Several years ago, when we first heard of the Maryknoll China History Project, we asked the director of that project, Dr. Donald MacInnis, if they would put together a special issue of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research drawing on the Maryknoll materials when they were ready. Instead, at the suggestion of the Maryknoll group, we have an issue with descriptive reports and sample materials from eleven different China mission history projects, most of them still in process. We are grateful to our Maryknoll friends for organizing and editing this issue of the Bulletin.

No comprehensive history of Christianity in China has been published since Kenneth Scott Latourette's *A History of Christian Missions in China* (1929). In recent years scholars, based both in the church and in secular universities, have increasingly turned to mission society archives for source materials in writing biographies and specialized historical studies involving missionaries and their work. Now, in these reports we have plans and projections for full-scale comprehensive histories of the China missions undertaken by teams of mission historians, drawing not only on archival sources but on oral histories as well.

Computerized data retrieval systems now make it possible, as is described in three of these reports, to organize and utilize massive collections of source materials. The Maryknoll China archives, for example, contain 90,000 pages of diaries and other materials, all indexed and entered in a computerized data retrieval system, while the Dutch Catholic mission project has processed and entered over 700 oral history transcripts into a similar system. Professor Kathleen Lodwick’s computerized index to the *China Mission Recorder* over its full thirty-seven years of publication provides easy access for scholars and students to this most important of the China missionary journals.

Other China mission histories planned or in progress described here—in addition to the Maryknoll project—are the Columbans, the Passionists, the Jesuits, the Divine Word, the Southern Baptists, and the one-man projects of two retired British China missionaries, G. Francis S. Gray and George Hood.

The Midwest China Oral History Project is unique, a regional sampling of professionally conducted interviews, now published and available for the use of teachers and scholars, as described by Jane Baker Koons.

Reports on five China mission archives projects will be published in the next issue.
The Maryknoll China History Project

Jean-Paul Wiest

Introduction

Since the late 1960s, interest in China mission studies has been gaining momentum among missionary societies and churches in the West as well as in the third world. Proof of worldwide support came in 1980 when international associations such as the International Association for Mission Studies (IAMS) and the Servizio di Documentazione e Studi (SEDOS) representing the Association of Superiors of Catholic Societies and Congregations advocated the creation and preservation of mission archives and the writing of historical mission studies.

In the United States, Protestant churches paved the way with projects such as the China Records Project launched in 1969. Sponsored by the China Program of the National Council of Churches, it resulted in the storage at Yale University of archival records dealing with Protestant missioners who served in China. Other projects, several presented in this issue of the International Bulletin, followed suit; although most were Protestant, a few Catholic projects have recently begun, such as the Maryknoll China History Project (MCHP).

Now in its fifth year and final stage, the MCHP is the first in-depth study that attempts to combine a comprehensive oral history component with an analysis of archival documents and the writing of a critical history of an American missionary group in China.

Purpose and Organization

The Maryknoll China History Project is a joint venture of two religious societies, the Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, and the Maryknoll Sisters. Approved in April 1980, its mandate is to gather and to study all primary source materials, both oral and written, and to produce a published critical history of the work of the Maryknoll Fathers, Sisters, and Brothers in China from the year 1918 to 1952. The primary intent of the project is to seek to understand the past history of the mission work of the two societies in China through objective and critical scholarly research, as a guide for the future service of the two societies.

Four researchers (Donald MacInnis, Joanna Chan, Susan Perry, and Jean-Paul Wiest), carefully selected for their scholarship and practical experience, have designed and are running the project. As a team they combine academic training in church history, mission studies, theology, Chinese history, and Chinese religions with in-the-field experience in mission service, an inside knowledge of Maryknoll, and native familiarity with the Chinese language, as well as expertise in conducting oral history, gathering missionary records, organizing research projects, and operating a word-processing system. They are aided by part-time associates and consultants.

As progress is made, they report to an Advisory Board of eight persons, four each appointed respectively by the General Council of the Fathers and Brothers and by the Central Governing Board of the Sisters. The Advisory Board’s interest in the MCHP is both scholarly and practical. The board sees the urgent need to record the personal histories of the surviving men and women who served in China from 1918 to 1952, and to incorporate those oral histories into a thoroughly researched objective history. At the same time, the board is aware of the importance for the two societies to adjust to changing conditions in the world today. For this reason it is vital to evaluate the original vision, goals, and methods used in the China years in view of both the political situation of that period and the significant changes that have taken place since Maryknoll’s departure in 1952. Since an essential ingredient of missiological planning is historical hindsight and insight, researchers are also examining the relations between American missioners and their Chinese colleagues, parishioners, and non-Christian neighbors in the years before 1952, seeking to discover lessons learned and paving the way for a deeper reflection on future mission practices.

Significance

Since the pioneer work of Kenneth Scott Latourette in 1929, numerous books have been published on twentieth-century North American mission history in China. These studies fall into two categories. First are those written by scholars who draw on the rich history of American missions in China in their overall study of China’s modern history. Their main interest in using missionary records is to broaden the base of their research materials rather than to present a record of mission history or to evaluate missionary work. Very few studies are devoted to the Chinese response to Christian missions. The most prolific scholarly writings have been done at Harvard University under the inspiration of Professor John K. Fairbank. All the monographs and symposia produced and published at Harvard have drawn on Protestant mission archives; there is no Catholic title in the entire Harvard output. In recent years only one author has published a history of North American Catholic missions in China; however, his highly selective use of sources limits its reliability and usefulness as a scholarly and objective history.

The second category of books on mission history in China includes the so-called house histories, which are often the work of devoted members of a society or institution, written to preserve the early records and to commemorate the work of the early generations. These writings take generally the form of a chronological or biographical account and rarely give a critical interpretation or comprehensive coverage of the sources.

This study will be of interest, therefore, not only to Maryknollers and members of other missionary institutions but also to scholars in various fields such as Chinese history, church history, missiology, and sociology. It will reveal Maryknollers not only as faithful narrators of Chinese daily rural life, but also as active participants or concerned bystanders in the many events that shaped
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the future of China and the church during the first half of the twentieth century. This history may prompt other scholars to make use of the Maryknoll records in order to broaden the base of their research materials. It should also appeal to a more general audience whose interest in the encounter of two cultures will be sustained by true stories—les histoires vécues—of missionaries and Chinese converts.

Methodology

The project has been divided into four phases, which partly overlap. The first one was devoted to defining the project, setting guidelines, and working out a methodology. The second phase concentrated on oral interviews, their transcription and their indexing into a computerized retrieval system. The third stage dealt with archival materials and their computerized indexing. The fourth stage, just underway, is the actual writing of the history of Maryknoll in China.

