

The Emergence of Chinese Christian Leaders in Shandong's Presbyterian Mission

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Throughout the history of the Protestant missionary movement in China the stated goal of every group was to develop a Chinese three-self church that could stand alone without the leadership or financial help from foreign entities. It is generally accepted that most missions were unable to fully accomplish this goal due to the extensive institutions and other areas of good works that the foreigner engaged in and that it was only when the westerners retreated from their stations in the 1920s and 1930s that one finally saw a Chinese Church evolve. This paper will consider the slow rise of Chinese Christian leadership in the American Presbyterian Shandong Mission before this period noting the specific importance that education played in this process.

The Shandong Mission, like many of the others of its time, also had the goal of a three-self church. Some of China's famous foreign evangelists were a member of this mission, including John Nevius and Hunter Corbett. The Mission also boasted an extensive school system and rural outstation network.¹ Although well staffed, most of the missionaries by the 1920s were engaged in non-Church related work in the Shandong Christian University (*Qilu*) or other oversight activities. It is clear from the development of this Mission that much of the work was taken over by the local Chinese by the 1920s. This paper will look at the rise of the Chinese Christian leadership and the systems created to encourage their rise to prominence between the late-19th and early-

¹ In 1933 the mission reported 123 outstations, the most of any of the China missions. "General Summary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, Comiled April 1, 1934, Statistics for Mission Year Ending Approximately October 15, 1933." Ninety-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Presented to the General Assembly, May 1934. Presbyterian Building, New York, 1934. Insert.

20th centuries with a particular focus on mission education. Although government policies and other social movements quickened the pace of the handover, it is clear that the local Christians were engaged in mission work and influenced its educational policies from an early period.

The American Presbyterians in China and Shandong

The American Presbyterian China Mission (APM) was a leader in the Protestant community, particularly in education. In all their mission fields they developed schools and were instrumental in creating the Protestant union colleges after 1911. By 1920 they counted over 19,000 male and female pupils in 770 schools. The Shandong Mission itself accounted for 41% of the student population and 52% of the schools.² The mission also had one of the highest “national force” numbers of the Presbyterians totaling 866 ordained and unordained Chinese workers.³

The APM became interested in China as early as the 1830s, but due to local opposition they were forced to focus their efforts on the Chinese population in Singapore. The First Opium War (1839-1842) opened China to the newly arrived Protestant groups.⁴ To avoid the health problems encountered in other mission fields they chose the treaty port of Xiamen, approximately 400 miles north of Guangzhou, which had a better environment for the foreigners. In 1848 Xiamen was abandoned and Ningbo was made the base of Presbyterian operations. They later moved up the coast to Shanghai in 1850.⁵

The settlements of the Second Opium War (1856-1860) allowed for more extensive contact with the Chinese population as missionaries left the treaty ports and

² By 1920 the American Presbyterians had seven mission fields: Central China, Hainan, Hunan, Kiang-an, North China, Shandong and South China. 83rd *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*. PHS. Insert after page 440.

³ The statistics report 82 ordained workers, 486 unordained male workers and 298 unordained female workers. The next mission was the Jiangan mission which had a total of 237 workers attached to its efforts. “General Summary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, Compiled April 1, 1934, Statistics for Mission Year Ending Approximately October 15, 1933.” 97th *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, PHS. Insert.

⁴ G. Thompson Brown. *Earthen Vessels & Transcendent Power: American Presbyterians in China 1837-1952*, (New York: Orbis Books. 1997), 10-25.

⁵ Brown, 27-38.

pushed into the interior. The Presbyterians took full advantage of the newly opened ports and established the Beijing and Shandong Missions. In May 1861 Reverend Samuel Gayley and Reverend J. A. Danforth moved from Shanghai to the newly designated open port of Dengzhou in the Shandong Province.⁶ Important to the future work in the province was the arrival of three new missionaries, the “Shantung Triumvirate”: John L. Nevius (1861), Calvin Mateer (1863), and Hunter Corbett (1863).⁷ These three pioneers embarked on both religious and secular endeavors that became trademarks of Presbyterian work in this province.

