the Chinese government seemed to have recognized a legal right on the part of the missionaries to dwell in the interior. Whereas the American officials referred to the spurious clause in the French convention of 1860, the Chinese never did. Some feel that China was not aware of the interpolation. A more satisfactory explanation of China's silence on this point was the existence of the Berthemy convention of 1865, which made legal the spurious clause. Under the most-favored-nation clause the Americans and British did have the legal right to dwell in the interior, even though they seemed not to be aware of it.

In spite of the warnings given by Great Britain and the United States to their missionary nationals, the Protestant missionaries gradually extended their work in the interior during this period. For the most part the foreigners were received in a friendly way by the local officials. The
Protestants felt that such incidents as that at Yangchow and that at Tientsin inspired a new respect for foreigners.

Property in the interior was being purchased or rented. Sometimes the 'fang shuey' was wrong. In such cases the local officials usually arranged for an exchange. An example of this occurred at Hangchow in 1872, when two Presbyterian (U.S.) missionaries bought property which was later judged to be contrary to the 'fang shuey'. It was exchanged for a piece of like size and $11,000. A similar exchange was made at Tsianfu in 1881.

In several places the missionaries met with opposition from the local officials or from the literati. In a few cases this opposition resulted in mob action and the destruction of property. On May 21, 1873, a mob, led by the literati, attacked the mission at Shui-chang, near Kiu-kung.

Again on May 1, 1875, the M.E. mission at Kiu-klang was attacked and much property was destroyed. In both cases a settlement was made. Probably as a result of the official correspondence which grew out of these cases, Prince Kung through the Tsungli Yamen was led to issue proclamations calling upon the people to observe the treaty rights and to respect the lives and property of the foreigners.

Benj. P. Avery, then U.S. Minister, writing from Peking on August 18, 1875, commented on the proclamations in these words:

"I regard this document as the most important and satisfactory paper relating to the rights of our missionary citizens under the treaty which has been issued within my knowledge of China. It is not only full and clear as to the rights of our citizens, but as to those of native Christians.

"It is remarkable that no reservations are expressed as to the rights to reside and to obtain land in the interior by 'perpetual lease' which is the term used instead of 'sale' or 'purchase' to designate the mode by which foreigners acquire..."
property subject to the nominal ownership of the Emperor and the dominant domain of the state. The renting of buildings for chapels is, also, put on the same footing as renting for commercial purposes. It would seem from all this that there is no disposition at present to raise a question as to the status of missionary beyond the limits of the treaty ports.

In March, 1878, the Tsungli Yamen issued a circular letter to its foreign ministers abroad in which special mention was made of the missionary question. Seven years had passed since the Tsungli Yamen had issued its circular suggesting eight rules by which the missionaries were to be governed. Yet this 1878 circular makes mention of some of the same abuses referred to in the earlier document. The missionaries were still taking upon themselves the rank and dignity of officials, thus at times usurping the rights of local authorities. Their converts, after breaking the laws of the land, were finding protection under the excuse of being converts. "This state of things China cannot tolerate or submit to."

Occasionally we hear of local authorities who were either uninformed of the proclamation of 1875 or else acted in spite of it. Such an instance is found in 1881, when American missionaries were refused the right to purchase land at Mamhoe, near Canton. The magistrate there objected on the ground that the treaties did not permit the purchase of land.

In July, 1881, American missionaries at Tsinanfa, the capital of Shantung, wrote to the American minister asking whether or not the words "or other places" in Article XII of the British treaty of Tientsin of 1868 could be interpreted to cover such places as Tsinanfa. They were informed that the phrase applied only to places

66. Ibid., 1881, p. 283.
67. Article XII, "British subjects, whether at the ports or at other places, desiring to build, etc."
contiguous to the treaty ports. They were further informed that inland residence was by 'sufferance' rather than by legal right. The American minister wrote:

"They (i.e. the missionaries) have now so long been indulged that we can make the indulgence a ground for remonstrating against the discontinuance of it, but it is wise for us to proceed with much caution and delicacy. I think we have, strictly speaking, no treaty rights to demand a site as our own anywhere in Chi-man-fu (Tsinanfu)."

One other example can be given of the Chinese attitude to this important question. In 1881 the Southern Methodists paid $15,000 for some land in Soochow. On December 31st of that year the magistrate issued a proclamation which informed the people that they should

"bear in mind that the renting or purchasing of land by foreign missionaries, or the building of houses in which to preach the doctrines of Christianity, is in accordance with treaty stipulations."

Mr. Holcombe, charge d'affaires at Peking, wrote of this proclamation to Mr. Frelinghuysen, then Secretary of State, under date of March 4, 1882. He referred to the favorable disposition which the document revealed. He made mention of the fact that the document admitted "a right which has not been claimed by us under the treaties, i.e.; the right of missionaries to purchase and hold for the use of their work real estate at interior points in China." Holcombe felt that when other magistrates would accept such a liberal position the diplomats would be relieved of many delicate and complicated problems "which now vex the diplomatic relations of China and the U.S." Holcombe felt that the tacit acquiescence of the Chinese Government in the residence of the missionaries in the interior for more than twenty years "has resulted in the permanent establishment of missionaries in considerable numbers in

69. ibid., 1882, p. 133.
every province." This fact in itself seemed to be proof that China had "positively conceded the right of such residence".

Some of the missionaries were quite concerned as to whether or not the U.S. State Department would openly advocate the position of "no right under the treaty" to dwell in the interior. One missionary, Gilbert Reed, said: "Better would it be if silence were adopted, in case a decision can not be rendered on the other side."

Replying to such a criticism, the U.S. Minister in July, 1888, said that the United States would seek to secure and safeguard rights and privileges won by treaty and granted by toleration and custom.

And so the matter rested for a time. We can well believe that had there been no Berthemy convention China would have been quick to protest against the missionaries' penetrating into the interior. It was to the best interests of both France and China that the agreement be kept a secret. The Roman Catholics were not eager that the Protestants should reap the fruits of their diplomatic efforts. China undoubtedly felt that the less the others knew of that agreement, the better for her. Meanwhile, the Protestants pushed on and on into the interior, somewhat to the surprise of their own diplomatic and consular officials, who could not understand why China did not protest. The best solution of the mystery was that given by the American minister, who referred to the privilege of inland residence as that granted by toleration and custom.

China could not protest, for if she protested against the inland residence of the Protestants she would have to protest against the inland residence of the Catholics; And
the Berthemy convented prevented that!

**Roman Catholic Gains.**

The twenty five year period from 1865 to 1890 was a time of great growth and expansion for the Catholic church in China. It enjoyed the active protection of a great government which protection contributed materially to the prosperity of the church.

An example of the co-operation which existed between the Catholic missionaries and the French consular officials is to be found in an incident which occurred in Ningpo in 1868. The Protestant missionaries had issued a Chinese translation of "Pilgrim's Progress" which contained an engraving which the Catholics found objectionable, for it pictured the pope "in a position most unworthy of him". The matter was taken up by the French consul, M. Simon, who sent a protest to both the American and British consuls.

In 1868 a writer in the *Chinese Recorder* referred to the 'thousand ways' in which the French Government removed the obstacles which faced the Catholic missionaries. This writer complained of the fact that the Protestant missionaries had to combat these same obstacles without aid from their governments, or worse yet, were forbidden by their governments to even try to remove them. He made mention of the cathedral which the Catholics had erected in Peking, overlooking the forbidden city, in these words:

"All the power of Protestant missionaries combined would have failed to erect a church surmounted by a cross overlooking the Emperor's palace; so would that of the Huguenot missionaries if it had not been backed by the power of France."

The various treaties and agreements gave the Roman Catholic church a freedom which it had not enjoyed since

the days of K'ang Hsi. The missionaries who had been in hiding in the interior now came out of their places of seclusion. The new conditions aroused the mother church to new activities in behalf of China. In 1866 there were twenty bishops and two hundred and thirty-three foreign priests in China. By 1885 there were thirty-five bishops and four hundred and fifty-three foreign priests. By 1890 there were six hundred and thirty-nine foreign missionaries on the field. Thus within twenty-five years the force had nearly tripled.

The church suffered from persecutions, but the type of persecutions had changed. Previous to the signing of the treaties, the Chinese Government itself was the persecuting agency. Now it had become a protecting agency. The church during this period suffered from popular resentment, the antagonism of the literati, and from mobs. A number of foreign priests and native Christians lost their lives through such persecutions. Yet the church grew.

In 1866 there were about 353,000 native Catholics in China. By 1890, around half a million followers were reported.

Protestant Gains.

The favorable conditions secured by the treaties and agreements had an immediate favorable effect upon Protestant mission work.

New work opened in the interior at work in but seven of the eighteen provinces. Each of these provinces contained a treaty port and all but the province of Hupeh, in which Hankow was situated, was a seacoast province.

75. See Appendix, p. 19.
78. See Appendix, p. 19.
In 1865 the China Inland Mission was organized by the Rev. Hudson Taylor, who had formerly been with the China Evangelization Society. Taylor had begun mission work at Ningpo under the C.E.S. in 1857. In 1860 he was obliged to return to England for health reasons. The political affairs in China which culminated in the Peking conventions, convinced him that a new day had dawned for Christian missions. So he organized a new society which was to specialize in sending missionaries to the inland provinces and to the areas in the coast provinces not yet occupied by other workers.

By 1861 there were seventy-seven workers in China. In that year these workers signed an appeal for seventy more. Within three years these additional workers were on the field. In November, 1886, another one hundred were asked for. These were sent out the following year. The number included the "Cambridge Seven". One of this band, Rev. D.E. Hosie, is now the head of the C.I.M.

The policy of the C.I.M. was to settle first in the capital of each province and then spread out from that center. From 1865 to 1890 nine new provinces were entered by the Protestants and permanent residential centers established. A number of these new provinces had previously been entered by missionaries of other Protestant groups who made itinerating trips. By 1890 only two provinces, Hunan and Kwangsi, remained unoccupied. Unsuccessful efforts had been made by the C.I.M. to settle in Hunan. By 1890 the C.I.M. had eighty-six different stations in fourteen provinces, besides one station in upper Burmah. At these stations more than two hundred and fifteen missionaries were at work.
When we list the various provinces of China according to the time they were occupied, we have another interesting commentary on the effects of the treaties on mission work. The treaties made it possible for the Protestants to go into the interior. From 1860 to 1880, the Protestants opened sixty-five new centers. From 1860 to 1890 the expansion was more rapid: in that decade, ninety-nine additional residential centers were occupied. Whereas the C.I.M. has the honor of being the first in the nine provinces opened between 1865 and 1890, all the other Protestant societies were likewise interested in opening work in the interior. These new stations were opened as quickly as resources and workers permitted. For sixteen years the C.I.M. was the only Protestant mission at work in Anhwei; and for ten years worked alone in Honan.

Another favorable result of the treaties is to be found in the increasing number of single women missionaries who were able to live and work in China in safety, even in remote places in the interior. During this period under review a number of women's missionary societies were organized in the home-lands. In the United States the women's foreign mission boards grew out of the Christian and Sanitary Commission work of the Civil War. By a very interesting co-incidence the war closed just as the new conditions in China made it possible for women to be more active there in mission work.

Previous to 1860 only eleven single women workers are reported to have gone to China. The Chinese Recorder for August, 1869, gives a list of twenty-one single women out of a force of one hundred and twenty-nine missionaries. It also refers to two women who had retired. In 1877, there

79. See Appendix 20.
81. See Appendix 3.
were sixty-three women workers reported. In 1888, the number had grown to two hundred and eight, of which number seventy-three were connected with the C.I.M. According to the reports of the missionary conference of 1890, there were then three hundred and sixteen women missionaries.

The first woman medical missionary, Dr. Comb of Philadelphia, reached Peking in 1873, having been sent out by the M.B. Church.

The coming of the women made it possible for more to be done in China for the women and children. By 1871 out of the six or seven thousand converts the missionaries numbered, about one-third were women. By 1877 there were reported 4,967 women converts out of a total of 13,035. The attention that the missionaries gave to women was revolutionary to the Chinese way of thinking.

Relief work which did much to win the sympathy and good will of the common people was the generosity and activity of the foreigners, and especially of the missionaries in the great famine of 1876. This made a deep impression upon the Chinese. Sixty-nine foreigners were engaged in the work of the distribution of food in four different provinces, especially in Shansi and Shensi.

During this period two large missionary conferences were held in Shanghai. These conferences were instrumental in collecting much valuable information regarding the strength and growth of the Protestant cause in China. These statistics reveal in eloquent terms the results of the rights and privileges won in the treaties and agreements as they applied to mission work.

86. See Appendix 21.
The first of these two conferences was held from the 10th to the 24th of May, 1877, and was attended by one hundred and twenty-six missionaries. The conference dealt with matters of common interest, such as the division of the field to prevent duplication of effort, literature, school books, opium, the appeal to the home churches, etc.

There is no evidence in the account of this conference that there was any discussion of the issues involved in the treaty question except that a committee consisting of A. Williamson, Y. J. Allen, Griffith John, and M. T. Yates was appointed to prepare a document for the literati and Chinese officials. This document was to outline the Christian doctrine, the nature of Christian rites and ceremonies, the relation of the native convert to the missionaries and to his own government, and the contribution Christianity could make to the strengthening of the Chinese national life. Certainly the attitude of this conference to the treaty question was far different from that of the conference of 1822.

The statistics gathered by this conference show that in the years 1864 to 1877 the number of mission bodies at work in China had grown to twenty-nine. The new societies which began work during this period were the following: China Inland Mission, 1865; American Southern Presbyterian, 1867; English United Methodist Free Church, 1868; Irish Presbyterian, 1869; Canadian Presbyterian, 1874; and the American Bible Society, 1876.

In 1864 there were eleven principal stations in seven provinces with one hundred and eighty-nine missionaries. By 1877 this work had expanded to forty-six principal stations in eleven provinces with four hundred and seventy-
three missionaries. The nationality of these workers, exclusive of their wives, was as follows: British - 147; American - 141; German - 17. The total number of men missionaries who had been sent to China by various Protestant boards up to 1867 was three hundred and thirty-eight, of which number one hundred and twenty-four were still on the field. By 1876 this total had risen to four hundred and eighty-four, out of which number forty-one were laymen, chiefly physicians.

The missionary conference of 1877 came seventy years after Morrison started work at Canton. As a halfway mark in this stretch of time was the signing of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. It is most interesting to compare the results of these two thirty-five year periods. In the first period the Chinese Government was a persecuting agency. At the end of that period the missionaries could count their converts on the fingers of two hands. In the second period the Chinese Government was bound by international agreements to be a protecting agency; and so by 1877 the converts numbered 13,057. Ah yes, there were hundreds of missionaries at work after 1842 as compared with but few before that date; but then even the fact that more missionaries were able to work is due to the existence of the treaties.

The missionary conference of 1890 conference was held in Shanghai, from May 7th to the 10th, to which four hundred and thirty delegates came. It is interesting to note that fully one fourth of these delegates wore the native dress, some of the missionaries even had queues. Some of the mission bodies, notably the C.I.M., had adopted the policy of having its missionaries wear the native dress in the hope

88. See Appendix 21 (b).
that the gospel message would then appear to be less foreign. This custom of wearing the native dress has virtually disappeared today.

During the thirteen years intervening between the conference of 1877 and that of 1890 we see a remarkable growth in the Protestant work. Three more provinces had been entered. The number of societies had increased from twenty-nine to forty-one, which reveals an awakened interest in the home lands. The number of missionaries, including wives, had almost tripled, growing from 473 to 1,296; and the number of communicants had likewise almost tripled by increasing from 13,035 to 37,287.

The reports of this conference show that the work was on a much stronger basis than it was in 1877. At the former conference only eleven self-supporting churches were reported. At the latter, ninety-four had come to full self-support. In 1876 there were eighteen hospitals and twenty-four dispensaries; in 1890 there were sixty-one hospitals and forty-four dispensaries. The percentage of increase is noticeable in the number of ordained native workers. In 1877 there were but seventy-three, while in 1890 there were two hundred and eleven. In like manner we read of a great increase in the number of students, both boys and girls, in the mission schools; and of increased offerings on the part of the Chinese to the mission work. The contributions increased fourfold, being $9,571 in 1877 and $35,884 in 1890.

The work of the Bible Societies during this period shows that there was an increased interest on the part of the Chinese in the Christian scriptures. In 1830 the British and Foreign Bible Society, through its agent, Alexander Wylie, gave away 30,000 copies of scripture. In 1866 this society

90. See Appendix 21.
changed its policy. Instead of giving away the copies of scripture, the copies were sold. The effect of political conditions on the sale of the scriptures is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the Tientsin incident was responsible for the sudden dropping of sales from 216,000 copies to 37,000. Smith, commenting on this, declares that the sale of scriptures showed "a sensitiveness to political conditions like that of a barometer during a typhoon".

The conference of 1890 had more to say about the relationships of the missionary and his converts to the Chinese government than had the conference of 1877. The question was becoming a live issue. The Rev. Timothy Richard gave a report to the conference on the relationship of the missionary to the Chinese Government, in which he summed up the chief charges brought against the missionaries as follows:

"(a.) Setting up of innumerable churches independent of government, fostering what ends in rebellions.
(b.) Interfering with the administration of justice; defending the lawless.
(c.) Assuming official rank.
(d.) Receiving the refuse of China into the churches.
(e.) Had disrespect towards ancestors.
(f.) Assembling of men and women together in the churches, and women teaching.
(g.) Greatest immoralities.
(h.) Corrupt teaching.
(i.) Doing no good."

Mr. Richard made mention of the fact that in places the Sacred Edict, with its seventh chapter aimed at Christianity, was still being read in places. On the other hand he spoke of the many instances of friendliness shown by Chinese officials. Viceroy Li Hung-chang at Tientsin, for instance, was then contributing hundreds of taels monthly to the support of medical work.

Mr. Richard recommended:

"That the conference should appoint a commission to lay the missionary question before the government of China; to thank them for kind protection in the past and to ask for a full inquiry into the grave charges made in the Blue-books; if true, we ask for due punishment; if false, we trust the government will do us the justice and give us better facilities for doing China more good than is possible for us now."

The reference to the Blue-books was to some state documents first published in 1856, then republished with a supplement in 1886, which contained references to Christianity which Richards called "scandalous". These Blue-books were on sale at government book shops and contained material which the missionaries considered to be fraught with much trouble if not suppressed.

The conference appointed a committee consisting of Y. J. Allen, J. Wherry, H. Blodget, and T. Richard, to prepare an address to the government.

Great as the fruits of the treaties were in Outlook this twenty-five-year period, still not enough time had elapsed to bring forth to full fruition the best of the good fruits or the worst of the bad. The next decade, 1890 to 1900, was to reveal an even greater growth of the church, and at the same time the growing resentment and antagonism on the part of the Chinese which finally burst out as the Boxer rebellion.
PART TWO

1842 -- 1927

CHAPTER V

THE CRISIS

1890 -- 1907

The Historical Background.