The MCHP researchers developed a specific methodology based on a carefully researched "List of Major Categories and Topics." The list of categories was modified into a standard questionnaire, which served as a guide for interviewers and included one list of questions in English for American missioners, and one in Chinese for Chinese-language interviews.

As the project progressed, the "List of Major Categories and Topics" was refined by analyzing interviews and archival materials. An outline will give an idea of the entire range of questions covered by the Maryknoll project.

1. The American home base
   The American Catholic church of that period
   The American sociopolitical context of that period

2. The making of a missioner
   Family and religious background
   Vocation
   Training for mission
   Personal mission vision
   Changes in images of China and attitudes

3. Theology and missiology: Maryknoll's mission vision
   The original vision
   How the vision changed (from society/congregation chapter to chapter)
   Impact of the China experience on Maryknoll vision today
   Changes in theology and missiology

4. Stages in growth, stasis, and retreat: Chronology of Maryknoll missions in China

5. Categories of mission work (by Maryknoll Fathers, Sisters, and Brothers)
   Evangelization and church planting
   Christian nurture
   Social and charitable works (including parish work and outreach, catechumenates, clergy and leader training, orphanages, clinics and hospitals, schools, seminaries, refugee and relief work)

6. Maryknollers' daily work and living
   Daily schedules
   Sense of vocation
   Spiritual formation and growth
   Cultural adjustment: successes and failures

7. Roles of Maryknoll Fathers and Maryknoll Sisters
   Distinctions in mission tasks
   Relationships and changing roles
   Sisters' role in work with women and families
   Sisters as inspiration to Chinese women

8. The Chinese church
Church planting and growth
Theory and practice of an indigenous church
Chinese leadership: religious and laity
Survival of the church today
9. Chinese Catholics: Clergy, religious, catechists, laity
   How did they become Christians?
   Who were they?
   How did they become Christians?

Their training in the faith, and their concept of Christianity
Their relations with Maryknoll missioners
Their views and recollections today
10. Reverse mission: American images of China
   How Maryknoll influenced American images of China: The
   Field Afar magazine, letters home, home-leave speaking,
   books and other published writings
11. The larger history: China and America of that period
   The sociopolitical context in America, which inspired
   and supported the China missions
   The sociopolitical context in China, which affected Maryknoll

12. Biography
    This is a human as well as an institutional history; biographi­
    cal and anecdotal vignettes, both of Americans and Chinese,
    are considered essential to document and authenticate this
    history
13. Evaluation
    The researchers seek to discover lessons learned in the
    Chinese experience, based on goals, issues, successes and
    failures, struggles, tensions, and conflicting views based on
    contemporary reports of the time, as well as on reflections or
    hindsights for today—by both Maryknollers and non-Mary­
    knollers

Sources: Archives, The Field Afar, and Interviews

The mention of mission history immediately brings to mind the
richness and the multitude of documents often jealously pre­
served in the archives of some mission institutions. The Maryknoll
archives, both at the Sisters’ Center and the Fathers and Brothers’
Center, are well preserved and organized, and contain about
90,000 pages of documents related to China. A unique feature of
Maryknoll was to require that each mission parish and each Sis­
ters’ house maintain a diary of events and activities. Although
their quality and content vary greatly according to the diarist,
these writings are an invaluable source of information on all as­
pects of life in China. Altogether diaries comprise 38,000 pages, or
about two-fifths of the total archival documents on China held at
Maryknoll.

Of all these documents, only selected and edited pages of the
missioners’ correspondence and diaries have been published in
book form as Maryknoll Mission Letters and in The Field Afar maga­
azine. The Field Afar—later renamed Maryknoll—is the official maga­
azine published in common by both Maryknoll societies. It is an
important tool, in particular, for looking at the images of China
and themselves that Maryknollers were passing on to their Amer­
ican readers and benefactors. An added advantage is the detailed
index of the magazine kept in the library of the Maryknoll Fathers
and Brothers since its first issue in January 1907.

Because, however, the number of surviving missioners who
served in China before 1952 was steadily decreasing, the research­
ers opted to develop first the oral history component of the project
and to reserve for a later time an in-depth analysis of the archives.
During the second phase, archives were used mainly to prepare
profiles of persons to be interviewed as well as to provide back­
ground materials on missioners’ assignments and types of work.
This approach allowed researchers to adapt the standard ques­
tionnaire to the special situations of each interviewee.

At the start of the project in 1980, Maryknoll was fortunate to
have nearly half of the Maryknoll men and women who served in
China still alive. Two hundred missioners, mostly Maryknollers,
were interviewed. To complete the story of the development of
the Chinese church and the role played in it by Maryknoll, re­
searchers also interviewed fifty-six Chinese priests, Sisters, and
laypersons who worked with, were trained by, or were associated
with Maryknollers in China before 1952. Interviews have been
taped, carefully transcribed and translated into English when
needed, according to accepted oral history guidelines. The aver­
age transcript is forty pages long. Releases were secured to allow
use of the content for writing the history of Maryknoll.

The oral history component of the project supplements and
enriches the written records preserved in the archives. It gives a
broader base of inquiry by allowing missioners and Chinese who
were not necessarily skilled or inclined to writing to recount
events and experiences, some of them not previously recorded. It
also includes the reflections of old China hands and Chinese on
their lives as missioners, converts, or religious leaders. When con­
scientiously gathered, carefully processed, and critically exam­
ined, oral history contributes to both the quantity and the quality
of what is known about the recent past.

The Retrieval System

Use of the “List of Major Categories and Topics” and the standard
questionnaire ensure that the researchers’ inquiries—both in con­
ducting interviews and in reading archival materials—be as thor­
ough and organized as possible. However, the sequence of facts,
experiences, or reflections described in the diaries and the inter­
views do not necessarily follow the patterns of the questionnaire or "List of Topics." A major task, therefore, was to devise a system that permitted easy retrieval of data scattered over 10,000 pages of interviews and throughout 38,000 pages of diaries.

For this purpose, MCHP researchers compiled a list of entries by subjects, names of individuals or groups, and locations. Each interview and each archival document was indexed according to this list and entered into a computerized data-retrieval system designed by the staff. This unique system allows researchers to detect emerging themes; effective data retrieval speeds up the final writing, and facilitates access to documents by other researchers.

The Maryknoll China History Project is using modern methodology and technology as tools to underscore the relevance of mission history and to explore its meaning for missiology today. The usefulness of these tools is shown in the discussion below of some preliminary findings in the area of indigenization in the Church of China.

The findings selected here deal with the mission methods of the Maryknoll Fathers. The final publication will, of course, describe the mission methods of the Maryknoll Sisters as well.

Sample Findings: Indigenization

When old China missionaries are asked about the purpose and goal of Maryknoll in China from 1918 to 1952, they all respond in a similar fashion: "Maryknoll had a general purpose, which was to spread the Gospel among the pagan Chinese. A more precise purpose was the formation of a native clergy with the idea of moving out when the clergy was ready."