These early missionaries successfully established stations in the two port cities and expanded into the interior where they developed an extensive rural mission. As late as 1888 the South China Mission only reported 419 communicants and the Central China Mission reported 933 communicants. When compared with 2,858 in Shandong, one can appreciate why it was considered the most successful.⁸ Their incredible success when compared with other regions of China is interesting. Lawrence Kessler’s work on the Jiangyin station notes that the success of missions in the twentieth century was due to their secular activities not their religious message.⁹ The Shandong Mission certainly provides evidence that this was true. With the increase in their secular activities, however, missionaries were also providing avenues for leadership and positions inside and outside the Church.

The incredible growth of the Shandong mission in its first two decades inevitably led to new stations in the interior. Most of the converts were located in the central and western sections of the province and the distance was too far for the itinerating missionary to provide proper oversight of the infant Christian community. Jasper MacIlvaine was a pioneer in this effort and made a journey to Jinan, the provincial capital, to purchase buildings in 1871. Although it took some time for a permanent station to be fully established, the mission continued to push for inland stations and set

⁶ Dengzhou (Penglai) was later replaced by Chefoo (Yantai) as the open port in Shandong. Brown, p. 54.

⁷ *North China Herald*. vol. 203, no. 3642, May 26, 1937. p. 321.

⁸ *51st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1888*. PHS. p. 181.

⁹ Lawrence Kessler, *The Jiangyin Mission Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895-1951*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 2.

its sights on Weixian. Located at the intersection of three major east-west roads in the middle of the province it was a perfect location for a new station. In the beginning of 1883 Robert Mateer and John Laughlin arrived to lay the groundwork for the station. Both of these interior stations became the centerpieces of the APM's educational efforts in Shandong as a more professional enterprise developed. Later stations to be occupied were at Izhou (Linyi) in 1891, Jining in 1892, Qingdao in 1898, Yixian in 1905 and Tengxian in 1913. As each station was opened, they embarked on training for local leaders. All of their schools, for example, focused on the training of community leaders not just providing a religious education. The rise of Chinese Christians in the mission was accomplished through training sessions for local leaders and the later development of cooperation committees that coincided with a greater desire on the part of local Christians to step out on their own.

Although converts came slowly, the Presbyterians became particularly active founding schools and other educational activities in line with the general policy of the Presbyterian Church. This maintained that the establishment of "Schools, Colleges, and Theological Seminaries, in which candidates for the ministry might be elaborately and efficiently trained" was inseparable from mission work.¹⁰ Education was also seen as a way to "combat and expose the plausible errors that are circulated to undermine the faith of the ignorant."¹¹ Missionaries in Shandong incorporated and expanded these ideas in their school system as more interior stations were opened. As the system expanded, however, the foreign missionaries quickly turned to their Chinese teachers and began training systems to keep the quality of the students high.

Early Developments in Education

The underpinnings of the Chinese Christian leadership in Shandong began with the mission education institutions that were established in the nineteenth century. As their reach expanded inland they brought their secular institutions with them to develop local community leaders. Their education, however, was intended to provide a good general education rather than solely a religious education for pastors to develop

¹⁰ *Annual Report of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1880.* (New York: General Assembly of the American Presbyterian Church, 1881), 69.

¹¹ *Annual Report of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1880,* 69.

community leaders inside and outside the Church walls. The idea of using education to strengthen society was the brainchild of Calvin Mateer in the 1860s and 1870s. His new idea of educating professionals rather than just pastors was carried into the interior and became a hallmark of the Mission's work. The new interior stations also promoted the system of schools and it grew quickly from 172 students in 1880 to 1,886 in 1899.¹² Alongside the expansion of the school system was an expanding Church that reported 250 out-stations, 298 Chinese helpers, 41 churches and over 5,000 communicants in 1900.¹³

In addition to the larger numbers of students, Presbyterian schools expanded their curriculum to include more western subjects. This inevitably led to the need for better teachers and training programs aimed at teachers and local leaders. Introducing courses outside of the Confucian texts was adopted early on by Calvin Mateer. Initially, Confucian primers to teach basic writing skills and Helen Nevius's Mandarin Catechism for religious classes were used.¹⁴ This reflects the early contradiction of trying to attract students while using the school as a tool for converting non-Christian students. Once Calvin Mateer became more involved in Dengzhou's high school he made a point of introducing western science, arithmetic, algebra, geography and other courses that would inspire the students.¹⁵ The mission also made an effort to standardize the curriculum for the entire province. The new curriculum offered courses such as arithmetic, geography, physiology, bookkeeping, introductory Chinese classical education, and the general religious classes.¹⁶

As the missionaries began attracting new students, they were concerned about the quality of instruction provided to them. They also wanted to ensure a pipeline for

¹² I have included the numbers for 1899 rather than 1900 since many of the missionaries left the field during the Boxer Rebellion and the reports are inaccurate. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1881*. PHS. p. 740 and *The Sixty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*. PHS. Insert after p. 284.