It has frequently been pointed out that China has been most tolerant in the matter of freedom of worship. Even though Confucianism was the fundamental and basic philosophy of the Chinese political system, yet great freedom was extended to such non-Confucian philosophies as Buddhism and Scholasticism, and to Christianity before it was suspected of having political alliances dangerous to the state. The point which has previously been stressed needs repetition. China's insistent attitude to Christianity was based mainly upon political considerations rather than any objection to the nature of the religion itself.

One curious focal point of trouble was the interference of the missionaries, and here the Roman Catholics were especially to blame, in the local administration of justice. The treaties promised all native converts immunity from

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CHAPTER V
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1890 -- 1907

Probably no where else in the world's history has there been such a confused mixture of the religious and political factors as there was in China during the seventeen years following 1890. The situation involved not only China but also every nation which had treaty relationships with her. During this period the treaties came to their full fruition. The tares ripened with the wheat and we find as one result the Boxer rebellion.

The Historical Background.

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1. Parker, "China and Religion", p. 6. Parker writes: "The Chinese Government has never encouraged spite, mental tyranny, or the stifling of any free opinion that keeps clear of State policy, scandal, or libel."
persecutions. There were undoubtedly many genuine cases of persecution in which the missionaries had a right to interfere. On the other hand there were also many cases in which the convert was merely taking refuge under the missionary's care, thus escaping the just penalties for his misdeeds. All manner of disputes were interpreted in the light of persecution. The willingness of some missionaries to extend such protection attracted many litigious individuals to the church, which only aggravated the situation. The church proved to be such a haven of refuge that imitation churches came into existence. It is reported that in Hunan, Hupeh, and Kiangsu, these false churches were organized by natives, who called themselves Christians, for the purpose of securing for themselves such legal advantages as belonged to the Christians.

Strictly speaking the missionary had no right to interfere in the court of the local official, nor could he directly approach the local official in any other way in behalf of the convert. The proper procedure was to take up the case through diplomatic channels, yet frequently the missionaries sought first to settle the point at issue with the local officials before appealing to consular authorities. The officials concerned always had the consciousness that if the case were not settled to the satisfaction of the missionaries that it would be appealed. This would usually bring endless difficulties to the officials. As a result, cases were often decided in favor of the convert when the facts justified a contrary decision.

Many cases were carried to Peking. The Chinese authorities there were besieged with demands to dismiss or

reprimand some local official. Curiously enough, few if any of these cases arose out of religious controversies based on the difference between native and foreign creeds. Koo writes:

"One and all, they appear to have taken birth in those defects of personal understanding and conduct on one side or the other, accentuated by racial discrepancies, which would give rise to misgivings and conflicts everywhere as between individuals, or groups of individuals, of diverse races."

In regard to this interference in the Catholic administration of justice, we find the criticism directed especially against the activities of the Roman Catholics. In 1886, the Chinese Government selected twenty-four missionary cases for publication as being typical of the law-suits which arose out of the application of the toleration clauses. Fifteen of these were Roman Catholic, and nine were Protestant.

Out of the Protestant cases, six were in regard to missionaries from the United States, one from Great Britain, one from Holland, and one from Germany. The principle of selection of these cases is not known. However, it is quite certain that the ratio of Roman Catholic to Protestant cases was much higher than fifteen to nine.

One reason why it was easier for the Catholics to become involved in such cases than it was for the Protestants was because the French Government always stood ready to protect the Catholics. Such governments as Great Britain and the United States discouraged such interferences. An instance of the extreme to which this interference sometimes led is given by a writer in the Chinese Recorder. He tells of one Roman Catholic priest who "holds his court and decides lawsuits without the expense of native litigation. He imposes fines upon his converts if he judges them to have

4. "Records of the Shanghai Missionary Conference, 1890", p. 406. See also "Chinese Recorder", Vol. XXXII, p. 493, where this statement is found: "Instances are reported in which Protestant suits as compared to Roman Catholic are in relation of one to one hundred."

committed wrong. Thus in this church there is a court of monks; first, which sit in secret; and second, from which there is no appeal. Is it not plain both to the Chinese officials and people that here is an imperium in imperio?"

Sir Rutherford Alcock, in a letter to the London Times under date of September 13, 1886, denounced in the strongest terms the whole system of Catholic interference in the political affairs of China. It is to this interference that he attributes: "the perennial hostility towards Christianity and its teachers in every form, which... now pervades the whole nation, rulers and people, from the highest to the lowest." In this letter he tells of how on his trip home from China he stopped off in Italy, where he had an interview with Pope Pius IX. The Pope asked Alcock how he accounted for the persistent hatred manifested in China against the missionaries. Writing of his reply, Alcock states:

"I felt constrained to answer: 'It was not a question of religion with them, but of civil jurisdiction', and I was not surprised that he did not pursue the subject further."

For the most part the Protestants were cautious in the exercise of the right to appeal to secular authorities in order to secure some privilege granted by the treaties. This cautiousness was due to two things. In the first place, there was the reluctance on the part of the secular authorities themselves to press such appeals. The attitude of the British officials, for instance, is found in a statement made by Lord Salisbury. He said: "I must not conceal from you that at the Foreign Office missionaries are not popular."

In the second place, there was the recognition on the part of the Protestant missionaries that such appeals often did more harm than good. Several of the mission bodies

either warned their missionaries against the dangers of interfering in any way in the administration of the Chinese laws or forbade them to do so. The C.I.M., for instance, sent out this instruction:

"Under no circumstance may any missionary on his own responsibility make any written appeal to any British or other foreign authorities."

The Baptist missionaries at Swatow previous to 1888 decided that they would not take cases involving native church members to foreign consuls.

In the June, 1899, issue of the Chinese Recorder there appeared an article entitled "Should we endeavor to keep all church troubles out of the Yemen?" by the Rev. Paul D. Bergen. Mr. Bergen sent out over two hundred questionnaires to Protestant missionaries who had been on the field for more than five years. The group selected was made up of representative missionaries from the different societies in scattered localities. Seventy-three answers were received. One-fourth of the replies came from men who had spent more than twenty years in China.

The answers revealed the fact that the Protestant missionaries exercised great caution and moderation in appealing to secular authorities for intervention in behalf of native Christians. Three were willing "to cut themselves off from the privilege of applying to Caesar". Most of the replies favored a friendly presentation to the local officials of the facts involved, when such difficulties arose. Some would do no more than this. "The majority would, however, proceed to sterner measures if necessary to secure justice."

In reply to the question: "How often have you applied to the official?", a total of one hundred and seventy-five cases

were reported out of the seventy-three replies. This total includes the report of one man who admitted that he had appealed from twenty to thirty times. One-third of those who replied said that they had never appealed. Forty-eight indicated that they had appealed three times or less. If these answers can be accepted as a fair indication of the attitude of the whole Protestant body, then one can hardly say that the privilege was abused.

In reply to the question: "How often have you applied through consul or minister?", only fifty-two cases were reported. This proves that in cases of difficulties, most of the missionaries sought to find a settlement by appealing directly to the Chinese officials. Forty-one out of the seventy-three who replied claimed never to have requested consular aid for their converts.

In regard to the results secured by such appeals, the replies showed that fifty-three cases were settled in a manner beneficial to the convert or to the church; sixty-two were reported as being of doubtful value; while sixty-seven had bad reactions. This study indicated that the missionaries themselves were of the opinion that appealing to secular authorities did the mission cause more harm than good.

On the whole, though, the Protestant missionaries were not ready to abandon such a privilege. However, we find plenty of evidence that the sentiment was changing. At first the missionaries unanimously hailed with joy the toleration clauses. The only disappointment then expressed was that more had not been secured by treaty.

With the passing of the years, the missionaries had begun to realize the full implications of the treaties. Shortly before the Boxer outbreak, there were some courageous spirits
who were saying that never under any circumstances would they appeal to Caesar.

Missionary interference in the law-courts was just one aspect of the whole missionary question. The convert himself became an object of friction as soon as he became a Christian, for, by so doing, he cut himself off from the members of his family if they were not Christians. The acceptance of Christianity was thus interpreted by many of the Chinese as an unfilial act, and as such was bitterly resented. The convert did not join with the others of his community in the support of the local temple. His refusal to contribute caused the burden of keeping up the village shrine to fall upon others. The fact that the convert was guaranteed immunity from such taxes and duties by the treaties with foreign powers only accentuated the impression that the convert had either become an alien or was in alliance with aliens.

Sir Robert Hart pointed out the fact that the acceptance of a foreign faith was often viewed by the Chinese people, and especially by the literati, as an insult to the native faiths. He declared that the very presence of the missionary:

"has been felt to be a standing insult, for does it not tell the Chinese their conduct is bad and requires change, their cult inadequate and wants addition, their gods despotic to be cast into the gutter, their forefathers lost and themselves only to be saved by accepting the missionary’s teachings?"

Another authority speaks of the "denationalizing" effect of the missionary’s work. The native by becoming a Christian, automatically broke with many ethical and social rules and standards of conduct which had formed the basis of

Chinese society for centuries. In the face of deeply implanted sentiments, it is easy to understand the shock that must have come to many when they learned that a man should forsake his father and mother and cleave unto his wife.

To further complicate matters and to foreign aggression hasten the crisis, the various foreign powers were guilty of a series of unscrupulous attacks on the sovereignty of China. During the period extending from 1891 to 1895 China lost nine dependencies to different foreign powers. The list is as follows:

- Liu-hsiu Islands to Japan - - - 1881
- Western part of Ili to Russia - - 1881
- Tangkian and Annam to France - - 1885
- Northern Burma to Great Britain - 1886
- Sikkin - - 1880
- Korea, Formosa, and the Pescadores to Japan - - - - - 1895

In addition to the loss of the dependencies, several of the foreign powers secured concessions along the China coast.

The contacts China had been having with foreign powers had awakened a desire for reform on the part of some of her leaders. Hugh sums were spent on military and naval preparations. Li Hung-chang, who first came into notice during the T'ai P'ing rebellion, was one of the chief promoters of the reform movement. Arsenals were built; the naval ports in the Gulf of Pechihi, and at Port Arthur, Weihaiwe, and Talienwan were established; Chinese young men were sent abroad to secure foreign training; foreigners were hired to come to China to train China's military and naval forces; and similar reforms were made in the other aspects of national life. These reforms engendered in China a new confidence in China's ability to resist.

further any new aggressive attempt of any foreign power.

However, the reforms were permeated through and through with deceptions, bribery, and other weaknesses. Some of the money which was supposed to go to build a navy was used by the Empress Dowager to beautify the palace grounds in Peking. Much of the munitions purchased was worthless because of the substitution of non-explosive material for powder.

In 1894 trouble arose in Korea, which had up to that time acknowledged the sovereignty of China. China sent a force of 8,000 soldiers to restore order. Japan, feeling aggrieved over the fact that she was not notified of this step, sent 10,000 soldiers to Korea. A British ship, commanded by British officers, which was carrying reinforcements to the Chinese force, was sunk by the Japanese. This led to a declaration of war by China.

In the war, both on land and on sea, China was hopelessly outclassed. Japan swept Korea clean of Chinese troops. She captured Port Arthur. Weihaiwei was captured and the entire Chinese fleet at that place was destroyed or captured. The treaty of Shimonoseki, which was signed April 17, 1895, marked the close of the war. In the treaty the independence of Korea was declared. Japan secured control of the Liaotung Peninsula, on which Port Arthur was situated, Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands, and also an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels. Four new treaty-ports were to be opened. They were Shasi in Hupeh; Soochow in Kiangsu; Hangchow in Chekiang, and Chungking in Szechwan.

Germany, France, and Russia all protested against Japan receiving the Liaotung Peninsula. As a result, Japan relinquished her claims on this territory for a further indemnity of 30,000,000 taels.

12. Part of this money which was to have been used to build ships for the navy went to pay for the marble boat in the palace grounds.
The results of this war were far reaching. Foreign powers relied less on diplomacy and more on threats when making demands of China. China felt herself deeply humiliated. To be defeated by the despised 'pigmies' of Japan was a real disgrace. The defeat gave further impetus to the reform movement. More and more China's leaders were convinced that if China were to survive, she would have to break with many ancient traditions and model her institutions after those of the West. Another important result of the war was that for the first time China found herself burdened with a big foreign debt.

Germany seizes Kiaochow Catholic missionaries, of German nationality, were murdered by robbers in a small village in the southern part of the province of Shantung. The murder of the foreigners was incidental to the activities of the gang of robbers, for the whole village was looted. The murder was not caused by any local anti-foreign or anti-Christian feeling. The Chinese Government took prompt steps to apprehend and punish the guilty persons.

Germany, who had previously notified Russia, Austria, and Italy of her desire for a naval base in China, and who had even examined the coast of China for likely places, was quick to take advantage of the opportunity. Within thirteen days after the news had become known, Germany sent war-vessels into Kiaochow bay and took possession. A detachment of German soldiers occupied some Chinese forts, driving out the Chinese soldiers. The governor of Shantung, Li Ping-hang, being somewhat anti-foreign in spirit, had moved slowly in trying to bring the culprits to justice. Germany laid down heavy demands. The governor

was to be dismissed from public service; an indemnity was to be paid; the port of Kiaochow and territory adjoining was to be occupied by Germany on a ninety-nine year lease; and further, Germany was to have sole railroad and mining rights in the province of Shantung. All these demands because two German missionaries had been murdered by a gang of robbers! Moreover, the murdered missionaries were Jesuits, members of an order at that time excluded from Germany's borders.

Germany, as France had done on a previous occasion, was claiming to be the protector in China of that which was forbidden in the home-land.

China could do nothing else other than sign a treaty which conceded all that Germany had demanded. The treaty was signed March 6, 1898. The seizure of Kiaochow brought forth several bombastic statements both from the German Emperor and others high in authority. The Emperor is reported to have said:

"May everyone in those distant regions be aware that the German Michael has firmly planted his shield, with the device of the German eagle, upon the soil of China, in order once for all to give his protection to all who ask for it. ... Should anyone essay to detract from our just rights or to injure us, then up and at him with your mailed fist."

Admiral Prince Henry of Prussia, who was sent out to China with reinforcements, said with equal haughtiness:

"Most august emperor; most mighty king and lord, illustrious brother ... of one thing I may assure your Majesty, neither fame nor laurels have charm for me. One thing is the aim that draws me on, it is to declare in foreign lands the gospel of your Majesty's hallowed person, to preach it to everyone who will hear it, and also to those who will not hear it. Let the cry resound far over the world, most august, most mighty, beloved emperor, king and lord, for ever and ever."

Such was the gospel that Germany, considered by China to be a Christian nation, sent to China solely for the purpose of avenging the death of two German missionaries. We can

17. Ibid.
believe that the missionaries themselves, had they been able, would have been among the first to protest against such actions.

In the light of France's claim to be the protector of Roman Catholic missionaries, the incident has additional interest. In 1890, Germany had challenged that claim, but this was the first time that Germany's claim had been publicly asserted. Germany never sought to do more than protect her own nationals.

Other powers secure concessions secured all of her demands inspired the other foreign nations to act. Russia came forward with a request for Port Arthur. She wanted an ice-free port on the Pacific. Within three weeks after making her request, she secured a lease from China for Port Arthur on terms similar to those by which Kiaochow was leased to Germany. Russia was not able to keep Port Arthur for very long, because, in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, it was taken from her by Japan. Russia also secured the right to build a railroad through Manchuria, thus linking up Port Arthur with her trans-Siberian railroad.

Great Britain put in her bid for Weihaiwei. China agreed to lease it to Great Britain for as long a time as Russia held Port Arthur. When Russia lost Port Arthur, Great Britain continued to keep Weihaiwei. Great Britain also secured a lease on Kowloon on the mainland opposite the island of Hongkong.

France succeeded in getting the port of Kwang Chow-wan in South China. The straw that broke the camel's back was the demand of Italy, whose commercial interests in China were small, for Sammen bay in Chekiang province. China's ire was aroused and she refused.

Morse, speaking of the concessions, declared: 

"No country with a tithe of its area and population had ever been subjected to such a series of humiliations, or to so many proofs of the low esteem in which it was held. . . and no country had ever so thoroughly deserved its fate; no country had ever shown itself so incapable of correcting admitted abuses in its administration, or of organizing the resources of an exceedingly rich country, inhabited by a sturdy race with many good qualities."

Coincident with the scramble for ports Spheres of influence and naval bases, was the parceling out of the whole empire among the great European powers into 'spheres of influence'. Informally it was agreed that the nation concerned was to have prior rights within certain territories or areas. These rights referred especially to commerce and to such economical developments as the construction of railroads, and the opening and running of mines.

England's sphere of influence was the Yangtze valley reaching from the sea to Tibet. Germany with her rights in Shantung naturally looked on that province as her special sphere. Russia in the north, with a railroad running through Manchuria, accepted the territory north of the great wall as her field. France had a foothold in the south and shared with Great Britain the trade in the vicinity of Hongkong.

The United States had no port or concession. Nor did it have a 'sphere of influence.' Some individual citizens secured the contract for the building of the Canton-Hankow railroad, which contract was subsequently sold to the Chinese Government. The railroad was never built.

Continuance of Anti-Foreign Agitation.

When we add up the grievances China had against the foreigners because of the missionary problem and because of the many acts of aggression on the part of the foreign

20. Part of the present International Concession at Shanghai was laid out as an American concession, but Congress never ratified the plan of its ambitious citizens abroad.
nations, in addition to such other grievances as the opium question, we get a formidable total. No wonder the anti-
foreign spirit lived! Outwardly the Chinese Government
was polite and courteous. It dared not be otherwise.
Inwardly nearly every official, if not all, cherished
the hope of the coming of a time when every hated foreigner
would be banished from the realm. When the Chinese
Government in 1868 was thinking of revising the treaties of
Tientsin, it requested the opinions of a number of high
functionaries of the realm on the foreign question. Some of
these memorials, which were never intended for foreign eyes,
later came into the possession of the foreigners. These
memorials reveal that the unanimous opinion was that the
presence of the foreigner was a calamity and that his
ultimate expulsion was a necessity.

During the years 1880 - 1890 a number of
anti-foreign riots took place, most of which were directed against the missionaries. This
may be due in part to the fact that the missionaries were
more widely scattered than the business men and were thus
more open to attack. Anti-foreign demonstrations which
sometimes ended in riots in which property was damaged and
the lives of foreigners endangered, took place in 1885 at
Chinkiang; in 1886 in the provinces of Kiangsi and Szechwan;
during the years 1886-90 in Shantung; in 1888 at Wuhu; and
in 1889 at Chinkiang and Nank'ang.

In 1890 vile anti-Christian placards and pamphlets
began to be distributed. These were prepared by a noted
Chinese scholar, Chou Han, who had the rank of Taotai and
who lived in the capital of Hunan province. The common
people were incited by this means to destroy mission property.

In the final punishments which were meted out to the leaders of these anti-foreign riots, the real culprit, Chou Han, was not touched.

In 1891, under the incentive of such placards and pamphlets, riots broke out at various points along the Yangtse river from Shanghai to Ichang. These riots were of such intensity as to lead the foreigners to believe that a concerted effort was being made by the literati and mandarins to drive the missionaries out of China.

The following is a sample of the literature distributed.