This answer reflects very closely the words found in the opening paragraphs of the first set of rules of the Foreign Mission Society of America as approved by Rome in July 1915. In fact there is nothing original in these goals, which Maryknoll borrowed words and all from the constitutions of the Paris Foreign Mission Society (MEP) already 250 years old. What is significant, however, is the mainly positive role that the young missionary society played in promoting the establishment of a full-fledged native Chinese church.

Indigenization at Maryknoll Headquarters

The idea of Maryknoll working for the formation of an indigenous clergy first appeared in The Field Afar magazine in February 1920. Maryknoll took the opportunity of the apostolic letter Maximum illud ("Spreading the Faith Throughout the World") of November 30, 1919 to promote the indigenous-priest idea among the Catholics of the United States. In the same year three other issues of the magazine emphasized the missiological importance of the apostolic letter of Pope Benedict XV. Such strong support can be contrasted with the rather cool reception the letter met in European missionary circles and publications. From the January 1922 issue on, Maryknoll—now ten years old and in charge of a large mission territory in Guangdong and Guangxi provinces—chose to present itself routinely as a society whose ultimate goal was the formation of indigenous clergy.

Two years later Maryknoll took another bold step by enlisting into its ranks Father Anthony Cotta, a former Vincentian priest, whose role and stand on the side of the Chinese against the disparaging and seemingly anti-Chinese behavior of some foreign missionaries had led in 1919 to his expulsion from China by his fellow missionaries. Together with Father Vincent Lebbe, he is known to have furnished Rome with the arguments in favor of an indigenous clergy incorporated in Maximum illud.

Cotta stayed on the faculty of the major seminary at Maryknoll headquarters until his death in 1957. He had no special official responsibilities but his role was like leavening in dough. He mingled constantly with the seminarians, sharing informally his love for the Chinese and his hope for a Chinese indigenous church—the driving force of his life. His spiritual counseling, too, was sought after. He became the spiritual director and confessor of the founders, Bishop James Anthony Walsh and Mother Mary Joseph, as well as of many seminarians and Sisters, novices and professed. As such his influence was profound. Perhaps there is no better description of Father Cotta’s impact on Maryknoll’s drive to further indigenization than this statement of an eighty-four-year-old veteran of China mission: 'He gave us all a view of 'This is the kind of missioner I must be. I mean doing everything for the Chinese and trying to do as much as you can to make a Church over there.'"'

Indigenization in the Field

In view of the relatively short time that Maryknoll spent in China, its record on the promotion of indigenization in the mission field by its missionaries shows a strong commitment but also several blemishes.

When put in charge of a mission territory, Maryknoll immediately set up probatoriums, minor seminaries, and novitiates. For instance, as soon as Father Ford arrived in Jiaying in the fall of 1925 as head of the new mission, he opened a seminary in rented, cramped quarters. Although he wanted to establish the church in Jiaying as an influential spiritual community and not as a visible presence of stone buildings, he made an exception two years later and started to construct a seminary. That seminary remained the only church building he erected in jiaying until 1947 when he launched upon plans for his center home and cathedral. On the anniversary of his arrival in Jiaying twenty-five years later, the diocese could boast nineteen Chinese priests and fifty-one seminarians.

The Training of Indigenous Vocations

In each territory the Maryknoll head of mission asked missionaries to be constantly on the outlook for possible vocations. The training given by Maryknollers to indigenous seminarians followed very closely the training given at the time in any Western minor seminary—including the learning of Latin—but often lagged behind the best governmental schools in Chinese studies. The daily schedule was Spartan and the discipline strict. Anyone caught outside the seminary wall without permission was promptly dismissed. Maryknoll Sisters were called upon to direct the formation of indigenous Sisters and ran the novitiates on the model of their novitiate at the Maryknoll Motherhouse.

This training of the indigenous clergy and sisterhood—already a lengthy process of several years—was often disrupted by the almost continually warlike situation that characterized China between 1920 and 1950: fights among warlords of the '20s and '30s, Sino-Japanese War of the '30s and '40s, civil war of the late '40s. The Fushun seminary, for instance, was closed in December 1942 after the Maryknoll missionaries were put into detention camps; soon after, the same thing happened to the Jiangmen seminary when the Japanese occupied most of Guangdong Province. As for the Wuzhou seminary, it was constantly on the move, staying ahead of the Japanese as they made forays into Guangxi Province.

In spite of these conditions, by 1949 Maryknoll had trained forty-two Chinese priests and created five indigenous orders of Sisters with a total of ninety-eight professed and novices in the five territories acquired between 1918 and 1933. The two dioceses of Jiaying and Fushun, which had older and better-established
Christian communities, supplied twenty-seven of the forty-two priests and forty-three of the ninety-eight Sisters—a fact that points to the importance of solid Christian surroundings in fostering and nurturing religious vocations.

**Relationships with Chinese Priests**

Maryknoll Fathers always took pride that their relationships with the Chinese clergy were governed by a deep sense of equality and fraternity. In fact, they often pointed out that this liberal attitude distinguished them most from the French MEP, who kept a certain distance from the Chinese priests and never accepted them on a completely equal footing. When asked, however, how well they knew the French missionaries, most Maryknolls recognized that they had practically no contact with them except occasional visits, during which the MEP displayed a great sense of hospitality and courtesy. Maryknolls' opinion of MEP attitudes toward the Chinese clergy was therefore based on hearsay or reading. The reality is that isolated MEP missionaries, as well as Maryknolls, had turned into staunch individualists with whom it would have been hard to live anyway, without regard to race or nationality.

As the number of Chinese priests increased, newly ordained priests were usually assigned for a period of six months to one year as curates to a Maryknoll pastor; the reverse situation seems never to have occurred. Although they agreed in principle that it would not have mattered, most Maryknolls recognized that it would have been personally difficult for them to accept being the curate of a Chinese pastor. Only one recalls proudly how he volunteered in 1926 to go to work under one of the six newly consecrated Chinese bishops but was not granted permission.

Chinese priests were given parishes with the largest Christian community to administer, and Maryknoll priests were assigned to areas when missionary work was still plentiful. Certainly Maryknollers recognized this as part of their vocation and did not complain. At times, however, they would have liked more encouragement and support from their bishop in recognition of their difficult work. Some missionaries in the Jiaying mission, for instance, remarked almost with a touch of jealousy that their bishop had become so totally pro-Chinese that he was oblivious of the feelings of his fellow missionaries.