¹³ "The China Mission: Some General Facts." *The Assembly Herald*. 2, 8, February 1900: 404

¹⁴ Irwin Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess : Three Nineteenth-Century American Missionaries in East Shantung*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 160.

¹⁵ Hyatt, 160.

¹⁶ "General Plan and Constitution of Girls' Boarding School." November 1882, Dengzhou. PHS. MF10.F761a.r205.

female teachers and leaders was developed for the girls' primary schools that were growing in number. Local scholars were initially engaged to teach the Chinese classics and other general education classes. Missionaries preferred to have local Christians teach in the schools. They felt this would provide a better environment and the teachers would not turn the students against Christianity. However, the education of early converts was limited at best and in many cases they did more harm than good.

The high school run by the Mateers ran into similar problems in its early years.¹⁷ One of the important objectives set for the school was to graduate educated men for the local society rather than solely intending them to be pastors or preachers. They would provide an important link in the community and do more to establish Christianity in China than only the foreign missionaries. This was a new concept of engaging the graduates in professional activities, most importantly as teachers in local schools. Of course, this was against the desire of the evangelists to hire more preachers and pastors to help them in the field. In the end many served the Church either as clergy or laypersons. Many of the graduates of the high schools also became involved in expanding the school system as leaders or financial backers.

By 1883 education and its purpose was a firmly entrenched reality in the Shandong Mission. As noted above, the Dengzhou College was able to provide highly educated individuals to work in schools of all levels and was educating evangelists that would become future Church leaders in Shandong. As noted earlier, the 1880s saw two important changes to the Shandong mission. First, new stations in the interior were opened that switched the focus of the missionaries to the interior. Second, the school system expanded to include primary, secondary, and collegiate level institutions. This increased the demand for trained Christian teachers to act as teachers and administrators in this system. Graduates of the Dengzhou College would not work in the primary schools that were becoming an increasingly important component of the work in Shandong. The new secondary schools and training classes filled this gap in the teaching force.

¹⁷ Irwin Hyatt covers the early years of the school extensively in his book *Our Ordered Lives Confess*.

Along with secondary schools, the missionaries extended a system of primary schools for boys and girls. One of the largest systems was connected to the Weixian station which closed their first year with 121 boys and fifteen girls enrolled.¹⁸ By 1890 the same model was adopted by other stations and the entire Shandong mission reported over 800 male and female students attending missionary schools, a majority of which were primary school pupils.

An increasing demand for education from the mission field was the key factor in the large number of students. This inevitably led to an increasing demand for matriculation into the boys' high schools.¹⁹ In the 1880s and 1890s the Boys' Academy in Weixian evolved into the main preparatory for the Dengzhou College. Therefore, it became necessary to upgrade the entrance examinations and expectations for the new students. This had a knock-on effect in broadening the curriculum of the primary schools. In 1891 Robert Mateer reported the introduction of arithmetic and geography at a boys' primary boarding school taught by a Dengzhou graduate. From this one school six students matriculated to the high school the following year.²⁰ It took some time, but these changes gradually filtered throughout the system. As with all station policies, the introduction of a uniform curriculum was not accomplished overnight. It had taken three years just to adopt the policy.

Their main problem was a lack leadership on the ground, particularly among the teachers. To solve this issue for both the schools and evangelistic force periodic training institutes, usually conducted over the summer, for evangelists and primary school teachers were introduced in the 1890s.²¹ This early instruction was focused on the evangelists to provide a more in-depth understanding of Christianity for both of these

¹⁸ *52nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1889. PHS.* p. 151; "Report of the Wei Hien Mission for 1888." *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216; and "J. Leyenberger to F. Ellinwood." 1888, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.