It is a translation of a proclamation posted at Wuhu, May 24, 1891:

"Lately the Roman Catholic mission are building churches in every portion of the place. Every convert is paid a monthly sum of six dollars, and it is by such means that ignorant males and females are led to enter the churches where men and women congregate together without discrimination. This breach of morality and custom is in itself a violation of the fixed laws of the State. Now women are procured from other places, and are paid to abduct children, whose eyes and intestines are taken out, and whose heart and kidneys are cut off."

The term which the Roman Catholics used for God is almost identical in sound with the words: "the heavenly pig". Therefore on some of the placards, God and Jesus are represented as swine, before which the Christians are bowing in worship.

The accusation was frequently made that the missionaries were in the pay of the foreign governments.

One missionary writes:

"That we are supported by funds from our government is universally believed, and no amount of denial shakes the belief in the mind of the ordinary Chinaman... Again I repeat, there is no more serious obstacle to the propagation of our religion in China than this belief."

As a result of such agitation, riots broke out in

Soochow, Wuhu, Wuhsueh, Tanyang, Wusieh, Chinkwan, Yangwu, 26
Kiangyin, and Ichang. On June 5th, an officer of the
maritime customs and a missionary, both British subjects,
were killed at Wuhsueh. In all places where there were riots,
much property was damaged or destroyed. The Roman Catholics
suffered more than did the Protestants. The native
Christians were affected with the foreigners.

The foreign powers were not slow in demanding that
such demonstrations cease. Foreign and Chinese gunboats
were sent to the places of trouble which were on the
Yangtse. Their presence had a quieting effect. After
exerting considerable diplomatic pressure, the foreign
ministers in Peking secured an edict which was published in
the official gazette under date of June 15, 1891. This
edict strongly condemned such attacks and called upon the
27
local authorities to protect the foreigner. The edict
stated that all guilty persons would be punished with the
utmost severity.

As a matter of fact very little was done to punish the
offenders. Two ringleaders were executed. After convincing
evidence had been laid before the Tsungli Yamen as to the
guilt of Ghou Han, a commission was sent to Hunan to
arrest him. The commission returned with the report that
he could not be found. The only mandarin who was deposed
was one who, at the risk of his own life, sheltered some
foreigners from the fury of the mob. This mandarin was
finally reinstated upon the insistence of the foreign
28
ministers in Peking. The unwillingness of the Chinese
Government to take a strong hand either in subduing the
riots or in the punishment of the offenders indicated
the sympathy the Government felt for the rioters.

27. See Appendix 22.
In 1894 a representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society was murdered in Manchuria. The events of the Chinese-Japanese war, 1894-5, undoubtedly aroused further anti-foreign feeling. In May, 1895, severe riots broke out in Szechwan, which resulted in the destruction of twenty mission-stations. More than eighty foreigners were obliged to flee to the coast. In June of the same year there were outbreaks against native Christians at Wenchow, Chekiang. On August 1st, four of the CMS missionaries were murdered at a place near Kucheng in Fukien. This outrage brought forth another official proclamation from the Tsungli Yamen. The local authorities were again commanded to take the utmost precaution to prevent such cases. All offenders were to be severely punished.

It was the conviction of the missionaries that the Chinese officials were to blame for most of these riots.

The Rev. Timothy Richards wrote:

"All of the great riots up to the Fukien one had been directly or indirectly instigated by the Chinese authorities themselves."

as far as the Fukien riot was concerned, the United States official who investigated that case came to the conclusion that the responsibility rested with the officials, "who, but for their inertness, inefficiency, and culpable neglect, could have prevented the crime."

The Berthemy Convention Revised.

The riots of 1891 in Szechwan had greatly injured Catholic missions.

The Catholics were not satisfied with the degree of protection extended by the Chinese officials. Then, also, the Catholics had discovered from experience, that local

30. At least twenty Protestant missionaries lost their lives in China previous to the Boxer outbreak.
31. This proclamation is very similar to that of 1891.
Chinese officials had used some of the provisions of the Berthemy Convention as a means to prevent the missionaries from securing property. The missionaries were, therefore, interested in having the Berthemy Convention revised. Fortunately for the Roman Catholic church, the French Government had an able and aggressive representative in M. Gerard, who willingly interceded in behalf of the Catholic church.

Gerard opened negotiations with the Tsungli Yamen which resulted in a modification of the Berthemy Convention as desired by the missionaries. The most important change permitted the missionaries to buy land without first obtaining the consent of the local officials. These new directions were sent out to the various Viceroys and Governors in October, 1894.

The modified Berthemy Convention discussed these issues and agreement came just in time to be of great value to the Americans. In 1893 the officials at Nanking promulgated some rules regarding the purchase of property by missionaries which precipitated a discussion of these issues by American missionaries and officials. The regulations promulgated at Nanking called for the consent of local authorities before missionaries could secure title to land. The local authorities were to investigate and if the 'fang-shuei' were right would give consent. The missionaries maintained that such a provision would effectively prevent them from buying property. They appealed to Colonel Denby, the American minister at Peking, who in turn laid the case before the State Department at Washington.

In reply, Mr. Gresham of the State Department, stated that since there was no clear treaty right for missionaries

34. See Appendix 23.
to buy land in the interior that, therefore, the best the American minister could do was to prevent any abrupt reversal of any established custom at Nanking whereby the tolerance heretofore accorded in this regard to foreigners there, as in other parts of China, may be impaired or destroyed. The acquisition of land by foreigners outside of the treaty ports being a matter of permission and usage, fortified by long observance, it is desirable that transactions to that end should, as far as practicable, be the same as in the localities where the right is stipulated by treaty."

This question as to the legal right of Americans to reside in the interior and to secure property there had been up before. However, the missionaries had refrained from pushing the question too far with the American officials for fear that their government might "advocate the side of no right under the treaty". However, the issue at Nanking in 1893 was so sharply drawn that the appeal was made. The attitude of the State Department was disquieting to the missionaries. The Chinese Recorder for October, 1894, has a reference to a meeting held at Shanghai in the summer of that year, when thirty or more American missionaries met to discuss the question as to whether or not the Americans had the right to "live in the interior, buy land, build houses and chapels, and carry on missionary work generally." They agreed to petition their government to define their position. In doing this, they declared their intention to be, not the securing of some new right, but rather an understanding of old rights.

It was in the late fall of 1894 that the Chinese Government notified all provincial authorities of the modification of the Berthemy Convention which automatically solved the problems faced by the missionaries in Nanking. In the official records of both Great Britain and the United States, following this date, we find the first

indication that these governments were aware of the Berthemy Convention. As far as the Protestants were concerned, the provisions of the Berthemy Convention were kept secret by the French and Chinese Governments for about thirty years.

In 1896 the American minister at Peking submitted five propositions to the Chinese Government as a suggestion of possible steps to be taken to prevent the recurrence of anti-foreign riots. The first proposition suggested that the Chinese Government issue a decree stating that the foreigners had the right to dwell in the interior. The second proposition stated:

"The declaration, in such decree, that American missionaries have the right to buy land in the interior of China; that they have all the privileges of the Berthemy Convention, as amended in 1895, and that deeds taken by them shall be in the name of the missionary society or church which buys the land, as that convention provides."

The Tsangli Yamen replied to this in the early part of 1897 in which it agreed to proposals. Its answer contained this significant statement:

"The princes and ministers beg to state that while the treaties between the U.S. and China do not provide for this, still the American missionaries should be treated in this matter the same as the French missionaries."

Mr. Denby, commenting on this, stated:

"This is a valuable admission, as treaties, except the Berthemy convention, are silent on the question of residence in the interior."

The English claim Under date of March 17, 1898, the same rights British minister wrote to the British Foreign Office, in which letter he declared that, in view of the right granted by the Berthemy Convention of 1865 and modified in 1894, the British missionaries had the right to "acquire property for the purposes of their mission.

38. Ibid., 1897, p. 62.
39. Ibid.
in all parts of the Chinese Empire”.

At the missionary conference held in Shanghai further edicts in 1890, a committee was appointed to prepare a statement regarding the nature of the missionary’s work and lay it before the Chinese Government. On November 11, 1895, this committee presented a comprehensive document to the Tsungli Yamen. This document surveyed the peculiar tenets of the Christian religion and the contribution that Christianity could make to China. It referred to the toleration that successive dynasties had shown to Christianity and prayed that decrees should be issued to suppress the false and calumnious books and placards which were being circulated. This was done.

In January, 1898, the Chinese Government issued another imperial decree calling for the protection of the foreigners. The bearing of the missionary question upon the “peace of the State” was clearly recognized and all local officials were commanded to exercise caution.

China’s attempt to Absorb Christianity.

On March 15, 1899, the Chinese Government issued a most interesting decree which, among other provisions, conferred official rank upon missionaries. Bishops were to have a standing equal to that of Viceroy and Governors; Vicars-General and Archpriests were to be equal to Treasurers, Provincial Judges, and Taotais; and other priests were to be equal to “prefects of the first and second class, independent prefects, sub-prefects, and other functionaries.” This decree gave the missionaries the right of appealing directly to the Chinese officials for the settlement of difficulties.

42. See appendix 24.
43. For this title the author is indebted to a pamphlet by G. Nye Steiger entitled "China’s Attempt to Absorb Christianity," which gives a fine study of this decree.
44. See appendix 25.
The decree very clearly refers to the Roman Catholic missionaries. M. Pichon had succeeded M. Gerard as French minister in 1897. The Roman Catholic bishop of Peking was Bishop Favier. The first reaction to the decree, and one that still is held by many writers, was that the decree came as the result of some clever diplomacy on the part of M. Pichon and Bishop Favier. On the other hand, Steiger, in his admirable study of this decree, comes to the conclusion that the decree was "of Chinese origin, and constituted a deliberate attempt on the part of the Imperial Government to eliminate the evils which ensued from the intimate relationship between Christian missions and the various Treaty Powers."

Among the reasons, cited by Steiger, for believing this are the following. In the first place, there was the willingness on the part of the Chinese Government to extend the rights and privileges to the Protestant missionaries. Secondly, the decree was in full harmony with the policy adopted by the Empress Dowager following her resumption of authority after the one hundred days' reform. Her new policy was that of decentralization of authority. Efforts were made to transfer to provincial authorities many of the problems of defence and also some of the diplomatic questions. The decree itself looked forward to the settlement of many of the missionary difficulties by the local authorities rather than by having them brought to the Tsungli Yamen. Such a policy would save time and might reduce the possible pretexts which could be used by foreign powers for diplomatic pressure. In the third place, had the decree been successful, it would have placed Christianity upon the same basis as other foreign faiths which had been introduced into China, e.g., Buddhism.

45. Cordier, "Histoire générale de la Chine", Vol. IV, p. 224. Cordier states that the decree was "grâce aux intrigues de Mgr. Favier".
46. Steiger, "China's attempt to absorb Christianity", p. 8.
On the whole, the Roman Catholics were pleased with the decree and were quick to avail themselves of the privileges offered. However, there were some who viewed it with mistrust, for they felt that it meant a virtual nullification of the French protectorate.

The first evidence available to indicate the attitude of the Protestants to the decree was a resolution passed by a group of missionaries in a conference at Peitaine on August 19, 1899. The resolution was as follows:

"Resolved: That this conference, composed of 80 members of various missions in North China, without any desire for official rank, but only with the aim of placing all churches on an equal basis, respectfully requests the British and American Ministers to secure for Protestant Missions the same privileges of intercourse with Chinese officials, for the adjustment of church troubles, as have recently been granted to the Roman Catholics by Imperial Edict."

However, upon further reflection, the overwhelming majority of the Protestant missionaries expressed themselves as being opposed to the idea. Mr. Conger, the American minister, sounded out the opinions of prominent Protestant leaders in a visit he made to Shanghai in September, 1899, and found that in one group of twenty leading missionaries of various denominations, all but three were opposed to the idea of requesting the Chinese Government to grant to the Protestants the privileges extended to the Roman Catholics. The American Methodist and Presbyterian mission bodies each passed resolutions in which the hope was expressed that no such steps would be taken by the American minister. The Bishops of the Anglican Communion took similar action. The Shanghai Missionary Association, meeting in February, 1900, passed 47. Steiger, op. cit., p. 6, quotes M. Boell, "Le protectorat des missions catholiques en Chine", Paris, 1899, p. 4, "La convention en question équivaut tout simplement à la suppression presque totale de notre protectorat en Chine." 48. Steiger, op. cit., p. 24.
the following resolution, with but two dissenting votes:

"That, while we insist that whatever rights and privileges are granted to the Roman Catholics should be granted also to Protestant Christians, we disclaim any desire for official rank and position."

In summing up his findings, Mr. Conger in a letter to Mr. Hay of the U.S. State Department, under date of January 24, 1900, said that he had consulted Protestant missionary of all the denominations and had found them "opposed to making any requests for like privileges, or, in fact, paying any attention whatever to the decree."

The refusal of the Protestants to take advantage of the edict is proof in itself that the Protestants were seeking to avoid interference in judicial procedure. The fact that the Roman Catholics accepted the privileges granted by the decree caused some concern among the Protestants, for some felt that it might be used by the Catholics as a means of persecuting the Protestants. This fear is set forth by one missionary in these words:

"I feel as strongly as any one can do that, with the experience of the past few years before us, we must all look with something like utter dismay on the prospect of religious persecution for our converts if the Romanists are now to be allowed to pursue the political 'advantage' they have secured by the recent edict. During these years, from almost every part of China, there have come heart-breaking testimonies to the oppression of the R.C. priests, backed by French protection—an oppression under which the heathen and our Protestant converts alike have suffered almost unimaginable injustice."

In 1896 and 1897, the American minister, Mr. Denby, even found it necessary to invoke the toleration clause for the protection of the Protestant Christians from their Catholic neighbors.

Failure of the effort must be listed as a failure. The American Government paid no further attention to the matter

when it found the American missionaries opposed to the idea. The British Government was explicit. In a letter dated June 20, 1899, the Prime Minister wrote to the British minister in China, saying in part:

"I should wish you to inform the Chinese Government with reference to that clause (i.e. which referred to the bestowal of rank upon missionaries) that, where Bishops and Priests of British nationality are concerned, Her Majesty's Government cannot allow their affairs to be subject to the intervention of the officials of any Government other than the British Government, unless with the consent of Her Majesty's Diplomatic Representative in special cases."

As far as the Roman Catholic missionaries were concerned, the privileges granted by the edict were so frequently abused that the edict was repealed on March 12, 1908, on the grounds that it was no longer desirable or necessary.

Efforts in Reform.

During the decade 1890 - 1900, there was an ever-growing feeling of discontent which was linked with the anti-foreign feeling. The coming of the foreigner had brought many problems. Many of the literati and officials felt that if only they could get rid of the foreigner, all would be as it had formerly been. They found it difficult to adjust themselves to a changing world order. The attitudes and actions of some of the foreign powers were arousing a feeling of resentment. There was, for instance, the scramble for naval bases and concessions, which certainly stimulated the nationalist feeling. Again, there was the defeat administered by Japan. For centuries China had looked down upon Japan as an inferior, only to be suddenly and rudely awakened from her superiority attitude by a decisive defeat. The seizure of Kiaochow by Germany further contributed to the

52. Koo, op. cit., p. 214.
growth of this anti-foreign bitterness which finally brought on the Boxer rebellion. Cordier states that:

"We must find in the manner in which the Kiaochow affair was conducted, not the sole cause, but the chief cause for the Boxer movement and the support given to it by the Empress Dowager."

There were two suggested ways of escape from the situation which was growing more and more intolerable. The first was for China to reform and take on foreign ways as Japan had so successfully done. The second was the way of violence. Both ways were tried.

The reform movement because of her adoption of foreign institutions inspired many of the leaders of Chinese thought to feel that China's salvation lay along the same path. The demand for reforms was insistent during most of this decade. Among the leaders in this movement was none other than the young Emperor, Kwang Hsu, who openly advocated radical changes.

The reform party was encouraged by certain of the Protestant missionaries. Dr. Young J. Allen, of the Southern Methodist Board, and Dr. Timothy Richards, an English Baptist, were active in the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge. These two men, with others, directed much of their writings to the official and educated classes, urging them to lead in reform. The missionaries did not hesitate to speak plainly of the perilous position in which China then found herself. They too pointed to the example of Japan. Their writings were widely read by the literati and officials. It is reported that in 1898 the young Emperor sent for one hundred and twenty-nine publications of the society. He also ordered a Bible from the American Bible Society's office in Peking.

53. Soothill, op. cit., p. 170, quotes from Cordier's "Histoire Générale de la Chine."
54. This name was later changed to the Chinese Christian Literature Society.
55. Smith, "Box Christus", p. 205.
Among the reformers was a promising young scholar by the name of K'ang Yu-wei, whose home was in Canton. He became convinced that China's hope lay in reform from within. K'ang won for himself the title of 'The Modern Sage'. He was the forerunner of two other reformers, Hung Hsin-chuan and Sun Yat-sen, who also came from Canton. K'ang Yu-wei was much influenced by the writings of Allen and Richards. In the spring of 1898, just after the foreign nations had begun their scramble for concessions, K'ang Yu-wei appeared in Peking and identified himself with the reform element there.

Early in 1898, the Empress Dowager went into retirement by withdrawing to the seclusion of the Summer Palace in Peking. The young Emperor was given more power in the control of the Government. However, the Empress Dowager kept herself fully informed as to what was taking place in the Forbidden City.

About the time Liang Hua took control of governmental affairs, Prince Kung, the venerable statesman who negotiated with the foreigners at the time of the capture of Peking in 1860, died. Had Prince Kung lived a few years longer, it is safe to say that probably there would have been no Boxer uprising. Shortly after Prince Kung's death, Weng Tung-ho, the Emperor's tutor, who was also sympathetic to the reform element, introduced K'ang Yu-wei to the Emperor. K'ang Yu-wei made a most favorable impression upon the young ruler.

On the 23rd of June the first of a series of revolutionary reform decrees was issued. For the next one hundred days, the Emperor's right hand man and chief adviser was K'ang Yu-wei. These one hundred days have gone down in history as the "One Hundred Day Reform Movement."
The reform movement might have been successful if a more moderate program had been adopted. Instead, decree followed decree in such a rapid succession that they could not be assimilated by the people. Probably never before in the history of any country were such revolutionary changes ordered affecting such age-old customs in such a short time, as were ordered in those memorable one hundred days.

Members of the Imperial Clan were advised to go abroad for study. The army was reorganized. Many old and useless governmental offices were to be abolished. This decree caused consternation among those governmental officials who relied upon the office involved for their income. New bureaus, such as the Railway Bureau, were to be established. The old system of examinations was to be abolished and a modern educational plan substituted. The whirlwind of reform swept away customs and traditions which were hoary with antiquity. The conservative party was stirred. Appeals were sent to the Empress Dowager beseeching her to resume control of the government.

Meanwhile, the Emperor became suspicious of Jung Lu, who commanded some troops in Peking and who was very close to the Empress Dowager. The Emperor called in Yuan Shih-kai and commanded him to do away with Jung Lu. Yuan, however, chose to tell Yung Lu, who in turn told the Empress Dowager. The Empress Dowager was thoroughly alarmed. With the help of Yuan Shih-kai, whose valuable assistance the reform party had counted on, she went back to the Forbidden City and made the young Emperor a prisoner. She resumed the regency on September 22, 1898.