**Chinese Priests' Views of Maryknollers**

When interviewed, Chinese priests who were trained by and worked with Maryknoll gave a very touching appreciation of the work of Maryknoll. Their relationships were those of seminarians and young priests toward generally older missionaries. Even when they mentioned flaws and mistakes, these flaws, they said, did not make Maryknoll less effective, but prevented Maryknoll from being even more effective. They thought that Maryknoll was actively building an indigenous church. The Chinese priests of Jiaying were certainly the most positive in their statements, probably because the work of Maryknoll was still more striking in their mission than in any other.

Strained relationships between Maryknollers and Chinese priests developed mainly after 1952, particularly in Hong Kong. Although such situations occurred after 1952, the MCHP takes them into consideration in order to find out what triggered them and whether or not they have roots in Maryknoll's work in mainland China. Hard feelings are especially strong among Chinese priests from former Maryknoll missions who were ordained in Hong Kong in the early 1950s and could not or would not reenter China. The causes of their grievances fall into two categories.

First, Chinese priests complained of unjust treatment by old China hands who, after 1952, were put in charge of parishes in Hong Kong. They accused these Maryknollers of keeping unnecessarily tight control over the Chinese curates, of making blunders in not listening to them, and of being unwilling to pass parish responsibilities on to the Chinese priests. One wonders how many of these strained relationships stem from Maryknollers' individualism acquired in order to survive in China. How many stem from excessive dependence on Maryknoll of young, homesick Chinese priests who chose to stay under the control of Maryknoll rather than take the bold step of joining a new diocese?

The second cause of hard feelings was the question of finances. Grievances stemmed from an economic chasm separating the missionaries and the Chinese. The personal allowance received by Maryknoll priests had always been larger than the one received by Chinese priests and certainly gave Maryknollers a standard of living well above that of an average Chinese. This relatively affluent lifestyle (although Spartan by Western standards) was usually justified on the grounds that to live otherwise would endanger the missionaries' health and the efficiency of their work, and that "face" required them to adopt that lifestyle. Like the rest of the Chinese, missionaries in rural areas, Chinese priests at first accepted this rationalization given by the missionaries. They knew that the missionaries' health was indeed at stake. Moreover, they also benefited; Maryknoll supplied them with education and an allowance to maintain a respectable standard of living.

By contrast, Chinese priests soon realized that missionaries' health was less at stake in Hong Kong and differences in allowances should have been reduced if not eliminated. By not receiving the same money, the Chinese priests felt discriminated against, reduced to some kind of "second-class priests," victims of injustice within the church. The same missionaries who had given them "face" had taken it away.

**Early Responses to the Idea of a Chinese Bishop**

Twice Maryknoll was presented with an opportunity to have some of its priests work under a Chinese ecclesiastical superior but did not show much eagerness in seeing these proposals turn into reality. The first instance happened in 1925 when Jiaying became a separate mission territory. Two proposals were circulated: one giving the whole territory to Maryknoll; the other creating two smaller ecclesiastical territories, one run by Maryknoll and the other by a Chinese superior with Maryknoll and MEP priests under him.

Although praising the second proposal as a "noble idea," Bishop James E. Walsh, in charge of studying the possibilities from the Maryknoll side, expressed his true opinion on the matter when writing to another Maryknoll that he would rather see Father Ford in charge of the whole Jiaying territory. When the second proposal was finally rejected, no one at Maryknoll showed regret.

Maryknoll had a second opportunity in 1938 when the Wuzhou prefecture was elevated to the rank of vicariate. A tern (a consultative ballot) sent by Maryknoll headquarters to all the priests in Wuzhou showed that Monsignor Meyer, the incumbent prefect, had not received a strong enough majority to be recommended as vicar apostolic. Subsequently, Rome asked Bishop James E. Walsh, then superior general of Maryknoll, to go to China and make an extensive search for a Chinese priest who would qualify as the first bishop of Wuzhou.

Bishop Walsh soon found that although the Maryknoll priests and Brothers in Wuzhou "without exception professed to cherish and welcome the idea of a native vicar over them in principle,"
only two out of fourteen saw “no reason why a native vicar could 
not succeed [in Wuzhou].” The remainder were “doubtful that the 
plan would work at this time.” Sensing that none of the three 
young Chinese priests working in the Wuzhou mission could ass­
ert enough authority over the Maryknollers, Bishop Walsh ad­
vised Rome that he could find no Chinese priest available. 
Moreover, the appointment of a Chinese vicar in Wuzhou at the 
time seemed “too big a chance” because of the risk of isolation
among a solid group of foreigners and the troubled political con­
ditions of the area.³

Bishop Ford’s Approach to Indigenization

Among the five mission territories, the vicariate of Jiaying shows
the best record on indigenization. A partial explanation is that the
area remained rather isolated from the war situation that ravaged
China during that period. The key explanation, however, lies in
the personal-mission vision of its chief, Bishop Francis X. Ford. He
was the Maryknoll bishop who, more than any other, emphasized
the establishment of the church rather than the conversion of in­
dividual souls: “The object of mission work is not primarily to con­
vert pagans, it is to establish the Catholic Church in pagan lands.
The purpose is to preach the Gospel and to build up as complete
an organization as possible, which will itself later continue with
better success the work of converting the native population.”⁴

To carry out this objective, Ford laid out four broad areas of
action: (1) training of as many qualified and willing lay helpers as
possible to participate personally and directly in the apostolate; (2)
immediate preparation of young Chinese men for priesthood and
Chinese women for religious life to assume the leadership of the
church; (3) involvement of Maryknoll Sisters in missionary work
not merely to direct orphanages or other institutions of charity,
but to go to women in villages and preach the gospel to them; (4)
emphasized by all his missioners on direct evangelization, using the
written word as well as personal contact with non-Christians.

Ford’s idea was revolutionary. He aimed to bring the church
to China, but without the methods, the “civilization,” and the
control of the Western church. As previously mentioned, Bishop
Ford refrained for many years from launching any large construc­
tion projects. Similarly, he never promoted works of charity by
missioners because he thought they could become a burden to
carry for the Chinese church. In his view, it was better to let the
Chinese Christians come up with their own ways of helping each
other and running their church.

Conclusion

In December 1975 Pope Paul VI released an apostolic exhortation
on evangelization in the modern world, Evangelii Nuntiandi, which
many see as the richest document we have on evangelization. En­
compassing all the previous encyclicals and ancillary works, it
challenges us to keep on searching: “The conditions of the society
in which we live oblige all of us to revise methods, to seek by every
means to study how we can bring the Christian message to mod­
er [persons].”⁵ Maryknoll has responded to that challenge in
many ways by fostering theological reflection, sponsoring cultural
and educational exchanges, and helping church-to-church rela­
tions. The China History Project is part of Maryknoll’s response,
signing to understand the past history of its mission work in
China as a guide for future service to the Chinese and other peo­
pies of the world.