¹⁹ It should be noted that a high school for girls did not emerge until 1895 after demand was shown and the need for teachers increased.

²⁰ It may be true that this curriculum change was made earlier, but this is the first mention of these courses being taught in any of the primary schools. "R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood." November 28, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

²¹ The classes for evangelists and bible women were already being conducted but in 1890 the teachers were invited for the first time. "R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood." September 1, 1890, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.

groups. Eventually, the class for teachers was separated from the class for the evangelists in an attempt to get more specific training in methodology.

Chinese Christians and Expansion in the Nineteenth Century

The growth of the school system and Church in the 19th century was due to a multitude of factors but from the records it is clear that there was a considerable push by the local Chinese for the mission participate. For the school system, in particular, their influence is reported in the records. Prior to the primary schools being established, students for the high schools were generally taken with whatever education they obtained from the existing Chinese system. The impact of the development of primary education was felt quickly with the mission reporting 593 students in the school system by 1889.²² The new station at Weixian alone reported 121 boys enrolled in day schools and fifteen girls in boarding schools.²³

Local Chinese Christians saw a need for expanding these schools and the education they provided early on. As early as 1889 it was reported that Chinese Christians planned to establish several schools for girls independent of missionary action.²⁴ Unfortunately, the records do not identify whether Church leaders or the grass-roots members led the movement. In the end the schools were not opened due to a lack of financial support. However, the very idea that the local population and not the missionaries were looking to establish schools was significant. This case shows that the Chinese population was looking to participate in the expansion of the school system and to collaborate with the missionaries in this endeavor at this early time. In his personal report for 1890 John Leyenberger reported that it was becoming difficult to comply with the “growing demand for school work.”²⁵

²² At this point the mission was not dividing the student numbers between the primary and secondary schools in the annual report. However, most of the high schools were still relatively small with room for only 50 students in each school. *52nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1889. PHS. P. 184.*

²³ *52nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1889. PHS. p. 151;* “Report of the Wei Hien Mission for 1888.” *PHS. MF10.F761a.r216;* and “J. Leyenberger to F. Ellinwood.” 1888, Weixian. *PHS. MF10.F761a.r207.*

²⁴ *53rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1890. PHS. pp. 55-56* and “R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.” February 21, 1889, Wooster. *PHS. MF10.F761a.r207.*

²⁵ “Report for the Year 1890, J. Leyenberger.” *PHS. MF10.F761a.r207.*

Local Christians also participated in the financial health of the school system. This began in the 1890s with the emphasis on the Chinese that had the financial resources paying fees for their children's education. In many mission schools the foreigners felt that students would not attend if they were not provided with all the necessities of life. However, the Foreign Board's appropriations did not cover the expansion costs and a free education. To solve this growing crisis the missionaries began to consider emphasizing day schools over boarding schools. Boarding schools were preferred because of the Christian environment they provided. Day schools did not have the continuous influence over the pupils and many feared that they were not as successful in expanding Christianity.²⁶ By the end of the 1890s "well-to-do" Christians, who recruited their teachers from the mission secondary schools, were establishing primary schools in the Weixian field.²⁷ Unfortunately, not much is known about these institutions and the records do not provide much detail on them. However, it is clear that the Chinese were being more proactive in the school system. These schools were eventually brought under the mission umbrella for examinations and rules, but they essentially existed outside mission control and oversight.

Chinese Leadership in the Primary Schools in the Twentieth Century

In the nineteenth century the Chinese played a key role in expanding the primary school system that coincidentally forced the expansion of the high schools due to demand. In the twentieth century, however, the local population took on much more of an organizing function in the school system and instituted new policies that reshaped education in the Presbyterian system.

By 1910 the curriculum of the high schools had changed considerably. They were now training professionals in addition to giving religious education for evangelists. The expansion of the high school curriculum to include training for future teachers was supplemented by additional post-secondary Normal schools and training classes to upgrade the qualifications of existing teachers. Important in this process was the further development of the nineteenth century Normal Institutes where new teaching

²⁶ At this time the missionaries still viewed the girls' boarding schools as necessary and seem only to be talking about the future of boys' education in the system.