Many of those who were active in the reform movement were imprisoned; some were banished; and some executed. The
Empress Dowager was particularly desirous of capturing K'ang Yu-wei. However, he succeeded in escaping and finding refuge in Hongkong. The Emperor was confined to an island in the lake at the winter palace, the very place where K'ang Yu-wei suggested to the young Emperor that the Empress Dowager be confined. Had it not been for some discreet inquiries on the part of the foreign diplomats regarding the health of the Emperor, it is believed that he would have been reported as having died. He lived for another ten years and was reported to have died on November 14, 1908, the day before the Empress Dowager passed away. The fact that the Emperor died only the day before the Empress Dowager gave rise to the rumors that he had been poisoned.

The coup d'etat of the Empress Dowager not only ended the reform movement but undid most of the changes effected. On September 26, she issued a decree abolishing the reforms established during the one hundred days. On January 31, 1900, a decree was issued in the name of the imprisoned Emperor to the effect that he had abdicated. The decree named Pu Chen, a child of Prince Tuan, as his successor. Thus China was again forced into the evils of a regency during the minority of a child. For the most part of fifty years China was ruled by the Empress Dowager, whose reign covered the minorities of three emperors.

That the relationships existing at reform between China and the foreign powers were unsatisfactory to the foreign powers themselves is proved by an event which took place in the fall of 1899. John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States, in an effort to remedy abuses existing in China, proposed what came to be known as the Open Door Policy. On the 6th of
September Hay sent a letter to the different powers proposing:

"(1) That no nation under claim of a lease or an area or a sphere of interest will interfere with any Treaty Port, or any vested interest within a leased territory or sphere of interest; (2) that the Chinese treaty tariff shall, without discrimination as to nationality, be applied to all merchandise, landed or shipped at such ports; and (3) that the nation holding the lease or claiming the sphere, 'will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such sphere than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality'."

This Open Door Policy meant that no power could seek exclusive or preferential rights in the future in China, and that present privileges should be opened as far as possible to other nationalities. To this note, Great Britain replied on September 29, 1899, being the first to answer. The other nations replied a little more slowly. Germany, the last to give her reaction to the proposals, answered on February 17, 1900.

Italy gave an unqualified assent to the proposals, as was to be expected, seeing that Italy failed to secure a naval base. The other powers, with the exception of Russia, made their assent depend upon an affirmative reply from the others. Russia's answer was indefinite. While making no written declaration, her Minister to the United States made an oral promise to do what France would do.

Thus Hay succeeded in winning from the various foreign powers a reluctant approval of the Open Door. Hay stood virtually alone as a statesman who was eager to keep intact the political integrity of China. The moral force of public opinion was such that no nation dared to oppose openly the doctrine. One writer has described Hay's methods in the following words:

"It was as if, in a meeting, he had asked all those who believed in telling the truth to stand up: the liars would not have kept their seats."

60. Ibid.
Fine as the Open Door Policy was, it came too late to ward off the impending crisis. The way of reform having failed, the Chinese turned to the way of violence.

The Boxer Uprising.

Causes. The causes for the Boxer uprising were many and intricate. They came from two main sources, the religious and the political. There was the anti-Christian aspect, which was directed not only against the foreigner but against the native Christian as well. All of the accumulated suspicions, grievances, bitternesses, and hatreds of centuries of dealings with the foreigner came to a focus in this uprising. Here in the story of the Boxers we find another illustration of the intertwined religious and political factors in China.

The Empress Dowager was inclined to place much of the blame for China's predicament upon the Christian missionaries. In a speech given before the grand council shortly before the edict was issued which called for the extermination of all foreigners, she is reported to have said:

"The Emperor K'ang Hsi (1662 - 1723) had even allowed them liberty to propagate their religion, an act of mistaken benevolence which has been an increasing cause of regret to his successors. In matters of vital principle... these foreigners ignore the sacred doctrines of the sages; in matters of detail they insult the customs and cherished beliefs of the Chinese people."

Events. The Boxer movement began in the northeastern part of China, particularly in the province of Shantung, where most of the focal points of trouble with the foreigners were centered; for it was along this coast that most of the naval bases seized by the foreigners were located. In Peking were the court and the foreign ministers. Moreover, in this district were some high officials who were

bitterly anti-foreign.

The Boxer movement began in Shantung in 1899 when some bands of Chinese, which were sometimes composed of local militia, began to persecute native Christians. These bands were nicknamed 'Boxers' by the foreigners, probably because of their Chinese name, which, translated, meant 'Righteous Harmony Fists'. These groups adopted slogans, such as "Protect the country, destroy the foreigner". The bands attracted the rowdy element, and are reported to have developed into secret societies. They had some superstitious beliefs which inspired a fanatical courage, as for instance, the faith that due to certain charms they were immune to the foreigners' bullets. Some of their leaders, through trickery, convinced the Empress Dowager that this claim was true.

The Governor of Shantung, Yu Hsien, encouraged the movement when he refused to prosecute the Boxers for their attacks upon the native Christians. The foreign representatives were quick with their protests. As a result Yu Hsien was transferred from the governorship of Shantung to that of Shansi. In Shantung he was succeeded by Yuan Shih-k'ai, who later took an active part in the revolution of 1911-12 and became the first president of China. Yu Hsien continued his anti-foreign agitation in Shansi with the result that some of the most horrible occurrences of the whole Boxer movement took place in that province. It is claimed that 84% of all the foreigners who lost their lives were killed in Shansi. The infamous Yu Hsien once entrapped a number of missionaries in his yamen, who went there expecting to receive protection, and then had them all slain. Practically all of the mission property in that

province was completely destroyed. One of the conditions of settlement, insisted upon by the foreigners at the close of the uprising, was the execution of Yu Hsien.

Yuan Shih-k'ai, who assumed his office as governor of Shantung in the latter part of 1899, did what he could to stem the tide. In this he was unsuccessful. On the last day of 1899, the Rev. S.M. Brooks of the S.P.G., was martyred in Shantung. He was the first of a long list of martyrs. Authorities differ as to the exact number who were killed. One report states that there were two hundred and twenty-one Western Christians, including fifty-two or fifty-three children, and approximately 32,000 native Christians, of which number some 2,000 were Protestants.

The figures showing the losses among the Protestant forces vary. Of course, all of the foreign children belonged to this group. In addition, there were one hundred and thirty-four or one hundred and thirty-five adults.

The stories of the heroism of both native and foreign Christians which have come out of the Boxer uprising will match any similar stories from any century or any land of the church's history. Some were burnt alive; others were killed by the slicing process; others were tortured by the most devilish means that the human mind could devise; and some were executed. It is true that many natives denied their Christ in order to escape such horrors. On the other hand, many, if indeed not the majority, of the native Christians remained true.

All of China was more or less affected, although the worst centers were in the northern provinces and Manchuria and Mongolia. A telegram to the governors of the southern provinces ordering them to kill all foreigners was sent.

64. Smith, "Rex Christus", p. 339, gives 135 adults. "Chinese Recorder", Vol. XXIII, p. 150, gives 134. Other authorities likewise differ. The C.I.M. was the heaviest loser, for seventy-nine of its workers were killed.
changed to read 'protect all foreigners'. This undoubtedly saved the lives of many foreigners in central and south China.

Much of the interest in the Boxer uprising centers in the story of the siege of the British legation in Peking. The spring of 1900 was one of great uncertainty for all foreigners in China. Early in June, the situation was so serious that the foreign powers tried to get an international force of some 2,000 soldiers into Peking. On June 10th, this body left Tientsin but was obliged to turn back. On the 17th of that month the Taku forts were taken, which action was interpreted by the Empress Dowager as a declaration of war. The imperial decree ordering the extermination of all foreigners came the 24th of June.

On the 19th of June the foreign ministers in Peking were notified by the Tsungli Yamen that a state of war existed and that all foreigners must leave Peking within twenty-four hours. On the following day, Baron von Ketteler, the German minister, was murdered on the streets of Peking while on his way to the Tsungli Yamen. That decided the foreign ministers not to trust themselves and the others committed to their care to a Chinese guard. Instead they hastily fortified themselves in the British legation, an area of some seven acres. Fortunately there was an abundance of water. Such food and ammunition as they were able to collect on short notice were found to be very limited. Some of the Roman Catholics, both foreign and native, fortified themselves in the grounds surrounding the Pei T'ang cathedral. The foreign ministers had a force of some four hundred and twenty-five soldiers in Peking at the outbreak of the trouble. Many Chinese sought refuge
with the foreigners in the British legation.

The siege began the 29th of June and continued with more or less intensity until the 14th of August. Representatives of eleven foreign powers were involved. The outside world spent some anxious days during the summer of 1900, when for weeks no word came from Peking regarding the fate of the foreigners. Relief forces were collected at Tientsin but their march to Peking was delayed because of jealousies among the powers. By the 1st of August, a force of 16,000 men had been collected, and again an effort was made to reach Peking. This time the foreigners were successful for Peking was taken on the 14th. For the second time in her life the Empress Dowager was obliged to flee from her capital because of the approach of foreign troops. The court fled in haste to Sian-fu, in Shansi. Following the capture of the city, the troops of some of the 'Christian' powers were turned loose in a wild orgy of looting and raping, in which many innocent Chinese people suffered.

At first no responsible Chinese official could be found with whom terms of settlement could be discussed. Finally the aged Li Hung-chang came up from the south. He and Prince Ching became the official Chinese representatives.

The foreign powers laid heavy demands upon China. In addition to demanding an indemnity of about $33,000,000 gold, such other demands as the execution of some of the Chinese officials prominent in the Boxer uprising and the erection of a monument to the German minister, were made. The Tsungli Yamen was abolished and a bureau of Foreign Affairs, known as the Wai-wa-pu, established. Permanent foreign guards were to be kept in Peking and the railroad to Tientsin was to be kept open.
The capture of Peking opened to foreign gaze the secrets of the forbidden city. The foreign diplomats were rather chagrined to discover that on their official visits they had been escorted in through side doors and back gates, and when received by His Majesty they were taken to an inferior throne room which had been arranged for the occasion. The Tsangli Yemen, in which the Chinese officials received the foreign ministers, was dirty and cheerless. It stood out in sharp contrast to the rich and luxurious furnishings of the other parts of the Imperial Palace. These things, discovered by the foreigners upon the capture of the Forbidden City, told of the contempt with which the Chinese still regarded the foreigner.

After the return of the Emperor and Empress Dowager to Peking, six foreign ministers, early in 1902, were received in the Forbidden City when they presented their credentials. And they entered by the front gate!

The Aftermath of the Boxer Uprising.

It was natural that such an uprising, with its persecutions of foreigners in general and Christians in particular, should have made the missionaries think seriously regarding the status upon which they were allowed to live and work in China.

At first there was a tendency to insist upon the enforcement of their treaty rights. On September 7, 1900, some four hundred missionaries, representing twenty societies, met in the Union Church at Shanghai and adopted a resolution by an almost unanimous vote. This resolution was sent to their home governments as a suggested basis of settlement.

It contained the following paragraphs:

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2. Securing to Christian missions freedom from all hindrance in the prosecution of their legitimate work and the maintenance of all the rights and privileges guaranteed to them under the treaties, which rights and privileges have been too often disregarded and denied by the Chinese authorities.

3. Their recognition and protection by their own rulers of native Christians as loyal and law-abiding citizens, and their exemption from the payment of contributions for idolatrous purposes and from the observance of all religious customs other than their own."

However, the dangers of the religious-political alliance was realized much more clearly by the missionaries after the Boxer uprising than they were before. The Protestants and Catholics alike became more cautious in regard to interference in law cases. For instance, we find the Presbyterian mission in Manchuria ruling that no native known to be a party in an impending suit could be enrolled as an enquirer. The missionary conference held in Shanghai in 1907 put itself on record to the effect that it did not consider the time for the annulment of the special rights and privileges granted by the treaties yet to have come. Thus we see the missionary body ready to exercise caution, but not ready to give up their treaty rights.

In the matter of indemnities, the missionaries exercised commendable restraint. A detailed statement of how much the various mission bodies received has never been made public. It is reported that Bishop Favier for the Roman Catholics, accepted indemnities for property damaged but not for lives lost. There was no consistent attitude toward the indemnity question among the Protestant missionaries. The C.I.M., which suffered more than any other society, decided "not only not to enter any claims

against the Chinese Government but to refrain from accepting compensation even when offered." However, most of the Protestant bodies were in favor of accepting indemnity for property damaged. These claims were presented through the foreign governments. The monies received were usually used to enlarge mission compounds or to build new and better buildings. The total amount received by American societies from the Boxer indemnity through their government was $570,983.75, which was half again as much as they had requested. This was for property damage only.

Many of the native Christians were indemnified for property loss or for the loss of relatives. Sometimes this money was raised locally and distributed without passing through the hands of the foreign powers. The distribution of this, in many places, aroused much jealousy and heartburning among the Christians themselves.

It was upon the suggestion of missionaries that the United States began to return to China its share of the indemnity to be used for educational work in China.

Following this second capture of Peking by Chinese reaction foreigners in her experience, the Empress Dowager became convinced of the necessity for reforms. So, after her return to Peking, she issued a number of decrees which ushered in the same reforms which had been tried a few years earlier during the one hundred days reform. In order to 'save her face', the Empress tried to make it appear that the new edicts were absolutely independent of the earlier ones. In 1904, the old system of examinations for official office was abolished. In 1906, she even issued a decree which promised a form of constitutional government. In all these decrees, she met with the steady resistance of

70. Ibid., p. 522.
71. Ibid., p. 523.
of the old conservative party.

In 1904-5 came the Russo-Japanese war, in which Russia was defeated by Japan, and again the reform party pointed to Japan as an example of what could be done. This defeat of an European power by an Oriental power, the first such case in modern history, gave the reform party in China a tremendous impetus.

Following the Boxer trouble, an Imperial edict appeared under date of December 24, 1901, in which the missionary problem was again discussed. During the remaining years, to 1907, which marks the end of this period under review, we hear of few cases of persecution. In 1902, two British missionaries were killed in Ch'enchow, Hunan, a province which has been the most bitter in its anti-foreign feeling of all the provinces of China. In the same year some Protestants were killed in Szechwan. In 1905, five members of the American Presbyterian Mission lost their lives at Lienchow in Kwangtung. In 1906, some Protestants were killed at Nanch'ang. In addition to these cases in which Protestant lives were lost, there were other incidents in which the Roman Catholics or native Christians suffered, and also incidents in which property was damaged.

Under date of October 1, 1907, another Imperial edict was issued, which again called for the protection of the missionary.

The peace protocol of 1901 which followed British reaction the Boxer uprising provided for the negotiation of new treaties with China on the part of the foreign powers. In the years that followed, several of these treaties were agreed upon. The British Treaty was signed September 5, 1902. Article XII of that treaty stated that

72. See Appendix 26.
74. MacMurray, "Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China", p. 452. This edict is similar in tone to that issued in 1901, given in Appendix 26.
75. See Appendix 27.
Great Britain was "prepared to relinquish her extraterritorial rights when she is satisfied that the state of Chinese laws, the arrangement for their administration, and other considerations warrant her in so doing." In the same year, 1902, Japan signed a treaty with China which included, in Article XI, this same provision. Article XV of the American Treaty of 1903 is likewise the same.

Article XIII of the British Treaty dealt with the missionary question. This article called for the creation of a Commission to study the question, "and, if possible, to devise means for securing permanent peace between converts and non-converts;"

Under date of August 31, 1903, Sir E. Satow, British minister at Peking, sent out a circular to British consuls in China advising them regarding the problems arising out of the practice of some missionaries who intervened between their converts and the Chinese authorities.

In this circular Satow declared that the British missionaries were not the "accredited agents of the British Government" for the enforcement of Article VIII (i.e. the toleration clause) of the Tientsin Treaty of 1858. The missionary was not allowed to take any direct steps in intervention unless there was "imminent danger of an extreme character threatening the safety of converts."

When cases arose in which the missionaries felt that intervention was necessary, they were to take such cases before the British consul.

On October 8, 1903, the United States and China became signatories to a new treaty. This treaty opened some new ports; gave some new facilities for the encouragement of foreign trade; and granted increased

77. See Appendix 28.
security to Americans dwelling in the interior. This treaty incorporated the provisions of the Berthelot Convention as revised in 1895. This stipulation removed all questions regarding the legality of securing property in the interior.

In the treaty signed July 2, 1906, between China and Sweden, this fourteenth article of the American treaty was incorporated.

**Mission Growth.**

In spite of the disturbances in China during this period, 1890-1907, the mission cause made tremendous gains. The Boxer year is a turning point in the history of Christian missions in China. The terrible persecutions endured by the native Christians, both Catholic and Protestants, confirmed them in their faith. Again it was proved that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. Those who persecuted oftentimes became Christians. The Christian church throughout China was stirred to its depths. The result was a greater loyalty and devotion to the cause of Christ.

The persecutions and martyrdoms of the foreign missionaries in China focused the attention of the outside world on that land, with the result that scores of new missionaries were ready to take the place of every one who was killed.

In 1890, the Roman Catholic Church claimed about half a million communicants. By 1901, this number had increased to over 720,000. By 1907, the total had gone over 902,000.

Thus within this seventeen-year period we find that the Catholic Church almost doubled its membership.

78. Latourette, op. cit., p. 537.
79. Ibid.
The number of foreign priests in China increased from six hundred and thirty-nine in 1890 to 1,075 in 1901. By 1912 this number had grown to 1,469. A similar increase took place in the native clergy. In 1890 there were three hundred and sixty-nine native priests. By 1912 there were seven hundred and twenty-nine. Most of the foreign priests came from Europe. The Pope did not withdraw the United States from the jurisdiction of the Congregation of the Propaganda until 1908. In other words, until 1908 the Roman Catholic church looked upon the United States as a mission-field. There is a report of seven American Catholic priests being in China in 1906. It was not until after 1914 that the American Catholic church began to take a real interest in China.

This period under review opens and closes Protestant progress with a great missionary conference. In each case the conference was held at Shanghai. From the records of these conferences we can get accurate data regarding the progress of the Protestant church in China during these seventeen years.

The records show that the number of mission bodies at work increased from forty-one to sixty-four. In 1895 the Y.M.C.A. sent its first foreign worker to China. A Y.M.C.A. organization was formed in 1899, although the first secretary did not arrive until 1903. By 1900 all of the larger mission bodies now at work in China were established. Statistics show an increasing number of independent workers.

The number of foreign missionaries almost trebled during this period, growing from 1,296 in 1890 to 3,445 in 1907. The last decade of the nineteenth century was a notable one for the Protestants. The missionary conference

80. Ibid., pp. 538-9.
81. Ibid., p. 540.
82. See Appendix 21.
of 1890 issued a call for 1,000 additional men workers as well as for more women workers. This reinforcement was sought within five years. At the end of that time, four hundred and eighty-one men had been sent out; one hundred and sixty-seven wives; and five hundred and five unmarried women, making a total reinforcement of 1,153. The increasing number of women workers in China was due to the favorable conditions secured by the treaties. By 1900 about one half of the foreign Protestant workers in China were women. By 1907 there were 1,443 men and 2,002 women. The women's list indicates that nine hundred and sixty-four were married, and 1,038 unmarried. The presence of so many women workers made possible an extensive work among native women and children, especially in the schools. The first Women's Medical College was opened at Canton in 1902.