Findings, in addition to those briefly described, deal with a
wide range of topics such as missioners’ goals and visions, mis­
sioners’ impact on the home front, measures of success and fail­
ure, cultural clashes and encounters, relationships between
national and local politics, and evangelization. Through these

April 1985
findings the study of mission is truly contextualized. Mission is embedded in a historical and human setting of war and peace, good harvest and catastrophes, life and death, and hope for better days.

Finally, it is also important to keep in mind that contacts with outsiders who lived within third-world countries have often been at the core of the transformation of many of these countries. In China, outsiders included Western missionaries who gained converts to Christianity and performed a variety of functions. The impact of Christian missions on China forms a subject much broader than even a comprehensive history of Western missionaries in China. By establishing extensive factual records based on both Western and Chinese sources, such a history can provide opportunities for scholars to study other facets of the influence and results of Christian missions and the church in China. This approach to mission history is a point of entry into a common field of dialogue and cooperation with Chinese historians concerning China’s modern history and the role of Christianity in it. It is with this frame of mind that researchers should approach the study of any missionary undertaking.

Notes
2. Transcript of Father John Driscoll, M.M., TF05, p. 8 (Maryknoll Fathers Archives).
3. James E. Walsh, Correspondence: Rome (Maryknoll Fathers Archives).
4. The Field Afar, September 1932, p. 236.
5. Paul VI, Evangelii Nuntiandi, no. 3.

Diary of a Country Missioner—Manchuria, 1940

Selected and Introduced by Donald MacInnis

Thanks to the foresight of Maryknoll’s founders, the archives contain an estimated 90,000 pages of diaries and related materials from the China missions, dating from 1918 through 1952. The excerpts printed here were selected from the diaries of Father John A. Fisher who was assigned in 1940 as pastor of the parish of Ch’iao T’ou (Chiaotou), a market town south of Mukden (Shenyang) in Manchuria. Father Fisher was also responsible for the outstation of Pen Hsi Hu (Bensihu), and all Catholic families in neighboring villages. In contrast to the Maryknoll Sisters who always lived and worked in community, he was, like most Maryknoll Fathers, the one missionary in his station, assisted by Chinese catechists. With thirty American priests and twenty-eight Sisters in 1940, Maryknoll served a territory in Manchuria of 40,000 square miles with a population of 2.5 million.

Manchukuo (Manchuria) at that time was a frontier region under Japanese domination, only partially settled. Impoverished peasant families from China were migrating northward in search of livelihood. Father Fisher’s diaries record their difficulties, some beggars, some poor farmers, and some who worked in the coal mines.

While Father Fisher helped the poor and needy as he could, his main tasks were pastoral—celebrating Mass, administering the sacraments, visiting the homes of the sick, the elderly, the lapsed members, arranging dispensations for mixed marriages, organizing catechumenates for new Christians and reaching out to non-Christians. One entry describes a funeral Mass held in a rural home! the first Christian service ever held in that village or entire district.

These diaries record both the special problems of his time and place, and the routine events of daily living. This was a time of inflation and rationing, a constant struggle to get flour, coal, and other necessities: Japan was at war with China. The church and rectory are prepared for winter, the stoves installed, coal laid in, storm doors mounted, and windows papered. An ironsmith makes basketball hoops. The pastor substitutes in the primary school where the teacher is sick, works in the vegetable garden, swims in the mountain streams, and plays basketball with the schoolboys.

This was a lonely life; he had one American visitor during the period of these diaries. It was a dangerous time and place. Gerard Donovan, a fellow Maryknoller in the same vicariate, had been kidnapped, held for ransom, and finally murdered by strangulation just two years earlier.

As for the larger historical context, Father Fisher scarcely alludes to the heightened tensions that would bring his own country to war with Japan in just one more year, leading to arrest and imprisonment for all Americans in China. A single reference (October 11) reads: “News of the Americans being ordered to evacuate in all the newspapers today. Has the people wondering and a few of the local authorities more vigilant. . . . A load of materials arrived for building the hen-coop.”

The Diary of a Country Missioner

June 17, 1940. On June 8th I came here to substitute temporarily for Fr. Haggerty, now acting as procurator at the mission center in Fushun, awaiting the arrival of Fr. Mullen from the hospital in Peking where he is recuperating.

June 22. Letter comes from Acting Vicar, Fr. McCormack, telling me to take up permanent residence in Ch’iao T’ou, as Fr. Mullen’s recovery will not be speedy.

Ch’iao T’ou is a small railroad village, 100 miles south of Mukden and 120 miles north of Antung. There are 200 Catholics here. Included in the Ch’iao T’ou territory is another railroad mining town, 15 miles to the north, Pen Hsi Hu. At present it is being developed on a grand scale. At Pen Hsi Hu there are some 250 Catholics. Ch’iao T’ou has a complete mission compound. The Pen Hsi Hu compound is a rented mud house atop of one of the town’s many smoky hills.

Measles rampant through the village. Two little children, baptized within the year, die today. A third, the child of a very tepid Catholic family, is in great danger. It was a grand opportunity to exhort them to mend their ways and give them a few notions about the proper care for children with measles.

My first Sundays in both Pen Hsi Hu and Ch’iao T’ou were rather eventful including the tricky surprises that they brought. Hearing Confessions before Mass in Pen Hsi Hu, what should happen but that an old lady should lean too hard on the confession screen. It came down in a heap on top of me. She went in reference (October 11) reads: “News of the Americans being ordered to evacuate in all the newspapers today. Has the people wondering and a few of the local authorities more vigilant. . . . A load of materials arrived for building the hen-coop.”

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number of Communions at Mass in the morning. Most of the men work in the coal mines here. They have free time to come to evening prayers but they have to be on the job very early in the morning, long before the hour for Mass.

Heard of one of the Catholics, now very much mentally unbalanced who espoused his daughter to a pagan husband without seeking the proper dispensation. Have the catechist trailing him. His pagan relatives are really responsible for the transaction and he himself is not unwilling to get some ready cash [dowry]. He did not come to Mass today.

One catechumen walked in, 25 li (8 miles) to have his first look at the Church. Tried to direct the sermon specially to him. After Mass, a sick call and Extreme Unction to woman about three miles away in a place called “People’s Life Valley”.

June 23. On my return to Ch’iao T’ou contacted one of the food control officers to see about allowing us a little flour and sugar, now getting well nigh impossible to obtain. Arrived home at 4 P.M.

June 24. Started today to train some servers for Mass and go over a little singing. The bigger children are growing up and getting work outside, so they must be replaced.

June 27. Helped plant some vegetables in the garden these evenings. The neighboring farms have some rare smells these days.

June 28. The tepid family’s child who had the measles has recovered. They look upon it as a very signal favor because most of the other children have died. The mother wanted to place two dollars on the Altar stone for God. I told her I’d offer her a Mass that she would become more fervent and better train this child along with her other five.