²⁷ "Report of the Wei Hsien Station, China, for the Mission Year ending August 31, 1899." *PHS*. MF10.F761a.r217.

techniques and courses were introduced. In 1913 the missionaries began to use it to instruct the teachers in a new teaching technique, the “Dan Gi method.”²⁸ However, the missionaries turned the instruction of the material over to a Mr. Zhao from the Government Normal School in Jinan. The following year the institute was held again, organized by Mr. Zhao, and classes in teaching methods were given for the second time. Other changes were also made to its program and structure. In this year the missionaries recorded a change in the subjects to include more non-religious topics for the first time: Elementary and Advanced Chinese Literature, Geography, History, Nature Study, Drawing, Manual Training, and Music. The change in coursework was due to the new Chinese organizing group from the Shandong Christian University and Point Breeze Academy. The new group included Professor Wang Yuen Deh [sic], Professor Teng Ging Shui [sic], and Mr. Yin Bing Wen [sic] who also managed the business details and boarding of the attendees.²⁹

The motivation to bring more Chinese voices to the table continued in education and in the overall decision-making process of the Mission. During the 1910s the Presbyterians in Shandong began to incorporate Chinese into their governance system through the idea of Cooperation Committees. The Cooperation Committees included both Chinese and Americans. The idea of bringing the local Chinese Christian leaders

²⁸ According to the Weixian Station’s yearly report the method was ‘a development of the system of Pestalozzi, and came to China from Germany by way of Japan; and is practically the same method used at home in our ungraded country schools.’ Unfortunately, a breakdown of exactly what was involved in this new method of teaching is not given, but from a description of the advantages of the system it seems that it involved, as teaching does today, a teacher in front of the classroom with the pupils themselves performing individual classwork. One real advantage to the new system was the ability of one individual to teach 40 or 50 students, of both primary and intermediate levels, at a single time and would allow more students to attend school without hiring a large number of teachers. It would also permit the schools to move more towards the self-supporting policy without the expense per student rising too drastically, but giving the teacher a higher salary. There were also three expressed disadvantages of the system: 1. There was less opportunity for individual attention than desirable, 2. The time to teaching was broken up into smaller parts, and 3. If the teacher was inexperienced the pupils could copy the work of another student thereby getting nothing from the school. However, these disadvantages were felt to be acceptable if the result was a more efficient school system. “Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.” *PHS*. RG82/6/2/20-2; 77th *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1914*. *PHS*. p. 155; and “Weihsien Quarterly Station Letter.” January 26, 1914, Weixian. *PHS*. RG82/8/7/102.

²⁹ “Weihsien Quarterly Station Letter.” January 26, 1914, Weixian. *PHS*. RG82/8/7/102.

into the decision-making process was pioneered by the missionaries in Qingdao. The desire of the Chinese members of their committee complained about the decision by the Mission to close the Pingdu chapel without consulting the station or themselves.³⁰ As indicated in a later letter from Paul Abbott of the Chefoo station this course of action was taken in response to increasing pressure by the local Christians and that it may have led to strained relations with them if the Committees were not given real decision-making power.³¹ Abbot also reported on the growing movement to establish a Chinese Church independent of the missionaries that may have forced the hand of the missionaries to cede authority in some areas.

“The fact that the Independent Church movement is already under way in Shantung shows the same thing....One man is giving \$8000 and another \$5000 to build the first church structure in the capital at Chinanfu. They had several enthusiastic meetings during the Presbytery one of which I attended. The speeches were restrained, and breathed no antagonism to the foreigner, but here was all the same the very clear evidence there that they were in earnest in this matter and that all the foreigner had to do was to like it or not as he pleased. I am glad to say that all the foreigners are in sympathy with the movement, at least those I have seen and talked with.”³²

In 1912 the Mission formally passed a resolution that Cooperation Committees were to be opened at each station and they were given authority over the policies related to education, evangelization and medicine. The Chinese members of the individual committees were to be chosen at a local church session or at Presbytery.³³

Mission-level Cooperation Committees were also established along these same lines. For example, the first report of the new Cooperative Education Committee was presented in 1913 and approved at the annual mission meeting in 1914.³⁴ In seventeen

³⁰ “Charles Scott to Arthur Brown.” April 12, 1913, Qingdao. *PHS*. RG 82/7/3.

³¹ “Paul Abbott to Arthur Brown.” December 8, 1912, Chefoo. *PHS*. RG 82/3/13.