During the decade, 1890 - 1900, the last two unoccupied provinces were opened, namely Hunan and Kwantung. In each case the C.H.A. was the first mission successful in establishing a permanent foothold. It is interesting to note how the Protestant work was strongest in the coast provinces and weakest in the interior. By 1922, seven out of every ten church members resided in the maritime provinces. The most apparent reasons for this were the facts that the population was more dense along the coast than in the interior, and also because the treaty-ports were in these provinces.

And what were the results in the number of converts? In 1890, there were 37,287 reported; in 1907 the missionaries counted 178,261. This indicates an increase of almost five fold. Not only was the growth of the Protestant church greater than that of the Roman Catholic, in proportion to their original numbers, it was also exerting a deeper influence upon the nation, as will be seen in the next chapter.

84. ibid., p. 183.
85. See Appendix 20.
PART TWO

1842 -- 1927

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

1907 -- 1927
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1907 -- 1927

Our study of the relationships existing in China between the religious and political factors will be completed in this story of the rise of Nationalism, with the consequent shifting of missionary opinion away from the necessity of treaty provisions for the protection of the Christian cause.

A Review.

Prior to the rise of the anti-foreign feeling in China, Christian missionaries relied upon the goodwill of the people for their own safety and for the privilege of propagating their faith. As long as the Christian missionaries remained disassociated from foreign governments and stayed out of politics in China, all was well. Persecutions began with the suspicion, or conviction, on the part of the Chinese that Christianity was tied up with foreign powers and was, therefore, a menace for the political supremacy, or integrity of China.

The effect of the treaties was so strong that it effectively shut out the Christian worker. The few Roman Catholic missionaries who were able to penetrate into the country were the exceptions to the rule. Then, with the coming of the treaties, beginning with the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, conditions became more and more favorable for missionary activities. Again Christian missionaries were found in China. This time they came not because of the goodwill of the Chinese Government but rather because of treaties
secured from China by force. China was too weak to resist.

At first the majority sentiment, if not the unanimous sentiment, of the missionaries was in favor of the special articles in the treaties, such as the toleration clauses of the treaties of 1858, which granted special rights to the missionaries. The application of the most-favored-nation clause made common property any right gained by any one nation. The missionaries were quick to take advantage of all the opportunities given to them by these international agreements.

Undoubtedly these rights and privileges facilitated missionary work. With every new advantage gained, there came an increase of foreign workers and a corresponding increase in the number of native converts. However, all was not well. The religious-political partnership brought embarrassments both to the governments concerned and to the missionaries. The full significance of some of these clauses meant for the protection of the missionaries and their converts was not realized until they were put into effect. This aroused considerable discussion regarding the merit of the clauses concerned.

As far as the Protestant missionaries were concerned, there were a few courageous souls who, prior to the Boxer uprising, were questioning the advisability of preaching the gospel in China while backed up by foreign guns. The terrible persecutions of the Boxer year, for a time, silenced such questionings.

Then with the rise of Nationalism within China, and with the coming of an increasing number of missionaries who were unable to appreciate the conditions of the past, there was a shift of sentiment away from the toleration clauses. This
shift of sentiment had a parallel growth with the Nationalist spirit. We find it present at the time of the revolution in 1911-2, when the Manchu dynasty was overthrown and the republic established. The sentiment became more outspoken during the World War. When the new Nationalist party, which, like the T'ai P'ings, had its beginning in the south around Canton and swept north to make Nanking its capital, began to make its influence felt in the political life of China, those denouncing the old order became vociferous in their demands for a change. By the time of the capture of Nanking in March, 1927, the majority sentiment among the missionaries seemed to have been definitely opposed to all rights and privileges granted by international agreements which applied to the missionaries. Those who denounced the old order affirmed their willingness to rely again on the goodwill of the Chinese people for their right to live and work in China.

In the preceding chapters we have traced the story of this religious-political alliance. We have seen how by means of the treaties, the seed was sown. But with the wheat were sown the tares, and both ripened together. The ripening of the wheat brought in great numbers of converts. But the tares ripened also. They brought the Boxer uprising and the persecutions attendant upon the rise of Nationalism.

In this chapter we are to trace out the growth of that sentiment which finally demanded the dissolution of the religious-political partnership. The period under review begins with the missionary conference of 1907 and ends with the capture of Nanking, in March, 1927, by the Nationalists. The live question which was being discussed by the missionaries during this period was not how to get treaty
guarantees, but rather how to get rid of treaty guarantees.

**Political Events of This Period.**

In the decade following the Boxer uprising, there was much unrest and dissatisfaction in China. Among the many reasons for this was the increased contact with foreign life and methods. Following the Boxer trouble, thousands of Chinese students were sent to study abroad. When they returned to China, for the most part, they threw themselves into the reform movement. The example of Japan was a continual challenge to them.

Another important reason for the discontent was the wide diffusion of Christian ideals and principles. Many who were not Christians were influenced by these ideas. It was not an accident that so many of the reformers, such as Sun Yat Sen, were Christians.

Much of this discontent was directed against the Manchu dynasty. It was felt that there could be no true and lasting reform as long as that dynasty remained in power. The Empress Dowager sensed this feeling and so gave a reluctant permission for certain reforms and made promises for others, all in an effort to preserve the throne.

In 1905, a government school-system was established. Previous to that date, the schools were left to private enterprise. Many schools had been established and maintained by the missionaries. In 1906, the Empress Dowager was induced to promise a constitutional form of government. In the following year, a decree was issued, authorizing the calling of provincial assemblies in 1916.

On November 15, 1908, the Empress Dowager died. A two year old child succeeded to the dragon throne. With the

1. "The Presbyterian Advance", Vol. 44, p. 3, gives the story of the Soong family. Mr. K.T. Soong was a Methodist minister. His wife was also an active Christian. The couple had three sons and three daughters. One son became China's Minister of Finance; the second, manager of the Industrial Bank of China; the third, Director of the Salt Cabelle; one daughter was the wife of H.H. Hsing, Minister of Industry; another the wife of Sun Yat Sen; and the youngest, the wife of Chiang Kai Shek.
passing of the Empress Dowager, the old conservative party lost its last forceful personality. The reform element took fresh courage and pressed forward new demands upon the government. The provincial assemblies, which were to meet in 1906, met in 1909. At once a demand was expressed for a national assembly. The government finally promised to call such an assembly in 1913. This was unsatisfactory to the reform party.

An outbreak occurred in Wuchang in October, 1911, which may be regarded as the beginning of the revolution. The Manchu Government was unable to suppress the revolt, on account of disaffection among the troops. Some of the forces sent to quell the trouble switched over to the side of the rebels. Yuan Shih-kai reluctantly took charge of the governmental forces. Some fighting occurred around Hankow and Nanking. The reform party picked out Nanking as their capital; chose Sun Yat Sen to be the first president of the new republic; and on January 1, 1912, formally established the new government by inaugurating Sun Yat Sen as President. In February, the Manchus, realizing the inevitable, quietly gave up the throne. Never before in the history of China did a dynasty come to its end with less strife. Yuan Shih-kai then transferred his loyalty to the republic.

Matters were simplified for the revolutionists with the Manchu dynasty out of the way. Sun Yat Sen was persuaded to step aside for Yuan Shih-kai, who, because he had the army behind him, was asked to become President. Yuan took office on February 15th. Early in 1915, Yuan Shih-kai aspired to be Emperor. For a few days the old yellow Imperial flag fluttered in the streets of Peking. However, the attitude of the country as a whole was so distinctly unfavorable to the idea of having an emperor again that
Yuan wisely refrained from pushing his claims. Overcome by chagrin and anxiety and suffering from a complete nervous collapse, Yuan Shih-kai passed away on June 6, 1916.

Subsequent events place his generals as military governors over the various provinces. Since they were in command of the troops, they soon became more important than the civil governors. After the death of Yuan Shih-kai, the government virtually passed into the hands of these military governors, even though a semblance of a central government was maintained at Peking until its overthrow by the Nationalists. The different provinces virtually became independent states. Sometimes several provinces would come under the control of one military governor or tuchun. Shortly before the capture of Nanking in 1927 by the Nationalists, Sun Chung-fang had control of five provinces south of the Yangtze. Much of the recent civil war in China has been due to the jealousies and ambitions of these tuchuns.

On March 10, 1917, China severed diplomatic relations with Germany. The United States Government exerted considerable influence to bring this about. The Treaty of Versailles was signed June 28, 1919. China's delegates refused to sign the treaty because of Articles 156-158 in Section VIII. The first paragraph of Article 156 is as follows:

"Germany renounces, in favour of Japan, all her rights, title and privileges—particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines and submarine cables—which she acquired in virtue of the Treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and all of her other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung."

China rightfully protested. It appears that a secret agreement had been entered into by Great Britain, France,

Russia, and Italy with Japan, which promised to Japan Germany's rights and interests in China should the allies win. The United States knew nothing of such an agreement. President Wilson at the peace conference was unwilling for Japan to have such rights and possessions, but, in view of the secret agreement then made known to him, he acquiesced. Japan threatened to withdraw from the conference if that article were not included.

When such news became known in China, the students especially were active in their public demonstrations of protest. A big demonstration took place in Peking on May 4, 1919, which found an echo among the Chinese students in Paris. The result was that the Chinese delegation refused to sign the treaty.

However, Japan did come into possession of that part of Shantung which had been controlled by Germany. It was a continual source of international friction which was finally straightened out at the Washington Conference of 1922. There, on February 4th, Japan signed an agreement with China whereby she promised to restore Shantung to China.

The continued civil strife; the corruption of the officials; the weakness of the central government; and the failure of the reformers to establish the kind of a government desired, caused the reform party to set up a rival government at Canton in 1925. This was known as the Kuomingtang. Military and financial aid was received from Russia. Such aid was sought from the United States and Great Britain, but, because these nations had recognized the central government they could not, therefore, render aid to a rebellion. Russia did not feel bound by such international laws or customs. The Nationalist army, trained by these Russian officers, was able to sweep the northern forces

before them. In March, 1927, both Shanghai and Nanking were captured. The fall of Nanking can be taken as an event which marks the beginning of a new era in China. That city was made the capital of the Nationalist movement, even as it was made the capital by the man who accomplished the revolution of 1911-12. The Nationalists look upon their endeavors as completing the revolution.

The Legal Status of Christianity.

During the closing days of the Manchus pronouncements of the Chinese Government upon missionary affairs which came during the closing days of the Manchu dynasty. Under date of March 12, 1908, an Imperial edict was issued to govern the procedures of intercourse between local officials and missionaries. This edict canceled the edict of 1899, which conferred rank upon the missionaries. It said in part:

"The Bishops and others who are preaching the gospel in China can not be said to have official rank, and they certainly can not hold the same rank as Viceroyes, Governors, and other officials. . . . The missionaries and others have constantly made use of the ceremonial customs and insignia of the local officials, thereby causing misunderstandings among the stupid people."

The edict stated that the procedure of intercourse should be that used previous to the edict of 1899.

The second pronouncement was that issued by the Wai-wu-pu in 1911, which consisted of a set of rules governing the holding of property in the interior by foreigners. According to these rules the local authorities were to make an official survey of the property to be purchased; and the property which became the possession of the mission-body was to remain as such and was not to be sold 'clandestinely . . . to foreigners.'

Attitudes of the Republic when the Republic was established the Christians were filled with hope, for they had many reasons to believe that a new day was opening up for them. Chief among these reasons was the fact that so many of the leaders of the revolution were Christians or had been trained in Christian schools. Many of the avowed principles of the reform party were inspired by Christian teachings.

On February 27, 1912, less than two weeks after Yuan Shih-kai took office, a letter from him was read before a group of Christians who were meeting in Peking. In this letter Yuan Shih-kai acknowledged the great benefit that China had received from Christianity and wished it continued success. At this meeting, Minister Yen appeared as the personal representative of Yuan Shih-kai and gave assurances that the government would grant full religious liberty.

Other prominent leaders gave similar assurances. Sun Yat Sen is reported to have said:

"Our greatest hope is to make the Bible and education, as we have come to know them by residence in America and Europe, the means of conveying to our unhappy fellow-countrymen what relief from their sufferings may be found through civilization."

General Li Yuan-hung, first Vice-President and afterwards President of China, said:

"Missionaries are our friends. Jesus Christ is better than Confucius, and I am strongly in favor of more missionaries, and the more we get to come to China the greater will the Republican Government be pleased."

In view of such statements one can understand why most, if not all, of the missionaries gave their sympathy to the revolution. It did appear as though a new day had dawned for them.

7. Ibid., p. 94.
8. Ibid.
The first constitution, which was promulgated at Nanking on March 11, 1912, was known as the Provisional Constitution. Full religious toleration was promised by this constitution in the following articles:

"Article 5 - The citizens of the Republic of China shall be equal, irrespective of race, class, or religion.

Article 6 - The citizens shall enjoy the following rights and liberties: - (7) Every citizen shall enjoy the liberty of religious belief."

In 1913, Parliament started to draft a Permanent Constitution but not all of it was officially adopted when Parliament dissolved in the fall of 1913. Article 11 of this constitution contained a similar provision.

"Article 11 - Citizens shall have liberty of religion, and this liberty shall not be restricted except in accordance with laws."

In the fall of 1913, President Yuan Shih-kai promulgated the Constitutional Compact which contained the following articles:

"Article 4 - Citizens of the Republic of China shall be equal before the law, irrespective of race, rank, or religion.

Article 5 - Citizens shall enjoy the following rights: - (7) Within the limits of the statutes citizens shall have the right of freedom of religious belief."

Upon the death of Yuan Shih-kai in 1916, the government went back to the Provisional Constitution. The Permanent Constitution was promulgated October 10, 1923. It declared:

"Article 5 - Citizens of the Republic of China shall be equal, without any distinction of race, class or religion.

Article 12 - Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the liberty to honour Confucius and to profess any religion, on which no restriction shall be imposed except in accordance with law."

Surely all will agree that it is much better to have religious toleration guaranteed by the laws of the land rather than to have it imposed from without by treaties. These constitutional provisions, if enforced, would have

9. These constitutions are printed in full in the China Year Book, 1925, pp. 615 ff.
automatically abrogated those clauses in the treaties which guaranteed freedom from persecution to Christian converts.

The Christians were somewhat agitated in November, 1913, when Yuan Shih-k'ai issued a decree which reintroduced much of the old state religion. He ordered that the sacrificial rites and the biennial commemorative exercises customary under the dynasty be restored. He stopped just short of making Confucianism the state religion.

The Japanese Endeavor to Get Buddhism Protected.

The favored position given to Christianity by the treaties was desired by the Japanese for the Buddhists. The American-Chinese treaty of 1903 was very explicit in this matter of the rights and privileges to be enjoyed by the Christian missionary and his convert. In 1905, the Japanese minister in Peking asked for similar rights and privileges for the Japanese Buddhist missionaries in China. He argued that under the most-favored-nation clause such rights should be granted. He urged:

"Our Buddhist missionaries coming to China to promulgate the teachings of Buddha should enjoy the same protection as Christian missionaries. Hereafter if our Buddhist priests, the Chinese subjects who shall have taken up their faith, and their temples should be disturbed or injured, the Chinese Government should recognize its obligation severely to suppress the disorder...."

The Wai-wu-pu replied saying that since the rights of the Christian missionaries rested upon specific treaty engagements that, therefore, such rights could not apply to the Buddhists.

On January 18, 1915, Japan presented the twenty-one demands: a list of twenty-one demands to China, the object of which was to make China a vassal state. Extracts from the Chinese translations of these demands, which refer

to the protection of Buddhism, are as follows:

"Group V, Article 2 - Japanese hospitals, churches, and schools in the interior of China shall be granted the right of owning land.
Article 7 - China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of missionary propaganda in China."

So much opposition was aroused in China, which was reinforced by world opinion, to the obnoxious demands of Group V, which would have established a protectorate over China, that Japan was obliged to omit them. The other demands were incorporated into a treaty which was signed by the two nations on May 7, 1915. One of the articles of this treaty gave to the Japanese the rights of free travel and residence in South Manchuria, and, by virtue of the most-favored-nation clause, to other foreigners as well. Thus in South Manchuria the foreigners enjoyed a freedom which they found only in the treaty-ports in China.

Christian Progress.

The period from 1907 to 1927 was a time of great expansion and growth for both the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. The Chinese mind was more receptive to foreign teachings. The promised religious toleration on the part of the Republic encouraged the mission bodies in the home lands to send fresh reinforcements. The railroads, the postal system, the spread of education were all factors in spreading enlightenment and in breaking down the old anti-foreign feeling. This period was remarkably free from persecution. Only toward the end, when Russia's anti-Christian influence was effective, do we find much opposition to the Christian cause.

Roman Catholic gains

In 1912, there were 1,469 foreign 14 priests in China. By 1926 this number

14. See Appendix 19.
had increased to 1,806. The number of native priests grew from seven hundred and twenty-nine in 1912 to 1,219 in 1926. By 1920 there were more than 1,000 foreign sisters or nuns in China. In 1907 the Catholic Church numbered around 902,000 communicants. By 1920 this had increased to 1,971,180 and by 1926 to 2,394,962.

The emphasis of the Catholic missionaries was upon evangelism. Whereas the Protestants had some fifty institutions of college grade, the Roman Catholics had but five. The Catholics did not lay the stress upon the distribution of the Bible as did the Protestants. According to one report, the Catholics had thirteen presses scattered over China and yet their church was still without a complete Bible in the vernacular. Many of the presses were printing only the four gospels and the Acts.

**Protestant gains**

The Protestant work during this period grew more rapidly, in proportion, than did the Roman Catholic. During the years 1907 to 1925 the number of Protestant societies at work in China increased from sixty-four to one hundred and thirty-eight. The number of missionaries grew from 3,445 to 7,663. At the time of the Nanking tragedy in March, 1927, there were reported to be 8,200 Protestant missionaries in China. A very significant change is noted in the nationality of the Protestant missionaries. In 1907 there were 1,727 British missionaries to 1,304 American. Out of the total force, the percentage was forty-five to thirty-five. The other twenty per cent. came from the Continent or from the British colonies. By 1922, only eighteen per cent. of the Protestant workers were coming from Great Britain, while fifty-one per cent. came from the United States.

16. See Appendix 19.
By 1920 statistics show that fifty-one per cent. of the Protestant workers had been in China less than ten years. The presence of so many young missionaries had much to do with the shifting of missionary sentiment away from treaty protection, for most of these young missionaries were sympathetic with the Nationalist movement. From 1858 to 1914 the ratio of foreign workers to native converts remained at about one to fifty. After 1914 this ratio was changed. The prospect is that the number of converts to the number of missionaries will steadily increase.