July 1. The two minor seminars from these parts returned today for summer vacation. They will be a big help in training the new Altar boys, etc.

July 4. The local police lieutenant called this evening. He is a Protestant and his mother acts as Catechist for them. He is young and sincere, it seems, with leanings toward the Church. But his mother bats down all his reasoning with “Can you find that in the Bible?” I was proud of the Catechist when I entered to find him answering with difficulty that the word “Shen Fu,” the Priest’s title of Father, isn’t found in the Bible. He was pointing out the passage from Corinthians when I entered, “Whereas you are many you have not many fathers, etc.” He parted after a pleasant visit and seeking a few Holy Pictures.

July 5. The school teacher has boils and so must spend a week or so at Pen Hsi Hu where he will be close to the Hospital for treatment. Meanwhile the Catechist, the seminarians and myself all take turns in subbing for him behind the desk. Afterwards (the best class of all), 50 strong, we plunge into the local mountain stream. The rains have been very heavy and plentiful with blessings to the crops and to swimmers.

July 6. Was awakened by the cook rapping at my window this morning at 5 A.M. One of the Japanese Catholics was dying. Dressed quickly and went over there to her home about a mile away. She was unconscious. I prepared her conditionally and she died an hour later. She had been to Communion the preceding Sunday and was considered the best Catholic in the village. Frequently she was buying books and necessities for one of our seminarians. Also giving food and clothing to some of the needy Manchu Catholic families.

July 10. Much malaria through the villages. The limited supply of quinine dwindles.

July 11. Word comes that the crippled woman in Pen Hsi Hu whom I anointed two weeks ago has died. Offered Mass for her this morning.

July 14. Sunday Mass at Ch’iao T’ou. It is necessary to alternate Sundays, one Mass at Ch’iao T’ou and the next at Pen Hsi Hu. Letter comes today from a distant village, Chuan Shui Ho, Spring Water Stream, asking how to give “lay Baptism” to a dying woman. Contacted the Pen Hsi Hu catechist and sent him out there to baptize the woman. Meanwhile a sick call in the evening to Pen Hsi Hu, about three miles from the Church there. A young woman with T.B., whose family insist that they have to move on the morrow to a village about 20 miles away. I anointed her.

July 15. Today I started to Antung. Had a few documents for Fr. McCormack to stamp relative to my transfer.

July 18. Returned Thursday to find the Pen Hsi Hu catechist waiting for me. The woman in Spring Water Stream whose relatives wrote about instructions about baptizing her, died yesterday.

July 19. The catechist was waiting for me and a messenger from the family to see if the Priest couldn’t come out and conduct the funeral. Fortunately a railroad opened late this spring reaches near that village. Friday morning I started out. We arrived in late afternoon. There was the usual procedure with the police. That settled, we said some prayers, had a bit of food, and had quite a visit with one and all. It was remarkable and providential how they wanted to hear so much about the Church.

July 20. Next morning I offered Mass for the deceased woman in the little room adjoining. There were some 35 or more within and others around the windows looking in. The two little grandsons received Communion. As far as I can find out it was not only the First Mass ever offered in that little village, but the first in all that vast district east of Chi Chia Tze and west of Tung Hua. We had a procession to the grave up on top of one of the hills of the man’s property. It was a heartening thing to see so many pagans who because of the example of that old father who died two years ago, abandoned the native pagan superstitious practices. After dinner I took leave. The two sons and their families have started to study the Catechism. After the harvest the men folks plan to board at the catechumenate and see the Church at a closer range, preparing for Baptism. The old man also has four married daughters and their families. They made no promises. But I still feel that they were affected by their father’s example just as were their brothers. Maybe in time they will take steps towards entering the Church.

July 20. Visited a sick woman whom I anointed on my way back to Pen Hsi Hu. Going along the main street with the catechist I decided I’d buy a basketball for the kids in Ch’iao T’ou. Everything stacked up on the counter, what should happen but that a lamp should fall and crash through the big sheet of plate glass on the counter. My face red? Now they have a new plate of glass and we have a basketball. It was a lucky thing we could get the glass. It is very rare now.

July 22. Spending these few days back at Ch’iao T’ou visiting catechumens. A call today from a neighboring pagan woman who has been a catechumen for about five years. She is quite sick. She wants to be baptized but always dreaded the work of studying the doctrine. We gave her Baptism at her home.

Returning, found an old man, sprawled out on the street, sunstroke. Thought he was faking at first. Made sure he wasn’t. He was out like a light. A pail under his arm with food that he had begged, he was a real beggar! I baptized and had him taken to the catechumenate. He became conscious in the late evening. Also has malaria. Claims he is 84.

July 23. One of our chickens must have suspected that we had intentions of killing him, because our cupboard was bare. He stole a march.

July 25. Heavy rains cease and the sunshine comes with a visit from Fr. White. First time in three years we’ve met. Chicken still missing!
July 26. Fr. White leaves on the afternoon train and who is at the gate when I come back but the missing chicken. Word tonight that the woman in People’s Life Valley whom I anointed a few weeks ago and visited last week is dead.

July 27. Left this morning at 5 to offer a funeral Mass at Pen Hsi Hu at the family’s request. Very many in attendance! Returned to find the painter whom I sent for to make a bid on painting the Church windows and doors. He will start in the morning.

August 10. The task of painting the exterior of the Church finally finished after a session of rainy days. The Church tower and Priest’s house also got a daub. . . .

August 12. Examined Christians for Baptism. The catechist is coming through the local “coolie” camps in search of newly arrived Catholics from “Inside the Wall” of China. He found ten to twenty.

Word tonight that the woman in People’s Life Valley whom I anointed a few weeks ago and visited last week is dead.

day and fears that there are more though they are ashamed or afraid to admit their Faith. In any event they are all being advised of the Blessed Mother’s Feast on Thursday.

Went to Pen Hsi Hu in afternoon to petition the authorities for an allotment of food for the Feastday Christians. . . .

August 13. . . . Confessions this evening for the Manchu Christians. Catechist returned today after finding 12 more coolie Catholics. He also arranged with their foremen to allow them to attend Mass on the 15th, thus freeing them from their work obligations.

August 14. Three baptisms this morning in Ch’iao T’ou, two elderly women and the daughter of one. To Pen Hsi Hu in the afternoon. Five baptized there. Afterwards a visit to the local mine employees Hospital. Thirty-five were burned by a high tension electric wire, including one of our Catholics. What a sight, all bandaged from head to foot and most of them writhing in pain. The Catholic’s burns were not considered terribly serious though he was very scared. Ten have died already. Back to the Pen Hsi Hu mission for Confessions and a sleepless, flea-fighting night.