³² “Paul Abbott to Arthur Brown.” December 8, 1912, Chefoo. *PHS*. RG 82/3/13.

³³ “Charles Scott to Arthur Brown.” April 12, 1913, Qingdao. *PHS*. RG 82/7/3 and “Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, September 1912.” *PHS*. RG 82/4/7, 42.

³⁴ The committee consisted of four missionaries and four Chinese members: Ralph C. Wells, H. E. Chandler, P. C. Cassat, Madge D. Mateer, Mr. Pan Dao Lung [sic], Rev. Liu Szi I [sic], Mr.

points they made some general changes to the teaching materials, such as the books to study geography, recommended the idea of a school inspector, and what grade of teachers were to be given positions in the school system. Perhaps most significant was a new policy that all missionary teachers engaged in educational work should have “special training and successful experience as teachers and give promise of becoming capable administrators in primary and middle school work” that was eventually adopted in 1918.³⁵

Even with the new organizations at both the stations and Mission, there still appeared to be skepticism from the Chinese members. Paul Abbott wrote that some on the new committee in Chefoo were “a bit incredulous that all this power was to be given to them and that it wasn’t the name without the reality.”³⁶ However, once they realized that the committee had real authority, they became full participants in the work of the joint group. Like the provincial committee, the local groups had decision-making authority over the evangelistic, medical and educational policies of the station. The Chinese, who generally made up a majority of the committee members, made full use of their position and asserted their interests. In Weixian the Education Committee’s first major accomplishment was to change all but two of the girls’ primary boarding schools and the boys’ day schools into coeducational day schools. This resulted in thirty-four new schools for girls with two boarding schools acting as intermediate schools between the primary system and the Wen Mei School.³⁷ This resolution followed the ideas of the 1911 Conference of Provincial Educational Associations that stressed the importance of coeducation.³⁸

In addition to the Cooperation Committees, Chinese superintendents of the primary schools were also assuming more proactive roles in the formation of new

Wang Shou Tsing [sic], and Rev. Chen Yen Chang [sic]. *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission, 1914*. PHS. p. 23.

³⁵ “Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Shantung Mission, July 6 to July 18, 1918.” PHS. RG82/16/3/20-1.

³⁶ “Paul Abbott to Arthur Brown.” December 8, 1912, Chefoo. PHS. RG 82/3/13.

³⁷ “Weihsien Quarterly Station Letter.” January 26, 1914, Weixian. PHS. RG82/8/7/102; “Letter from J. Fitch to A. Brown.” April 6, 1914, Weixian. PHS. RG82/8/7/43; and “Report for the Weihsien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914.” PHS. RG82/8/8/20-2. pp. 22-23.

³⁸ Paul Bailey, *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes Towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-Century China*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1990), 136.

primary schools. By 1900 they had been part of the primary school systems for many years, and had gained much experience in school administration. The mission records also report that some began to establish their own schools outside the missionary system and introduced some innovations. An example of this was the breakup of the intermediate and elementary school pupils into separate institutions. In 1914 the regulations for the school system stipulated that both the intermediate and elementary pupils be taught in one school, essentially a one-room schoolhouse. One ex-Superintendent took it upon himself to break up the elementary and intermediate pupils through the establishment of a higher primary school that only more advanced pupils would attend. This was contrary to the existing system, but it proved to be an improvement over the old practice. The students proved to be more prepared to take on the rigors of academic life in the secondary schools than in the past. When its success became clear in 1917, the missionaries adopted it.³⁹

Outside the mission organizations local Christians were additionally important by creating and funding new schools without missionary involvement. In 1915, Ralph Wells noted that primary schools begun by the local population throughout the Weixian field were applying to be “recognized as Cooperation Committee schools.”⁴⁰ They would continue to act on a self-supporting basis but could take advantage of the Point Breeze Academy and Wen Mei School that were among the top schools in Shandong. To be accepted the teachers and managers were required to be Christians, and the regulations and course of study set by the Cooperation Committee needed to be followed. The schools would also be inspected by a Superintendent, would receive the same certificates as the rest in the system, and their teachers could take advantage of the periodic training institutes at the station. However, they remained outside the direct financial and administrative control of the foreign missionaries.