During the years 1900 to 1920, the number of residential centers increased from three hundred and thirty-seven to six hundred and ninety-three. Nearly fifty per cent. of the stations occupied in 1920 were occupied after 1900. About forty per cent. were occupied in the twenty years before the Boxer trouble, and the remaining ten per cent. previous to 1880. Whereas the Protestants could claim every province of China was occupied by 1900, still the occupation in some places was weak. By 1922 three-fourths of China proper was fully occupied, with seven provinces reporting no unclaimed areas. A claimed area was that which was within ten miles of a mission station.

The Protestant work was strongest in the maritime provinces, for by 1922 seven out of every ten church members resided there.

One of the most significant developments of this period was the emergence of an indigenous leadership. As late as the 1922 conference, about two-thirds of the church's leadership were foreigners. However, the presence of five hundred and sixty-four delegates, out of a total of 1,185, at that conference tells the story of the rise of an indigenous leadership.

indigenous leadership.

In 1910 a world's missionary conference was held in Edinburgh with John R. Mott as chairman. At this conference a Continuation Committee was appointed, with Dr. Mott as chairman, which had the responsibility of carrying out the plans of the Edinburgh gathering. In 1913, Dr. Mott visited India, China, and Japan for the purpose of meeting the native leaders and of forming national Continuation Committees. Such a committee was formed in China in 1913.

This committee prepared the way for the epoch-making missionary conference of 1922, of which mention has already been made. That conference set up the National Christian Council, which has already made important contributions to the Christian cause in China.

In 1926 and 1927, when the Nationalist movement was sweeping northward, there was considerable anti-Christian agitation under Russian direction, which resulted in the loss of property and of lives. Five Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries are reported to have been killed in 1926. Other missionaries were captured by bandits and held for ransom; some were attacked; and many Chinese Christians likewise suffered.

The climax of this anti-Christian agitation came with the capture of Nanking in March, 1927, when representatives of five nationalities, including one Protestant missionary and two Roman Catholics, were killed. In all probability others would have been killed had it not been for the bombardment of the city by foreign gunboats. This tragedy hastened the withdrawal of foreigners from all parts of the interior. By the summer of 1927 sixty per cent. of the 8,200 missionaries who were in China before the Nanking

incident, were out of China. Most of these returned to their homelands. From three to five hundred were transferred temporarily to mission work in Korea, Japan, Siam, etc.

About 3,000 missionaries remained in China. About one-half of this number found refuge in Shanghai. About one thousand went to other port cities. The others, only about five hundred, remained in the interior at their work. This wholesale evacuation of the interior was the result of the advice and orders of the consular and diplomatic officials, who were fearful of complications following the Nanjing tragedy.

One result of this evacuation was the necessity of Chinese leaders to take up the work dropped by the foreigners. More was accomplished under the urgent necessities of the time toward turning over responsibilities to the Chinese Christians than would ordinarily have been accomplished in a decade or more. The persecutions endured by the native Christians purified the church and strengthened them in the faith. The foreigners could flee but the native Christians were obliged to stay and meet the opposition. By the close of 1927 many of the missionaries were back at their posts.

And what were the results as measured by the number of converts? In 1907 there were reported 178,261 communicants, while in 1925 this number had grown to 402,539. As the church grew in numbers the ratio of increase lessened. From 1900 to 1906 the church doubled in numbers. It took fourteen years, i.e. from 1906 to 1920, for this to happen again.

The Agitation for Treaty Revision.

During this period, 1907 – 1927, missionary sentiment in regard to treaty rights and privileges did an about face.

25. See Appendix 21.
There were many reasons for this. Among these reasons was the fact that the Chinese themselves were demanding treaty revision. Many of the missionaries were in full sympathy with the objectives of the Nationalist movement and, therefore, demanded the abolition of the old treaties.

With the increasing contacts that China had with foreign powers, there had gradually come an appreciation, on the part of the younger generation especially, of China's weaknesses. Gradually the conviction grew that foreign control of the customs; the presence within China of foreign concessions and foreign settlements; the patrol of the Yangtze river by foreign gunboats; the existence of extraterritoriality, were all infringements upon China's sovereignty. Vigorous demands were made for the abolition of such rights and privileges. To these demands the foreigners would sometimes reply: "We dare not give up these special rights until you have developed a stable government." To this argument the Chinese would reply: "We cannot develop a stable government as long as these conditions exist." The result was that the Chinese were inclined to blame more of the evils of the unsatisfactory conditions which existed in China upon the 'unequal treaties' than rightfully belonged to them.

The native Christians came in for their share of criticism. They were called the 'darning dogs of imperialism' which was a term of contempt. Dr. P.W. Kuo, one time President of the National Southeastern University, admirably summed up the anti-Christian sentiment in the following words:

"Most of those who take interest in the anti-Christian movement do so because of the political implications of Christianity, because Christianity

26. O'Neill, "The Quest for God in China", p. 243, states that one out of every fifteen communicants was a salaried worker in the employ of the church.
was introduced into China under protection of the unequal treaties which the Chinese people now resent; because the nations whence came the missionaries fail to practice the principles of the Golden Rule taught by the missionaries, and because not all missionaries have taken due recognition of the growing spirit of nationalism and have adjusted their work to meet the new situation.

Dr. Kuo makes mention of the fact that very little criticism was directed against Jesus or His teachings. The objections were not against the religion itself, but against the way it had been introduced and preached.

The anti-Christian spirit expressed itself in various forms. Sometimes it was open persecution. Sometimes it was official unfriendliness, which resulted in governmental regulations which made certain types of activities less effective. Take, for instance, the rule issued in November, 1925, by the Minister of Education of the Peking government, regulating mission schools. This rule called for the registration of all educational institutions; the abolition of the necessity of attendance upon any religious service such as chapel service; and the necessity of having at least one-half of the board of managers Chinese. It distinctly stated that the educational institutions were not to have for their purpose the propagation of religion.

This growing spirit of nationalism had an effect upon the native Christians. They became less desirous of appealing to the foreigners for protection and more desirous of having an indigenous church. The tolerance clauses of the treaties of 1858 were becoming obsolete through the reluctance of both the foreigners and the natives to appeal to them.

For the most part the missionaries, and especially the Protestant missionaries, were
sensitive to the changing conditions. The question of
treaty protection was discussed in the missionary conference
held in Shanghai in 1907. It was then felt that the time
had not come when such rights could be relinquished. The
question was also discussed at the world conference held in
Edinburgh in 1910. It was there recognized that a government
had the right both to regulate missionary action and even to
prohibit it. The missionary's 'right' was purely a civil
one. If a particular government did not give the missionary
the privileges desired, then the missionary would either have
to stay out or accept the risk involved.

The problem was not discussed at the Continuation Committee
Conference held in China in 1913, or at the National Christian
Conference in 1922. Nevertheless, there was considerable
discussion of the questions involved among the missionaries.
Most of the missionaries felt that in the matter of
protection, the missionary and the convert stood together.
Either they both should enjoy it, or neither should have it.

The growing resentment among the Chinese to the
tolerance clauses stimulated a study of their need by the
missionaries. From a practical point of view, some claimed
that the missionary in the interior who was out of range of
the guns on the gunboats was of necessity obliged to rely on
the good-will of the Chinese people. The advocates of the
'gunboat policy' replied to that that such good-will in the
interior was directly or indirectly traceable to the
knowledge on the part of the officials that it paid them to
protect the foreigner. Never had the foreigner been so safe
in China as immediately after the Boxer uprising.

Again, those in favor of a revision of the treaties
with the consequent giving up of special rights and privileges,
pointed to the experience of Germany. Germany, because of the World War, lost all of her special privileges in China. Russia likewise forfeited these special rights and privileges. Thus the Germans and Russians in China were subject to the Chinese laws. On the other hand, they were free from the limitations of the treaties. For instance, all German commercial men as well as the missionaries had full liberty to travel and dwell in the interior as they pleased. A Chinese-German treaty was signed on May 20, 1921. Many of the Protestant missionaries felt that this was the preferable plan.

These questions assumed such importance as to be seriously studied by the various mission boards in the home lands. Conferences were held in New York on the 2nd and 3rd of October, 1925, and in London on the 5th and 6th of October of the same year. At these conferences resolutions were passed which embodied the following points:

"(1) that the treaties with China may be revised so as to give practical application to the principles stated in the Washington treaties of 1922, (2) that extraterritoriality be abolished and such other provisions for the administration of justice substituted for it as may be agreed upon in equal conference with China, and (3) that the privileges of Christian missions in China should no longer depend upon the toleration clauses in the treaties, but should be such as China herself will voluntarily grant."

In general, it can be said that the attitude of the Protestant mission boards, both in Great Britain and in the United States, has been most sympathetic towards the endeavor on the part of China to have the treaties revised.

At a conference of missionary leaders held in Shanghai in January, 1926, a special study was made of this whole question of the relationship of the missionary with his own and with the Chinese Government. After considerable

29. See pp. 152 ff. of this thesis.
discussion, it was agreed that since extraterritoriality and the toleration clauses were prejudicial to the progress of the Christian cause in China, they should therefore be removed. What a contrast with the sentiment expressed by the missionaries who, in 1842, met at Hongkong and called upon their friends in the home-land to thank God for the enlarged facilities which the Treaty of Nanking had given them! Or the disappointment felt by many of the missionaries who met in Shanghai to hear Wells Williams tell of how the toleration clauses happened to be included! They were disappointed because more had not been secured.

Some of the events of 1926 and 1927, such as the Nanking tragedy, caused many of the missionaries to wonder whether or not the time had come to give up their special rights and privileges. The missionaries who went through the Nanking affair told their story in a statement issued 30 April 21, 1927. They referred to the fact that on February 1st of that year, one hundred and twenty-seven missionaries at Nanking "prepared and sent a cablegram to the American Government and public, protesting against the use of force in dealing with China." They urged a policy of conciliation and the prompt negotiation of new treaties upon a basis of equality. Within a month or so after that, they found it necessary to depend upon foreign force to save their lives, and they fled to the refuge of a foreign settlement. The statement they issued said in part:

"Although we have taken a stand against the objectionable treaties, we feel that such phrases as, 'imperialism', 'toleration clauses', and 'unequal treaties' have become mere catch-words with which to explain the present chaotic conditions in China. We must in frankness point out that these slogans are being overworked. They are being used to explain too much."

30. One of these statements, a four-page pamphlet, is deposited in the library of the San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California.
"In all these matters the facts of the situation flatly contradict our words. Everything we have said in behalf of the national movement is made to appear false."

Yet, in spite of such occurrences, the demand for treaty revision was insistent. As a matter of fact the missionaries are working in China on the basis of the goodwill which they have created rather than relying upon the force of gunboats and soldiers who may be standing behind the treaties.

Conclusion

Surely the evidence which history furnishes is such as to make us believe that the toleration clauses were the best possible expedient in their day and that they did render an invaluable service to the Christian cause in China. But conditions have changed. They do not fit now. Speculating on what might have been the history of Christian missions in China had foreign force not been used to change situations is useless. We must deal with the facts of history as we have them. In the day when these clauses were inserted into the treaties, their presence was justified by the devoted pioneers who knew conditions far better than we can judge them to be by looking backward over the ever increasing gulf of time which separates us from them.

When one claims that the evil fruits outnumbered the good, then perhaps we have raised a debatable question. The question might, then, be resolved to this—shall we refrain from sowing the wheat because some tares might grow up with the wheat? To deny that the toleration clauses ever did any good to the church in China is to be blind to the facts.

The endeavors of the missionaries in the first half of the nineteenth century was to effect some kind of a partnership
between the church and the state whereby missionary work in China would be possible. The endeavors of the missionaries of the first half of the twentieth century seem now to be to bring about a separation of church and state whereby missionary work in China might be more effective. The job now is to untangle entangling alliances.

FINIS
"Since therefore we do neither hinder the Lamas of Tartary, nor Bonzes of China from having Temples, nor from offering incense therein to their Pagodes; much less can we, with any reason, restrain the Europeans, (who neither act nor teach anything contrary to the wholesome laws) from having likewise their respective churches, there to preach their religion in public. Certainly these two things would be point blank contrary to one another, and we should manifestly seem to contradict ourselves.

"We therefore judge it meet and expedient that all the temples dedicated to the Lord of Heaven, in what place soever they may be, ought to be preserved; and that we may safely permit all those who would honour this God, to enter into his Temple, to offer incense to him, and to pay that worship to him that hath hitherto been practiced by the Christians, according to their ancient custom; so that none may for the time to come, presume to oppose the same."

See Mosheim, op. cit., p. 78, in footnote: "For full information relating to this Edict we are indebted to the Jesuit Charles le Gobien, who in the year 1698 published at Paris in 12 mo. his Historie de l'Etat de l'Empereur de la China en faveur de la Religion Chretienne."
Marchini's chart of the status of the Roman Catholic missions in China, presented in 1810 to the bishop of Macao. See Medhurst, "China, its State and Prospects," pp. 244-245.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bishoprics</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>Chinese Christians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Macao</td>
<td>Canton, Kwangse, and Hae-nan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peking</td>
<td>Peh chih-le, Shantung &amp; eastern Tartary</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanking</td>
<td>Keang-nan &amp; Honan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vicarages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>Chinese Christians</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fukien, Chekeang, Keangse, Formosa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Szechuen, Kweichow &amp; Yunnan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan-se, Shense, Kansuh, Hoo-Kwang &amp; western Tartary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>215,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals: 215,000


Statistics taken from the "Chinese Recorder", Vol. 2, p. 343. (Key same as above)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>Chinese Christians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>215,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>303,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>320,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>330,000</td>
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</table>

Colleges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>Chinese Christians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>363,680</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>Chinese Christians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>383,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>1,092,818</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 2.

(See pp. 95-95 of thesis)
The following is a list of single women missionaries who were in China prior to 1870. The list contains the name of one widow. Counting the four unnamed women, who arrived in 1866 under the C.I.M., the list refers to thirty-six workers. It may not be complete, but it does contain all of the information bearing on this subject that the author was able to find.

See "Chinese Recorder", August 11, 1869, pp. 57-60, where a list of twenty-one single women is given. Of that number three were German, eight were English, and twelve were American. This reference also makes mention of two who had retired. Those names marked with an asterisk were of women who had evidently retired by 1869. See also, "Chinese Recorder", Vol. 7, pp. 33 ff., and MacGillivray, "A Century of Protestant Missions," p. 437.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Society</th>
<th>Year of arrival</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss Grant</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Girls School, Singapore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Newell</td>
<td></td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Malacca. Married Gutzlaff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Wallace</td>
<td></td>
<td>1828 (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Aldersey</td>
<td>S.F.E.</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Java. Entered Ningpo, 1844.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Lydia Fay</td>
<td>P.E.</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Shanghai. First American.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. C.V.R. Bonney</td>
<td>Am. W. Union</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Peking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Nagel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hospital work at Hongkong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Magrath</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Opened school for Eurasian. Some connection with C.M.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Beulah Woolston</td>
<td>M.E.F.B.</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Foochow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.H. Woolston</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Legge</td>
<td>L.M.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Baxter</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Delacour</td>
<td>C.M.S.</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss L. Brandt</td>
<td>B.L.M.S.</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Hongkong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Oxlad</td>
<td>S.F.E.</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Waterworth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss L. Suss</td>
<td>B.L.M.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss P. Leesmann</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss C.B. Downing</td>
<td>P.N.</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Chefoo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Barnes</td>
<td>L.M.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shanghai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Maclean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Redcliffe</td>
<td>W.M.M.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Canton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four others</td>
<td>C.I.M.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M.J. Brown</td>
<td>F.N.</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Tungchow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Hattie Noyes</td>
<td></td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Canton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Mary H. Porter</td>
<td>A.B.C.F.M.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Peking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Mary E. Andrews</td>
<td>A.W.U.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss D.H. Douw</td>
<td></td>
<td>1869</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E.H. Adams</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M.H. Patrick</td>
<td>P.N.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tungchow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Adelia M. Parson</td>
<td>M.E.F.B.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Foochow.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF BOARDS AND AGENCIES WHICH SENT MISSIONARIES

1. Societies at work prior to 1842:

1807 London Missionary Society (L.M.S.)
1827 Netherlands Missionary Society (N.M.S.)
1830 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.)
1832 American Baptist Missionary Union (A.B.M.U.)
1835 Protestant Episcopal Church, U.S.A. (P.E.)
1839 Morrison Education Society (M.E.S.)
1836 British and Foreign Bible Society (B.F.B.S.)
1837 Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (S.P.F.E.)
1838 American Presbyterian Mission (P.M.)

The following table shows the total number of workers sent prior to 1842 and the number available by that date. See MacMillivray "Century of Protestant Missions in China" Appendix 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society</th>
<th>No. sent</th>
<th>Retired</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Available</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L.M.S.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.M.S.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.B.C.F.M.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.B.M.U.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E.S.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.F.B.S.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.P.F.E.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.M.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minus duplicate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Societies which began work during the years 1842 - 1858

(See page 116 of thesis)

1844 Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.)
1845 English Baptist Mission (E.M.S.)
1847 Basel German Evangelical Missionary Society (B)
     Methodist Episcopal, U.S.A (North) (M.E.F.B.)
     Southern Baptist Convention (S.B.C.)
     Seventh Day Baptists (S.D.B.)
     English Presbyterians (E.P.M.)
     Russian Missionary Society (R.M.)
1848 Methodist Episcopal, (South) (M.E.S.)
1850 Berlin Mission (Bn)
1851 Berlin Ladies Missionary Society (B.L.M.S.)
1852 Wesleyan Methodist (W.M.M.S.)
1853 Chinese Evangelistic Society (C.E.S.)
1856 American Women's Union (A.W.U.)
1857 Reformed Church in America (R.C.A.)
Appendix 5

(See page 127 of thesis)

1. Statistics showing the amount of opium imported by British ships into China for the years indicated. See pages 21-25 of "Rise and Progress of British Opium Smuggling" by Major-General A. Alexander.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>British Ships</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
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<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>6,147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
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2. Statistics showing importation of opium into China by vessels belonging to the East India Company, other British vessels, and American vessels according to the years indicated. See appendices of Vol. II of Gutzleff's "Sketches of Chinese History."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>f</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
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<td>1830</td>
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<td>715</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</table>

Note—The above amounts of opium are given in the Chinese measurement of piculs, which is equivalent to about 133 1/3 pounds avoirdupois, which is about the weight of a chest of opium.

"Article II. His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees, that British subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purposes of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint, at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochowfoo, Ningpo, and Shanghai."


"Article VIII. The Emperor of China having been graciously pleased to grant to all foreign countries whose Subjects, or Citizens, have hitherto traded at Canton the privilege of resorting for purposes of Trade to the other four ports of Fuchow, Amoy, Ningpo and Shanghai, on the same terms as the English, it is further agreed, that should the Emperor hereafter, from any cause whatever, be pleased to grant additional privileges or immunities to any of the subjects or Citizens of such Foreign Countries, the same privileges and immunities will be extended to and enjoyed by British Subjects; but it is to be understood that demands or requests are not, on this plea, to be unnecessarily brought forward."


"Article III. The citizens of the United States are permitted to frequent the five ports of Guangzhou (Canton) Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo and Shanghai, and to reside with their families and trade there."