August 15. Mass at 8:00. The little mud Church hadn’t even a vacant space in its middle aisle. Wish it could be that way every Sunday, but the miners and iron workers can only come on the big Feast days. A hurried few words and a dash to the railroad station for the 9:12 train back to Ch’iao T’ou. . . .

Another Baptism this morning, a farmer from out in the valley who couldn’t come yesterday. Knew his doctrine exceptionally well. 21 of the 22 coolie Catholics contacted came to Mass today. The catechist instructed them on giving lay Baptism to their sick companions. Mortality rate is quite high among them.

August 16. . . . Together with the Catechist we head for Chi Chia Tze, an old Catholic village, now quite faithless and almost apostate. Very cool reception. This village has over 60 Catholics, the elders baptized about 40 years ago with a little less faith than motives in their actions. Returned on the evening train. . . .


Had a long-desired plunge in the mountain stream this afternoon. Water nice and high because of the frequent rains.

August 24. Rain again. To Pen Hsi Hu for tomorrow’s Mass while Fr. O’Donnell celebrates in Ch’iao T’ou. Representative comes in from the Chi Chia Tze village requesting a catechist be sent to them. He also brings in a new catechumen who claims he has a devil. It turns out to be rheumatism. . . .

September 6. Administered Viatol stain for rheumatism today. The catechumen who claimed it was a devil was the patient. Claims he is all better.

Had a dip in the mountain stream today.

September 7. Mrs. Chen, the woman I anointed two days ago, died this evening. Claimed she was not afraid to die. Many of the older Christians there helping her to pray were edified by the scene as were her pagan sons. Her daughter has long wanted to be baptized, comes often to the Church, but her mother-in-law is totally against the move. Her big lament these days is that she can’t mourn for her mother as the Catholics do and she can’t burn papers to the spirits as the pagans do. It is an eloquent plea and made with the two women catechists to the mother-in-law to no avail. . . .

September 11. Ironsmith came today to make basketball hoops. Whitewashed the women’s catechumenate after a good scrubbing. The cook, doing the honors and lending it some of the art with which he proudly decorates the cakes. Government holiday commemorating Confucius. . . .

September 20. The Catechist will start next week on a three-week Catechism school for the children. There are over a dozen children over-age and not doing anything special at home. Also a number of poorly instructed government school students. The Sunday school will have to catch them. . . .

October 1. The Government census today. Everyone had to stay put for the day in his own abode. The Catechumenas made for their homes yesterday to be there for this census.

October 2. Met a Catechumen family who have laid off studying the doctrine for over a year. The old case of mother and daughter-in-law not agreeing, and that breaks up the peace of the hearth. . . .

October 3. The Catechist started instructing a few groups in Nan Fen (South Division), a large industrial town ten miles to the south. He has arranged for weekly meetings. Feast of the Little Flower. Offered Mass in Pen Hsi Hu. . . .

October 6. After Mass today the newly-arrived Catholic who took a pagan wife without dispensation brings her around. Find out that she has a husband in Mukden.

Visited Hsiao Shih (Small Marketplace) today, a village 30 miles to the East recently opened up by the new railroad. There are a few Catholic families. Another family of eight declares its wish to be baptized, but the Mother couldn’t see why she shouldn’t be baptized right then and there [without instruction.]

October 8. Sick call and Extreme Unction to a young Catholic widow in Pen Hsi Hu. Two suitors are waiting for her hand but now she is down with a bad case of T.B. Continued on to Fushun.

October 11. News of the Americans being ordered to evacuate in all the newspapers today. Has the people wondering and a few of the local authorities more vigilant. A load of materials arrived for building a hen-coop. . . .

November 3. Because of the winter’s short span of daylight the natives economize and eat two meals instead of three, though they consume as much food. Most of the Christians and the Catechumenate changed their schedule today. Their first meal is about 9 and their second about 4. This will continue on till about the 1st of March when they change back again to three meals a day. . . .

Preparing for Benediction when sick call comes in from Pen Hsi Hu. Rather a sad one, for the woman has two husbands, one
here and one in China, so I have to come away after laying the law down to her. Meanwhile the Catechist will keep an eye on her.

November 6. Went to the local authorities seeking a plan to allow us more coal this winter. The rationed half ton is a whole lot more than many are promised but only a drop in the bucket to what we need. Won’t do to have any sermons on Hell if there’s no more coal than that around!

November 7. Go through the same process in trying to get put on the ration list for flour today. Nice promises!

November 8. First snow last night. . . .

November 9. Moved my bed into the Office to live in the one room for the winter. The tailor measured me for padded clothing today.

November 11. All hands busy in getting the stoves set up. Went to Fushun in P.M.

November 15. Returned to find the Pen Hsi Hu Catechist with news that Chang Chiao Shih, a young widow with T.B. and all alone in the world, has settled on a marriage date with a man who gives her no dowry but promises to take care of her illness and not hinder her religion. The reasons we jot down and send with the

Pen Hsi Hu Catechist to Fushun for a dispensation from the Acting Bishop. . . .

November 25. Getting windows papered and a storm door made. Favorable report from Chi Chia Tze. Thirty Christians at prayers. . . .

November 27. Paid for the Catechumenate winter grain, a sizeable sum. Went to Pen Hsi Hu in P.M. to marry Yao Hsi Hsien.

December 10. Lao Chia from Fan Chia Pu Tze, 80 li to the East, comes in with his 17-year-old daughter to have her study at the Catechumenate. All the rest of the family are baptized.

December 11. Heavy snow today. Went to Pen Hsi Hu. Made out a financial report that must be submitted to the authorities there. Also visit Lao Chia’s daughter with him. They promise to come to the Church next Sunday when her husband is at home to sign the cautiones in seeking a dispensation for their marriage.

December 12. Said Mass for the Chin man. Quite a few pagans, 15 or so, attend. Lao Kuo, one of the old men, seeks permission to wear his hat in Church because of the cold. Claims the top of his head gets frozen. Tell him O.K. as long as he takes a back seat in Church and doffs it before he walks up the aisle for Holy Communion.

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**Sample Findings from Interviews with Maryknoll Sisters**

*Patricia Jacobsen, M.M.*

Sister Joan Ling, now supervising a hostel for working girls in Hong Kong, has memories of the Catholic church from early childhood in Tung An, a farming village then three days by slow bus from Kweilin. Tung An’s first pastor, appointed in 1938, was the late Father Arthur Lacroix, M.M., and while there were no Maryknoll Sisters in the village, Chinese Sisters trained by Maryknoll Sisters in Kweilin served the area.

Sister Joan’s was the first Catholic family in Tung An and she remembers her baptism at ten. There was no question of individual assent on the part of the family after her grandmother, a former Baptist pastor, became a Catholic. “My grandfather told us to study the Catholic religion, so we studied.” Another Baptist preacher, who converted to Catholicism with her granddaughter, instructed the family. “He required us to memorize the catechism and to recite a number of prayers. We were young and eager to show off, so we learned many prayers.”