Chinese Christian Leaders: Pastor Liu Si-yi and Rev. Liu Guang-zhao

By 1912 the Christians linked with the American Presbyterian mission had made inroads into the usually foreign-dominated mission organization. One can, of course,

³⁹ Bailey, 136 and “36th Annual Report of the Weihsien Station for the Year Ending July 1st, 1918.” *PHS*. RG82/16/3/20-2.

⁴⁰ “Report of the Weihsien Boys’ Primary and Intermediate Schools for the Year Ending June 30, 1915.” *PHS*. RG82/10/7/20-2.

note the influence of evangelists such as Ding Li-mei as an example of the growing importance that individual Chinese were starting to play in the mission. The previous sections showed that they were taking proactive efforts to expand the church and educational system. The emergence of Chinese pastors like Liu Si-yi and Liu Guang-zhao brought this period of rising influence to a head. These two individuals were highly important to the two stations they were associated with and highlight the increasing importance Chinese pastors were playing in both the secular and religious enterprises in the 1910s.

As noted above, much of the new power given to and taken by Chinese Christians in the 1910s was on committees or at the village level in the Churches and primary schools. While many stations continued to maintain control of the educational enterprises through the foreign personnel, the Qingdao station went forward with their previous stance on incorporating Chinese pastors into leadership positions. In the 1911-1912 school year Pastor Liu Si-yi, a key leader in the local Christian community, was appointed the principal of the Hugh O'Neil Boys' High School. The station's report for the year noted that this was an initially an experiment but that the results were so positive that he retained his position in the following years. The report particularly notes his work in overcoming financial shortages during the school year.⁴¹ A graduate of the Qingzhou Theological School, Pastor Liu had previously worked closely with Watson Hayes after his years as a student.⁴² He was also active in trying to bring a girls high school to the Qingdao station. In 1912 he joined with the leading pastors of the field to demand further curriculum changes in the existing boys high school and that a girls high school needed to be established.⁴³

Another that took on a leadership position within a station's field was Rev. Liu Guang-zhao.⁴⁴ Like Pastor Liu Si-yi, Rev. Liu was an active Church leader and was involved in education in Weixian where he was principal of a Chinese government

⁴¹ "Report of the Tsingtau Station for the year 1911-1912." *PHS*. RG 82/4/2.

⁴² At one point Charles Scott compares Rev. Liu to the Ding Li-mei. "Charles Scott to Arthur Brown." May 29, 1912, Qingdao. *PHS*. RG 82/3/13 and "Charles Scott to Arthur Brown." March 5, 1912, Qingdao. *PHS*. RG 82/3/13

⁴³ "Petition of Chinese Leaders of Tsingtau Field to Shantung Mission." *PHS*. RG 82/4/2.

⁴⁴ In the missionary literature his name is given as Liu Gwang Djao.

middle school. However, his route to this position as a leader took a rather different path. Like most attached to the Presbyterian mission he was a graduate of the Shandong Union College (originally the Dengzhou College) and later served on the faculty where he published books on Mechanics, Electricity and Calculus.⁴⁵ His book on Algebra was later used as the basis of the entrance exams in the Arts College.⁴⁶ In 1913, he was one of two individuals consulted on how to match the curriculum of the mission schools with government.⁴⁷ His credentials as an educator were well-established by 1913. At this time, as noted above, the mission schools were having difficulty finding and retaining female teachers for the primary schools. Stepping into the void left by Mission inaction, Rev. Liu and his wife established a training school for girls in Anqiu, south of Weixian. It opened with thirty-one girls from both the government and mission schools.⁴⁸ The purpose of this school was not solely to replenish the teaching force of the mission primary schools, but to also provide the demand for teachers in the government schools. The student body was made up of pupils who, for one reason or another, could not attend or finish the full course at a secondary school and only had a primary school education. This was the only opportunity open to many and the only attempt to create a training institute for teachers. The Anqiu Normal School quickly expanded by opening a primary day school for training purposes and it employed three government teachers to raise its quality. This was more than the central station was able or willing to do with its level of their funding. Coinciding with his work in education, Rev. Liu was also instrumental in beginning the City Evangelization Movement that was trumpeted by the missionaries in the late-1910s. He was the first to occupy premises in a city after purchasing a pawnshop and beginning evangelical work.⁴⁹

The City Evangelization Movement

The emergence of individual leaders like Liu Si-yi and Liu Guang-zhao both inside and outside the mission organization came together in the City Evangelization

⁴⁵ “Shantung Union College: A College and an Empire.” *PHS*. RG 82/10/8, 19.