"Article XVII. Citizens of the United States residing or sojourning at any of the ports open to Foreign commerce shall enjoy all proper accommodation in obtaining houses and places of business, or in hiring sites from the inhabitants on which to construct houses and places of business, and also hospitals, churches, and cemeteries."

"Article XXI. Subjects of China who may be guilty of any criminal act toward citizens of the United States shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities according to the laws of China, and citizens of the United States who may commit any crime in China shall be subject to be tried and punished only by the Consul or other public functionary of the United States thereto authorized according to the laws of the United States."
Appendix 7

(See page 160 of thesis)

Imperial rescript granting toleration to Christianity, issued by Emperor T'ao Kuang, December 28, 1844. Secured by M. de Lagrene, special representative of King Louis Philippe of France to China. See Morse, "International Relations of the Chinese Empire," Appendix W, p. 691.

"Kiying, imperial commissioner, minister of state, and governor-general of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, respectfully address the throne by memorial.

On examination it appears, that the religion of the Lord of Heaven is that professed by all the nations of the west; that the main object is to encourage the good and suppress the wicked; that, since its introduction to China during the Ming dynasty, it has never been interdicted; that subsequently, when Chinese, practising this religion, often make it a covert for wickedness, even to the seducing of wives and daughters, and to the deceitful extraction of the pupils from the eyes of the sick, government made investigation and inflicted punishment, as is on record, and that, in the reign of K'ing, special laws were first enacted for the punishment of the guilty. The prohibition therefore was directed against evil-doing under the covert of religion, and not against the religion professed by western foreign nations.

Now the request of the French Ambassador, Lagrene, that those Chinese who, doing well, practise this religion, be exempt from criminality, seems feasible. It is right, therefore, to make request, and earnestly to crave celestial favour, to grant that, henceforth, all natives and foreigners without distinction, who learn and practice the religion of the Lord of Heaven, and do not exuite trouble by improper conduct, be exempted from the charge of criminality. If there be any who seduce wives and daughters, or deceitfully take the pupils from the eyes of the sick, walking in their former paths, or are otherwise guilty of criminal acts, let them be dealt with according to the old laws. As to those of the French and other foreign nations, who practise the religion, let them only be permitted to build Churches at the five ports opened for commercial intercourse. They must not presume to enter the country to propagate religion. Should any act in opposition, turn their backs upon the treaties, and rashly overstep the boundaries, the local officers will at once seize and deliver them to their respective consuls for restraint and correction. Capital punishment is not to be rashly inflicted, in order that the exercise of gentleness may be displayed. Thus peradventure the good and the profane will not be blended, while the equity of mild laws will be exhibited.

This request, that well-doers practising the religion may be exempt from the charge of criminality, be (Kiying), in accordance with reason and his bounden duty, respectfully lays before the throne, earnestly praying the august Emperor graciously to grant that it may be carried into effect. A respectful memorial.

Taekwang, 24th year, 11th month, 19th day (December 28th, 1844) was received the rescript from the vermilion pencil, "Let it be according to the counsel (of Kiying) This from the Emperor."
Extract from a document issued by Ziyixlg in April, 1846, to explain the edict of 1844. Davis, "China During the War and Since the Peace", pp. 224-225, Vol. 2.

"It appears that the religion of the Lord of Heaven mainly consists in exhorting to virtue and dissuading from vice; but on the former occasion we have not been sufficiently explicit, and it is to be feared that difficulties might arise on this subject through the various provinces. We therefore now explain that the religion of the Lord of Heaven consists in periodical assemblages for worship, in venerating the cross and images, and reading aloud the books of the said religion; customs which are proper to the worship in question, so much so that without them it cannot be considered as the religion of the Lord of Heaven. Since now an exemption from punishment has been granted to the adherents of this worship, those who assemble for the adoration of the Lord of Heaven, for the veneration of the cross and images, for reciting the sacred books, and preaching the doctrine which exhorts to virtue, are professing the virtuous exercise of the said religion, and must not be in any way hindered; and wherever persons set up places for the worship of the Lord of Heaven, for the adoration of images, and exhorting to virtue, they may in this respect follow their own inclinations."
Appendix 9

(See page 163 of thesis)


"Keying, high imperial commissioner, sends the following reply to the honourable Envoy's despatch concerning equal toleration of the religion professed by the English. When I before concluded the commercial treaty with the United States, one of the articles gave permission to erect chapels in the five ports, and all nations were to have the same privilege without distinction. Subsequently the French envoy, Lagrene, requested that natives, if they were good men, should be entirely exempted from punishment on account of their religion. I, the great minister, then again represented this matter to the throne, upon which the imperial assent was received to its being done as proposed, without drawing any distinction between the rites of the several religions. But as some of the local mandarins seized crucifixes and images, and burned them, it was subsequently settled that permission should be specifically given to worship them.

I do not understand the lines of distinction between the religious ceremonies of the various nations; but virtuous Chinese will by no means be punished on account of their religion. No matter whether they worship images or do not worship images, there are no prohibitions against them if, when practising their creed, their conduct is good. The honourable Envoy need, therefore, be no longer solicitous in the matter; for all Western nations will in this respect be treated on the same footing, and will receive equal protection."
Imperial decree issued March 16th, 1846, ordering the restoration of church property which had been confiscated from the Roman Catholics one hundred or more years previous. See Morse, "International Relations of the Chinese Empire" Vol. 1, Appendix X, p. 692.

"Kliying, of the imperial clan, Junior Guardian of the heir apparent, a vice high chancellor, a President of the Board of War, a member of the Genecrate, governor-general the Two Kwang, etc., etc., and Hwang, Vice-President of the Board of War, governor of Kwangtung, etc., etc., having respectfully copied out, promulgate the following imperial decree, received the 20th of February, 1846, in reply to a memorial laid before the throne for the purpose of securing immunity to those who profess the religion of the Lord of Heaven.

On a former occasion Kliying and others laid before US a memorial, requesting immunity from punishment for those who, doing well, profess the religion of heaven's Lord; and that those who erect churches, assemble together for worship, venerate the cross and pictures and images, read and explain sacred books, be not prohibited from so doing. This was granted. The religion of the Lord of Heaven, instructing and guiding men in well-doing, differs widely from heterodox and illicit sects; and the toleration thereof has already been allowed. That which has been requested on a subsequent occasion, it is right in like manner to grant.

Let all the ancient houses throughout the provinces, which were built in the reign of Kaaghi, and have been preserved to the present time, and which, on personal examination by the proper authorities, are clearly found to be their bona-fide possessions, be restored to the professors of this religion in their respective places, excepting only those churches which have been converted into temples and dwelling houses for the people.

If, after the promulgation of this decree throughout the provinces, the local officers irregularly prosecute and seize any of the professors of the religion of the Lord of Heaven who are not bandits, upon all such the just penalties of the law shall be meted out.

If any under a profession of this religion do evil, or congregate people from distant towns seducing and binding them together; or if any other sect or bandits, borrowing the name of the religion of the Lord of Heaven, create disturbances, transgress the laws or excite rebellion, they shall be punished according to their respective crimes, each being dealt with as the existing statutes of the empire direct.

Also, in order to make apparent the proper distinctions, foreigners of every nation are, in accordance with existing regulations, prohibited from going into the country to propagate religion.

For these purposes this decree is given. Cause it to be made known. From the emperor."

**Article IX**

"British subjects are hereby authorised to travel, for their pleasure or for purposes of trade, to all parts of the interior, under passports which will be issued by their Consuls, and countersigned by the local authorities. These passports, if demanded, must be produced for examination in the localities passed through. If the passport be not irregular, the bearer will be allowed to proceed, and no opposition shall be offered to his hiring persons, or hiring vessels for the carriage of his baggage or merchandise. If he be without a passport, or if he commit any offence against the law, he shall be handed over to the nearest Consul for punishment, but he must not be subjected to any ill-use in excess of necessary restraint. No passport need be applied for by persons going on excursions from the ports open to trade to a distance not exceeding 100 li (about thirty miles) and for a period not exceeding five days."

**Article XI**

"In addition to the Cities and Towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai, opened by the Treaty of Nanking, it is agreed that British subjects may frequent the Cities and Ports of Newchwang, Tungchow, Taiwan, Chahow and Kiungchow. They shall enjoy the same privileges, advantages and immunities at the said towns and ports, as they enjoy at the ports already opened to trade, including the rights of residence, of buying or renting houses, of leasing land therein, and of building churches, hospitals and cemeteries."
The Toleration Clauses


Treaty of Tientsin, signed on June 13, 1858, by Russia and China.

"Article VIII. Le Gouvernement Chinois, ayant reconnu que la doctrine Chrétienne facilite l'établissement de l'ordre et de la concorde entre les hommes, promet de ne pas persécuter ses sujets Chrétiens pour l'exercice des devoirs de leur religion; ils jouiront de la protection accordée à tous ceux qui professent les autres croyances tolérées dans l'Empire.

Le Gouvernement Chinois considérant les missionnaires Chrétiens comme des hommes de bien qui ne cherchent pas d'avantages matériels, leur permettra de propager le Christianisme parmi ses sujets, et ne leur empêchera pas de circuler dans l'intérieur de l'Empire. Un nombre fixe de missionnaires partant des villes ou ports ouverts sera muni de passeports signés par les autorités Russes."

Treaty of Tientsin, signed on June 18, 1858, by the United States and China. Ratified August 15, 1859.

"Article XXIX. The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others to do to them. Hereafter, those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harrassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who according to these tenets peaceably teaches and practises the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested."

Treaty of Tientsin, signed June 26, 1858, by Great Britain and China. Ratified, October 26, 1859.

"Article VIII. The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants and Roman Catholics, inculcates the practise of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the law, be persecuted or interfered with."
Treaty of Tientsin signed on June 27, 1858, between France and China. Ratified October 25, 1860.

"Article XIII. La religion Chrétienne ayant pour objet essentiel de porter les hommes à la vertu, les membres de toutes les communions Chrétienennes jouiront d'une entière sécurité pour leurs personnes, leurs propriétés, et le libre exercice de leurs pratiques religieuses, et une protection efficace sera donnée aux missionnaires qui se rendront pacifiquement dans l'intérieur du pays, munis des passeports réguliers dont il est parlé dans l'article VIII.

"Aucune entrave ne sera apportée par les autorités de l'empire chinois au droit qui est reconnu à tout individu en Chine d'embrasser, s'il le veut, le Christianisme et d'en suivre les pratiques sans être passible d'aucune peine infligée pour ce fait.

"Tout ce qui a été précédemment écrit, proclame ou publié en Chine par ordre du gouvernement contre le culte Chrétien, est complètement abrogé, et reste sans valeur dans toutes les provinces de l'empire."

Treaty of Tientsin signed on September 2, 1861, by Germany and China.

"Article X. Ceux qui suivent et enseignent la religion Chrétienne jouiront en Chine d'une pleine et entière protection pour leur personnes, leurs propriétés et l'exercice de leur culte."

Treaty of Tientsin signed on July 13, 1863, between Denmark and China. Ratified July 26, 1864.

"Article VIII. Danish subjects who profess or teach the Christian religion shall be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities nor shall any such persons, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the law, be persecuted or interfered with."

Treaty of Tientsin signed October 6, 1865, by Netherlands and China. Ratified July 26, 1865.

"Article IV. Netherlands Christian missionaries who are in the interior for the peaceful dissemination of the Christian religion shall be protected by the Chinese officials.

"Natives who wish to embrace their doctrine must not be prevented or persecuted, so long as they are not guilty of infringing the laws of the land."
Treaty of Peking, signed October 26, 1860, between Italy and China. Ratified November 14, 1867.

"Article VIII. Nessun impedimento sarà posto dalle autorità Chinese che tale o tale altro subdito dell' Impero possa, so lo vuole, abbracciare la religione cristiana e seguirne pubblicamente i riti."

Treaty of Peking, signed December 1, 1887, between Portugal and China. Ratified April 28, 1888.

"Article LII. The Catholic religion has for its essential object the leading of men to virtue. Persons teaching it and professing it shall alike be entitled to efficacious protection from the Chinese authorities; nor shall such persons pursuing peaceably their calling and not offending against the laws be prosecuted or interfered with."
An anti-Christian Proclamation.

From the correspondence of Mr. Bruce to his government. British State Papers, Vol. LXIX, Session 24, 'Correspondence respecting China'.

"Le, Magistrate of the Tsien-tang district (Hang-chow) commands the constables Tsien-huai and Liu-tseuen to proceed together with all speed to the Tsien-taou alley, and order a Ningpo man named King-ling-yiu, and a Shanghai man named Kung-kwen-yau, residing in the house of one Fei, and engaged in the gratuitous distribution of religious books, to quit the city. They are not to be allowed any further delay. You are, moreover, to order the said Fei on no account to permit their residence, or to continue the lease of their lodgings. You are also to make careful inquisition whether there are any foreigners residing with them, and if there be, to expel all such from our jurisdiction. You are at the same time to take in full, written declarations of the said Fei and of the Ti-paou of the said ward to the effect that they will not dare to tolerate or conceal the persons herein named - their declaration to be deposited for reference in the office of the District Magistrate. You, the aforesaid messengers, will beware of conniving at any the least delay on pain of punishment. Quick! Quick!

Hien-fung, 9th year, 11th month, 13th day.

(December 6, 1859)."
Extracts from the French Convention of Peking, signed October 25, 1860.


"Article VI. Conformément a l'édit imperial rendu le 20 Mars, 1846, par l'august Empereur Tao-Kouang, les établissements religieux et de bienfaisance qui ont été confisqués aux Chrétiens pendant les persécutions dont ils ont été les victimes, seront rendus a leurs propriétaires par l'entremise du Ministre de France en Chine, auquel le Gouvernement Imperial les fera délivrer, avec les cimetières et les autres édifices qui en dépendaient."

The following is the translation of the Chinese text of the above article.

"Article VI. It shall be promulgated throughout the length and breadth of the land, in the terms of the Imperial Edict of the 20th February, 1846, that it is permitted to all people in all parts of China to propagate and practise the 'teachings of the Lord of Heaven', to meet together for the preaching of the doctrine, to build churches, and to worship; further, all such as indiscriminately arrest (Christians) shall be duly punished; and such churches, schools, cemeteries, lands, and buildings, as were owned on former occasions by persecuted Christians, shall be paid for, and the money handed to the French Representative at Peking, for transmission to the Christians in the localities concerned. It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings at pleasure.

(Author's note - The date of the imperial decree of Emperor Tao Kwang referred to in the Chinese text should be March 16th, 1846, instead of the date given. The difference might have been due to the delay in promulgation. See Appendix 10 for a copy of this decree.

Notice that the translation of the Chinese text only roughly agrees with the French text. The last sentence of the Chinese text has no parallel in the French version. According to Article III of the French Treaty of Tientsin, the French was the official version.)
The Berthemy Convention

In the spring of 1928 a request was sent through the American Embassy at Paris to the Foreign Office of the French Government for the privilege of copying off the Berthemy Convention. The request was granted. Through the recommendation of the American Embassy, M. Abel Doysie was asked to make the necessary transcription. Under date of May 24, 1928, he wrote to the author saying:

"I was at last able to copy the agreement (not a treaty) of February 20, 1865, in the archives of Foreign Affairs yesterday. Since it was completed by that of May 26, 1895, I copied and translated it also, together with the explanations given by Father Planchet in his book which can only be got in Pekin."

Under the date August 10, 1928, M. Doysie adds:

"The explanations by Father Planchet were not attached to the original agreements, but published as a preface to them in his book."


Convention Berthemy
(20 Février, 1865)

En 1864, Ly Houangtchang, gouverneur du Kiangsou, faisait emprisonner un Chinois coupable d'avoir vendu un terrain à Mgr. Delaplace, vicaire apostolique du Tchekiang, dans la ville de Kuisai, sous prétexte que les missionnaires ne pouvaient acquérir que dans les ports ouverts. L'energique protestation de M. Berthemy, ministre de France, obtint du gouvernement Chinois la déclaration suivante:

"Lettre du Tsong-Ly Yamen a S. Exc. M. Berthemy, 20 février, 1865 - Nous avons l'honneur de vous annoncer que, en ce qui concerne les biens collectifs des Missions catholiques, nous avons arrêté ce qui suit.

A l'avenir, si des missionnaires français vont acheter les terrains et des maisons dans l'intérieur du pays, le vendeur tel ou tel (son nom) devra spécifier, dans la rédaction de l'acte de vente, que sa propriété a été vendue pour faire partie des biens collectifs de la Mission catholique de la localité. Il sera inutile d'y inscrire les noms du missionnaire ou des Chrétiens.

Nous avons déjà écrit au gouverneur du Kiangsou Ly, pour qu'il se conforme à cette mesure; et nous vous envoyons ci-joint copie de la lettre que nous lui avons adressée à ce sujet.

Salutations!"
La convention précédente aurait donné pleine satisfaction si les autorités provinciales n'avaient ajouté au texte officiel des instructions sécrètes, préservant une enquête préalable qui, les fonctionnaires aidant, était toujours défavorable, et rendait ainsi absolument inopérante la convention Berthemy.

En 1894, M. Gérard, ministre de France, repri l'affaire et obtint, un an après, que toute enquête préalable de commodo et incommodo sur les achats des missionnaires français fut supprimée.

Le Tsung-Ly-Yamen envoya à M. Gérard et aux autorités provinciales le texte de la nouvelle convention qui était ainsi rédigé:

"A l'avenir, si des missionnaires français vont acheter des terrains et des maisons à l'intérieur du pays, le vendeur tel ou tel (son nom), devra spécifier dans la redaction de l'acte de vente, que sa propriété a été vendue pour faire partie des biens collectifs de la Mission catholique de la localité. Il sera inutile d'y inscrire les noms du missionnaire ou des chrétiens. La Mission catholique après la conclusion de l'acte, acquittera la taxe d'enregistrement fixée par la loi chinoise pour tous les actes de vente et au même taux. Le vendeur n'aura ni à aviser les autorités locales de son intention de vendue, ni à demander au préalable leur autorisation."

The following is a translation of the above:

Berthemy Convention.
(Febuary 20, 1865)

In 1864, Ly Hung-chang, governor of Kiangsu, had imprisoned a Chinese guilty of having sold a piece of land to Mgr. Delaplace, vicar apostolic of Chekiang, in the town of Kuitsi, under the pretense that the missionaries could only acquire in the open ports. The energetic protest of M. Berthemy, the French minister, caused the Chinese Government to send the following declaration:

"Letter of the Tsung Li Yamen to his Excellency M. Berthemy - February 20, 1865:
We beg to inform you that, as regards the collective property of the Catholic Missions, we have decided as follows:

In the future, if French missionaries shall buy pieces of land and houses in the interior of the country, the seller so and so (his name) will have to specify in drawing up the sale contract that his property has been sold to become a part of the collective property of the Catholic Mission of the locality. It will be useless to inscribe therein the names of the Missionary or the Christians.
We have already written to the Governor of Kiangsu, Ly.
that he should conform to this measure and we are sending to you the annexed copy of the letter which we have addressed to him on that matter.

Salutations!

Gerard agreement
May 26, 1895

The previous agreement would have been quite satisfactory, had not the provincial authorities added to the official text secret instructions prescribing a previous inquiry which, with the help of the officials, was always unfavorable and made thus the Berthemy agreement absolutely inoperative.

In 1894, the French minister, M. Gérard, took up the affair again and was granted a year later that all previous inquiry de commodo et in commodo regarding the purchases of the French Missionaries should be suppressed.

The Tsung Ly Yemen sent to M. Gérard and the provincial authorities the text of the new agreement which was drawn up as follows:

"In the future, if French missionaries shall buy pieces of land and houses in the interior of the country, the seller, so and so (his name) will have to specify in drawing up the sale contract that his property has been sold to become a part of the collective property of the Catholic Mission of the locality. It will be useless to inscribe the names of the missionary or the Christians. The Catholic Mission after the contract is signed will pay the registration tax ordered by Chinese law for all sale contracts and at the same rate. The seller will neither have to advise the local authorities that he intends to sell nor to ask previously their authorization."
Having received the decree of my Heavenly Father (God), of my Heavenly adopted Father (Christ), and of my father (the celestial king, Tien-wang) I command all the king's officers, both civil and military, and all the brethren to be acquainted with it. The true doctrine of my Father (God), and of my adopted Father (Christ), is the religion of Heaven. The religion of Christ (Protestant), and the religion of the Lord of Heaven (Roman Catholic), are included in it. The whole world, together with my father and myself, are one family.

Those who lovingly and harmoniously observe the regulations of the heavenly religion are permitted to come and visit (us). Now, from the memorial presented to us by my uncles, Kan, Tsan, Chung, and others, I learn that the foreign teacher C. John, and his friend, esteeming the Kingdom of Heaven, and reverencing and believing in my Father (God), and my adopted Father (Christ), to whom be thanks for the bestowment upon us of authority, power, and wonders, of which those who are far and near have reverentially heard, have come for the express purpose of seeing the light, of beholding God and Christ, and of requesting permission to spread abroad the true doctrine. Seeing, however, that the present time is a time of war, and that the soldiers are scattered abroad in every direction, I am truly afraid that the missionaries might be injured by following the rabble soldiery, and that thus serious consequences might ensue. Still, I truly perceive that these (missionaries) are sincere and faithful men, and that they count it nothing to suffer with Christ; and because of this I esteem them very highly.

Let the kings inform all the officers and others that they must all act lovingly and harmoniously towards these men, and by no means engender contention and strife. Let all know that the Father (God), my adopted Father (Christ), my father and myself, are one family; and let these men (missionaries) be treated exceedingly well.
Appendix 17.
(See page 316 of thesis)


"Article IV. It is further agreed that citizens of the United States in China of every religious persuasion, and Chinese subjects in the United States, shall enjoy entire liberty of conscience, and shall be exempt from all disability or persecution on account of their faith or worship in either."

"Article VII. The citizens of the United States may freely establish and maintain schools within the Empire of China at those places where Foreigners are by Treaty permitted to live; and reciprocally, the Chinese subjects may enjoy the same privileges and immunities in the United States."
Tsungli Yamen proclamation of 1875.

This proclamation dealt with the purchase or rental of property by the missionaries in the interior. Mr. De Lano, U.S. consul at Foochow, secured a copy of the proclamation which appeared in Foochow on June 30, 1875. See U.S. Foreign Relations, 1875, p. 404. The proclamation said in part:

"In reference to foreigners obtaining land in the interior of the Chinese, under a perpetual lease on which to construct chapels, the lease should be handed over by the foreigner concerned to his consul, and by him transmitted to the local authorities for inspection, and in order to receive the official seal, and then returned to the foreigner. They are permitted to rent the premises of the people for use as chapels in all the cities, towns, and villages as they may choose. Let it be understood that their renting buildings for chapels is, in all respects, the same as though the buildings were rented to merchants for shops, or to families as places of residence; the neighbors on either hand must not invent falsehoods, or raise objections, but must heed the treaties."

"This proclamation is issued in order to fully inform you officials, seniors, soldiers, and common people that the purchase of premises, opening of chapels, and prosecuting of missionary work in all places by foreigners, is plainly specified in the treaty. If in any place a fraudulent sale is made, let full complaint be made to the local officials, and permit no local disturbance to the making of trouble."

"In idol-processions, repairing temples, etc. it is not allowed to levy contributions from the Christians, against their wills. The literati, soldiers, and common people must treat with respect and courtesy those who preach, and practice Christianity, that the Christians and the people may live in peaceful relations. The character 'yi' (meaning barbarism) must, also, not be used in violation of the treaty. Foreigners may dwell in all the cities, towns and villages of the interior, and not be molested."

"In the matter of Chinese professors of Christianity, in case of suits at law, the foreigner missionary will not be allowed to protect or screen them."
Statistics of the Roman Catholic missions in China.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bishops</th>
<th>Foreign priests</th>
<th>Native priests</th>
<th>Communicants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>363,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>556,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1,426</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>1,365,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1,806</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>2,394,962</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Soothill, "China and the West", p. 206, gives the following statistics for 1920: Bishops, 52; Foreign priests, 1,365; Native priests, 963; Communicants, 1,994,483.

4. "Chinese Recorder", Vol. 58, pp. 347, ff., has a fine article on "Catholic Native Episcopacy in China" by Father Pascal D'Elia, S.J., in which statistics are given for the strength of the church in 1926.
The following table shows the dates of the first permanent Protestant occupation of the provinces.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From 1842 - 1858</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fukien</td>
<td>Amoy, Foochow</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kiangsu</td>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>with the exception of Hupeh, the first seven provinces occupied were sea-coast provinces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Chekiang</td>
<td>Ningpo</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 1858 - 1865</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Shantung</td>
<td>Tientsin</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Chihli</td>
<td>Chefoo, Peking</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Hupeh</td>
<td>Hankow</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 1865 - 1890</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Anhwei</td>
<td></td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>By the C.I.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kiangsi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1869</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Shaansi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1876</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Kweichow</td>
<td></td>
<td>1877</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Kansu</td>
<td></td>
<td>1878</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Shaansi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1879</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Szechuan</td>
<td></td>
<td>1881</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Yunnan</td>
<td></td>
<td>1881</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Honan</td>
<td></td>
<td>1884</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 1890</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Kwangsi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>By the C.M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Hunan</td>
<td></td>
<td>1897</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(See page 360 of thesis)
Appendix 21

(See pages 361 ff. of thesis.)

(a) Statistics of Protestant work in China.
See: "Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877"
"Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890"
"China Centenary Missionary Conference Records", 1907
"World Missionary Atlas", 1925

(b) Table showing span of missionary service in China.

This work contains a list of 338 missionaries who had been sent out to China by various Protestant mission boards up to the date of publication, 1867. They aggregated a period of service of 2511 years, or an average of 7.4 years each. It must be remembered that of this group 124 were still on the field with their terms uncompleted. Out of the 336, 214 had completed their work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Over 35 years to 40</th>
<th>2 missionaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix 22

(See page 382 of thesis.)


"We have received a memorial from the Tsang-li Yamen dwelling on the frequency of missionary cases, and praying that stringent instructions should be issued to the various Viceroys and Governors, directing them to take prompt measures for dealing with the question. The memorialists state that, during the fourth moon of the present year (6th May to 6th June, 1891), the missionary buildings at Wuhu, in Anhui, were burnt down by rioters, and that missionary premises in the Tan Yang district, in Kiangsu, in the market town of Nua-hueh, in Hupei, and at various other places were also in close succession similarly destroyed, and they urge the extreme importance of securing the apprehension of the rioters, and of taking timely and effectual measures of protection.

The right of foreign missionaries to promulgate their religions in China is provided for by Treaty and be edicts which were previously issued; the authorities of all the provinces were commanded to afford them protection as circumstances required. There has been peace and harmony between Chinese and foreigners for a long series of years, and how comes it that within the last few days all these cases of the burning and destruction of missionary buildings should have occurred almost simultaneously? It is assuredly a matter which excites the greatest surprise. It is plain that, connected with the movement, there are desperate characters secretly plotting to gain adherents, and to inflame the feelings of the people by the dissemination of false rumors, their object really being to take advantage of the opportunity to commit rapine and plunder. What is still worse, good and peaceable citizens are being inveigled to join them in committing a succession of the gravest crimes, and unless severe punishment is meted out to them how can the majesty of the law be upheld, and the tranquility of the country preserved?

We command the Viceroys of the Two Kiang and of Hu Kiang, and the Governors of Kiangsu, Anhui, and Hupei to lose no time in directing the civil and military authorities concerned to take steps for arresting the principal criminals and for having them tried, and, when found guilty, condemned to capital punishment, in order that a warning may be given for the future.

The religions of the West have for their object the inculcation of virtue, and though people become converts, they still remain Chinese subjects, and continue to be amenable to the jurisdiction of the local authorities.
There is no reason why there should not be harmony between the ordinary people and the adherents of (foreign) religions, and the whole trouble arises from the lawless ruffians fabricating baseless stories, and making an opportunity for creating disturbance. These bad characters exist everywhere. We command the Manchu Generals-in-chief, the Viceroy and Governors in all the provinces to issue Proclamations, clearly explaining to the people that they must on no account give a ready ear to such idle tales and wantonly cause trouble. Let all who post anonymous placards and spread false rumours inflaming the minds of the people be at once arrested and severely punished. The local authorities are bound to afford due protection at all times to the persons and property of foreign merchants and foreign missionaries, and must not allow them to be injured or molested by evil characters.

Should the precautionary measures be lacking in stringency, and trouble be the result, we command that the local authorities be severely denounced. We further command the Manchu Generals-in-chief, the Viceroy, and Governors in all the provinces, to take immediate steps for settling all outstanding cases and not to allow their subordinates to shrink from the task and interpose delays, in order that a complete clearance may be made of all arrears in the archives. Let this decree be proclaimed for general information."
Modification of the Berthemy Convention secured by M. Gérard in 1894.


"Hereafter, if French missionaries go into the interior to purchase land or houses, the title deed shall specify clearly the name of the seller, and shall state that the property has been sold to become part of the collective property of the Catholic Mission in the locality where it is situated. It will be unnecessary to record on the deed the name of the missionary or of a native Christian. After the deed has been completed, the Catholic Mission will pay the cost of registration as fixed by Chinese law. The seller shall not be required to inform the local authorities of his intention to sell nor need be asked beforehand their authorization of the sale."
Imperial Decree, issued January 15, 1898, for the prevention of missionary troubles.


"Since the removal of the prohibition of Western religion, Christian places of worship are found in almost all parts of the Empire, foreign missionaries proselytize in sight of each other, and the number of Chinese converts increases from day to day and month to month. One false step by local officials in dealing with them gives rise to embarrassments at home and abroad. Beyond doubt this question has an important bearing on the peace of the State, and caution is absolutely necessary.

In July, 1891, an Edict was issued dealing stringently with the riffians who burnt and destroyed churches and chapels; but afterwards missionary cases occurred at Chengtu and Ku-t'ien. Lately another in which missionaries were murdered at Te'ao-chou, and though every effort was made to settle it by discussion and the building of chapels and the lease of Kiao-chou were authorized, the menaces of all kinds resulting from it are creating unbearable evils.

The Manchu Generals-in-chief, the Viceroy and Governors, are all recipients of the Imperial bounty, and should turn their thoughts to reducing the State's misfortunes. Therefore this special Decree is issued, calling upon them henceforth to bestir themselves and carefully guard against missionary troubles. When they receive District Magistrates, let them give particular orders to those officers, to inquire into the numbers and situation of the chapels in their jurisdiction and the character of the local inhabitants, in litigation between the people and the churches let them be warned to decide equitably, that the well-disposed may not suffer injustice and the wicked have no pretext (for stirring up strife). Most important of all is it that missionaries passing to and fro should be thoroughly protected according to Treaty, as a pretection to some extent against calamity, and to prevent events taking aturn for the worse. If the Magistrates rigidly adhere to their own settled views, vainly devote themselves to gaining an empty name, and do not estimate the gravity of this danger correctly, with the result that a little local difficulty spreads to an entire province, and affects very prejudicially the whole State, the responsibility will in every case will be laid at the door of the Manchu Generals-in-chief; Viceroy and Governors, and other high provincial authorities. Let them, therefore, tremble and take heed.

Let this Edict be proclaimed for information of all."

Appendix 24

(See page 387 of thesis)
Appendix 25

(See page 337 of thesis.)

The Imperial Decree of 1899.

Issued on March 15th in response to a memorial from "His Imperial Highness Prince Ch'ing and Their Excellencies the Ministers of the Tsungli Yamen".

See MacMurray, "Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China", p. 718.

"China has long ago given her consent to the establishment of Mission stations of the Roman Catholic religion in the various provinces. With the desire of maintaining peaceful relations between ordinary Chinese subjects and the converts, and of facilitating protective measures, the following proposals as to the reception of missionaries by local officials are submitted:

1. - To define the various ranks of missionaries. Bishops rank with Governors-General and Governors. They may ask for interviews with these officers. If a Bishop returns to his country or vacates his post on account of sickness, the priest who acts for him can also ask for interviews with the Governor-General and Governor. Provicesirs and Head Priests can ask for interviews with Treasurers, Judges, and Taotais. Other priests can ask for interviews with Prefects and Magistrates.

The Chinese officials of all ranks above mentioned will return the courtesy in accordance with the rank of the priests.

2. - Bishops must furnish the provincial authorities with a list giving the names of the priests deputed to transact international business with the Chinese officials, and of the places where missions are established, so that the provincial authorities can instruct their subordinates to treat with such priests according to these regulations. All those priests who ask for interviews, and those specially deputed to transact such business, must be Westerners, but in cases the Western Priest cannot speak Chinese, a Chinese priest may interpret.

3. - In cases in which the Bishop lives away from the provincial capital, he need not naturally go to the said capital to ask for an interview with the Governor-General or Governor without cause. On occasions of a change of Governors or Bishops, or of New Year's congratulations, the Bishop may write to the provincial authorities or send his card as a matter of courtesy, and the provincial authorities will reciprocate. In cases of change of priests, the newcomer must have a letter from the Bishop before he can ask for interviews with the Chinese officials as above.

4. - In grave cases connected with the mission, Bishops and priests must request the Minister of the
nation specially instructed by the Pope with the protection of Roman Catholic missionaries or the Consul of that nation to arrange the affairs with the Tsung-li Yamen or the local officials. They may also discuss and arrange the matter in the first instance with the local officials, so as to avoid complications. The local officials, when applied to in such cases, must at once discuss and arrange the affair in an equitable and friendly manner.

5. - The local officials must, as occasion arises, exhort and constrain the ordinary Chinese to look upon the converts as comrades, and not to pick quarrels with them.

The Bishops and priests on their side must instruct their converts to lead blameless lives, and so preserve the good name of the religion and the respect and goodwill of the non-converts.

Should lawsuits arise between converts and others, the local authorities must decide the same with impartiality. The priests must not interfere or favour their people. Thus it may be hoped that converts and people will live together on friendly terms.

The same day the Imperial assent was given."
It has been stipulated in the treaties concluded between China and the Foreign Powers that the citizens of these Powers shall be allowed to penetrate into the interior.

The Court, in order to assure and maintain relations with other countries, has already published decrees ordering that most sincere efforts be made in the provinces to assure protection. Nevertheless, the local authorities having gradually grown lax (in the exercise of their duties) malefactors have caused trouble, and attacks have been directed against foreigners. Similar incidents have repeatedly occurred.

We realize that our ability was too limited to reform the ignorant people, and consequently we have made very grievous mistakes. In ordinary times, not one of the local officials has been able to make understood European affairs, and none have comprehended the importance of foreign relations. Consequently the conflagration spread everywhere, threatening the Empire, and, if they reflect, they will find they have cause for uneasiness.

Henceforth each one of you must strive to overcome his resentment and to lay aside his prejudice. You should know that the maintenance of friendly relations with foreign countries has in all times been a fundamental law. People coming to China from afar, whether as merchants to exchange their products, or as travelers to increase their scientific knowledge, or yet as missionaries to preach religion with the object of exhorting the people to do good, have crossed mountains and seas at the risk of great fatigue.

Since China passes for a civilized country, it should practice the duties of a host toward its guests. Moreover, the Chinese who have gone abroad in recent years number at least several hundreds of thousands. The safety of their persons and property depends upon the guarantee assured them by the Powers who have given them their protection. How could we continue to treat their citizens differently?

We again command all the responsible High civil and Military Authorities of all the provinces to order their subordinates to protect, in the most efficacious manner, the agents and nations of the foreign Powers who may enter within their districts. In case daring malefactors should urge to illtreat and massacre foreigners, order must be restored immediately and the guilty parties arrested and punished without delay. No delay should occur. If, owing to indifference, or rather of voluntary tolerance, great calamities take place, or if treaties should be violated and no immediate steps taken to make reparation or inflict punishment, the Governors-general, Governors, and the provincial or local Officials responsible will be removed and shall not be reappointed to other offices in other provinces, or hope to be reinstated or receive any further honors.

The present decree must be printed and published to warn the officials and put an end to all shameful customs. Respect this!
Extracts from the treaty, signed September 5, 1902, between Great Britain and China.


"Article XII - China having expressed a strong desire to reform her judicial system and to bring it into accord with that of Western nations, Great Britain agrees to give every assistance to such reform, and she will also be prepared to relinquish her extraterritorial rights when she is satisfied that the state of Chinese laws, the arrangement for their administration, and other considerations warrant her in so doing.

Article XIII - The missionary question in China being, in the opinion of the Chinese Government, one requiring careful consideration, so that, if possible, troubles such as have occurred in the past may be averted in the future, Great Britain agrees to join in a Commission to investigate this question, and, if possible, to devise means for securing permanent peace between converts and non-converts, should such a Commission be formed by China and the Treaty Powers interested."
Extracts from the treaty, signed October 8, 1903, between the United States and China.


"Article XIV - Christianity; Its Teachers and Followers Not to Be Discriminated Against. Rights and Duties of Missionaries. -- The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teaches and practices the principles of Christianity shall in no case be interfered with or molested therefor. No restrictions shall be placed on Chinese joining Christian churches. Converts and non-converts, being Chinese subjects, shall alike conform to the laws of China; and shall pay due respect to those in authority, living together in peace and amity; and the fact of being converts shall not protect them from the consequences of any offence they may have committed before or may commit after their admission into the church, or exempt them from paying legal taxes levied on Chinese subjects generally, except taxes levied and contributions for the support of religious customs and practices contrary to their faith. Missionaries shall not interfere with the exercise by the native authorities of their jurisdiction over Chinese subjects; nor shall the native authorities make any distinction between converts and non-converts, but shall administer the laws without partiality so that both classes can live together in peace.

Property; Land Purchased by Missionary Societies. -- Missionary societies of the United States shall be permitted to rent and to lease in perpetuity, as the property of such missions, buildings or lands in all parts of the Empire for missionary purposes and, after the titles deeds have been found in order and duly stamped by the local authorities, to erect such suitable buildings as may be required for carrying on their good work."

(Editorial Note. Article XXIX of the Treaty of 1858 signed by the United States and China, see appendix 12, is repeated in the first part of Article XIV, given above.)