⁴⁶ “The Annual Register and Report of the Shantung Christian University, Shantung, China, 1916.” *PHS*. RG 82/9/4, 15.

⁴⁷ “Minutes of the Annual meeting of the Shantung Mission, 1913.” *PHS*. RG 82/7/1, 11.

⁴⁸ “Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.” *PHS*. RG82/6/2/20-2 and ‘Weihsien Quarterly Station Letter.’ January 26, 1914, Weixian. *PHS*. RG82/8/7/102.

⁴⁹ “Robert Mateer to Dr. Speer.” December 5, 1915, Weixian. RG 82/10/13.

Movement, a large evangelistic campaign that lasted from 1914 through the early-1920. It was a highly promoted campaign and consisted of two important characteristics: evangelizing by teams of Christians and educational institutions in the city limits. This was an effort to shift the work from the more rural areas, which had been the focus to this point, to directly evangelize among the larger urban populations. In 1914, work started in Weixian under Wang Yueh-deh and in Anqiu under Liu Guang-zhao.⁵⁰ Under the direction of Wang a new Church that held two services each Sunday, bible classes for men and women, and a Sunday school were slowly established.⁵¹ The following year it was reported that over 200 people attended the Sunday services and ninety-one were enrolled in the educational institutions. In Anqiu, Rev. Liu began with no buildings or support from the central station. He initiated his campaign by resigning as the principal of the local government middle school and holding services in its courtyard under a tent.⁵² The movement included local Christians in the distribution of tracts, preaching, and other activities. It also fully accommodated the local elite at special services in an attempt to engage them more thoroughly than in the past.⁵³

The CEM got off the ground fairly quickly, but it was not initially organized in any systematic fashion. Its work was clearly decentralized and determined by local conditions as perceived by the leaders of the Chinese Church. However, it soon gained strength in numbers, local funding, and foreign support. The role of the missionaries in the movement was minimal in the early years. They only showed interest after the Chinese had started the various projects. Missionaries explained their lack of involvement by arguing that they were too busy to take care of this new project.

By 1917 Chinese evangelists were working in five cities. The main focus was initially on Anqiu, Weixian, and Loa-an [sic]. Besides evangelistic activities there were successful schools in operation at both the secondary and advanced levels. On a smaller scale, work was also being carried out in Changyi and Changle.⁵⁴ From these

⁵⁰ "Report of the Weih sien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914." *PHS*. RG82/8/8/20-2. p. 2.

⁵¹ "Report of the Weih sien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914."

⁵² "Report of the Weih sien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914.", 5.

⁵³ "Personal Report of C. Roys, Weih sien, Shantung, June 1, 1914." *PHS*. RG82/8/8/20-8.

⁵⁴ "35th Annual Report of the Weih sien Station for the Year Ending July 1st 1917." *PHS*. RG82/13/12/20-2. p. 7.

locations the CEM spread from the eastern to western portions of Shandong and more Chinese Christians were reportedly entering the Seminary in Jinan to begin working in the urban campaign. The success of the CEM clearly marks an important transition from a missionary-dominated system to Chinese Christian leaders expanding the Church on their own.

Conclusion

By 1920 the Presbyterian Shandong Mission had come a long way in encouraging and facilitating the increasing authority of Chinese Christians within the Mission. As this paper has shown their commitment to their communities and the leadership they exhibited was mostly reported in the field of education before the 1910s. For the most part the rise of Chinese leadership was in cooperation with the missionaries through training classes and the Cooperation Committees that were established after 1910. There are also examples of Christians moving out from under the direct cooperation of the missionaries to take on true leadership positions. This was seen in the last two sections with the Pastors Liu Guang-zhao, Liu Si-yi and the City Evangelization Movement. The final rise of the Chinese within both the Church and institutions did not come until the 1920s and 1930s with the missionaries forced to exit the field due to various conflicts that afflicted China during this period. While they were away the Presbytery voted that the main work and organizing of Churches would fall to the Chinese leadership. The missionaries would still be needed on the field but they could now only act in an advisory capacity.

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