Sister Joan remembers that the church’s teaching on purgatory especially appealed to her grandfather. “He did not consider himself virtuous enough to go to heaven and yet did not think he was so bad that he deserved hell. He felt that purgatory was the most suitable for him after death.”

According to Sister Joan, the priest and people were very close to each other:

We knew the priest as the person who preached and a foreigner. He had a clinic and people went to him for medicines and also to settle family problems. He visited homes. We did not feel the life of the missionary was very different from ours. We ate sweet potatoes and so did he. We invited him to dinner during the big festivals. In the cold winter when we had our evening prayers together, we would ask the priest not to give a sermon; in the summer when we were busy, we had our prayers late in the evening. After evening prayers, we chatted and joked with the priest. At our request he also showed a lot of silent movies with Charlie Chaplin.

The priest never forced the villagers to abandon their Buddhist religion or throw away Buddhist idols. He only helped them to understand these matters gradually after they learned Catholic doctrine. Buddhist idols and ancestor tablets were gradually replaced by the Cross and holy pictures when the priest went to bless the house. As far as I know, the Catholics were very happy and welcomed these changes. They would invite the neighbors to come and eat and observe the whole proceedings.

Though there were few conversions in Tung An, I did not feel different from others because I was a Catholic. It was very natural; that’s what I am. [On Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the Assumption, the priest rented a floor in a “hotel” for families coming in from scattered villages.] It was a very happy time. More than a hundred came and we got to know each other.

Sister Joan felt from childhood that she would join a religious community, and her grandfather and other family members approved. She became a member of the Sister Catechists of the Blessed Mother, under the direction of Maryknoll Sisters. after studying for two years to complete Grade 6 with other aspirants in Laipo, a two-day walk from Tung An. She and two other Sister Catechists were beginning secondary education in Macau when the community disbanded under communist pressures in the early 1950s. Her grandfather died in prison and when on a recent visit she asked details of an uncle associated with the same Legion of Mary group as her grandfather, he replied, “I would talk with you about religion if I had two souls. I have only one.” She interpreted this to mean that he was protecting his faith by avoiding trouble.

When it became clear that there was no longer a religious community in Kweilin, Sister Joan and the other two Sister Catechists transferred to the Maryknoll Sisters congregation along with one of the Kaying community also in Macau for studies. Fif-
een Sisters from Kongmoon reestablished their congregation in Hong Kong. Some Sisters in China married; others remained single and tried to carry on their mission, alone or together, within the constraints of government requirements and surveillance.

Maryknoll Sisters worked in three other south China dioceses prior to World War II: Kongmoon, Kaying, and Wuchow; in Dairen, Fushun, and Mukden in Manchuria, and for three years in a Shanghai mental hospital. Very early they started religious communities in all four areas of south China and in Manchuria, and while these were born of the belief within Maryknoll that the church should be indigenous, formation was for the most part in traditional Western mold.

Traditional, too, was the type of work Maryknoll Sisters first did in China. “We went without a specific job to do,” explained Sister Mary Paul McKenna, who headed the Sisters in China between 1921 and 1946.

I think the [Maryknoll] Fathers thought of us helping in a general way in mission work, doing what there was to do, working with women, opening schools, looking after people who needed looking after—blind children, old folks, orphans, abandoned babies. We went to preach the gospel, teach people to know Christ and to live a Christian life. We used the means we saw to do that: personal example, interest in others and service to them. In Kwangtung Province we took care of orphans and old folks; in Yeung Kong we staffed elementary schools; in Loting we rescued abandoned babies. In Kaying [where Francis X. Ford was bishop], the approach was different. Sisters entered the lives of the people by going out to far-flung villages with a catechist and staying with them for periods of time. Once when a Sister found an abandoned baby on the roadside, Bishop Ford told her to get someone to take care of the baby in order to give Catholics the idea of Christian responsibility—more valuable in my view than doing it yourself. When a need arose there, women gathered to discuss the matter and to decide what should be done about it.

Contacts with Catholics in the Kaying area today reveal a vibrant apostolic faith and vindicate the wisdom of Bishop Ford’s philosophy and the response of the Maryknoll Sisters.

Sister Rosalia Kettl began her experience of what came to be called “the direct apostolate” in Kaying in 1933, and after World War II she went to Wuchow to help the six young Sisters, newly assigned from the United States, start in the same way: study the language thoroughly, travel to outlying villages with a catechist, meet periodically as a team with the bishop and other missioners for retreat, discussion, and planning.

Both Sisters Paul and Rosalia make light of the hardships. “Hardships? I didn’t know about the hardships,” retorted Sister Paul, surprised by the question. But on further thought: “Well, yes, travel by junk was hard. There was no privacy. You slept on the deck; food was canned beef, beans, or rice; the toilet was a hole in the deck; you dipped dirty water from the river to wash yourself. And bedbugs got under our bonnets.” Not to mention as a hardship that she and the other five Sisters who arrived in Hong Kong in 1921 had very little money and quickly had to find a means of support (making Mass vestments, holding a kindergarten for twelve in the garage). Not to mention, either, the Japanese invasion at the beginning of World War II, internment in a Hong Kong prisoner-of-war camp, and the flight of Sisters to Macau, India, and to less accessible regions of China after internment.

Sister Rosalia, who spent six months in the dungeon of a Wuchow jail with thirteen Chinese women (and hungry rats) after the communist occupation, recalled that for a long time after her arrival in China the chief difficulty was communicating in depth
Computerized Data Retrieval—The Maryknoll China History Project

Susan Perry

The wealth of data stored in over 11,000 pages of oral history transcripts and over 38,000 pages of China diaries is overwhelming—both in its richness and in its quantity. The sheer volume of information can render it useless or overly cumbersome without an effective means of data retrieval. In order to tap the full range of available data, researchers at Maryknoll have designed a retrieval system to meet their specific needs, based on available computer hardware and software that is described below.

Entering Data

At the heart of data retrieval is the manner in which information is first entered into the system. Guided by an overall methodology, researchers identified 200 main topics of interest in the oral history interviews or archival records, including: (1) vocation, education, and training of missioners; (2) Chinese environment, both local and national; (3) methods, values, and evaluation; (4) aspects of pastoral work and evangelization; (5) social work; (6) impact on United States environment (of returning missioners).

Researchers also identified approximately ninety different groups of people, ranging from “abandoned infants” through “women/Chinese,” including various ethnic and linguistic groups. At the same time the staff determined the system of romanization to be used for place names within Maryknoll’s five vicariates in China. A list of locations was prepared, placing all variant spellings under the standard romanization.

Researchers read and annotated all transcripts and diaries, identifying passages containing main topics. An entry was created for each of these transcript passages, with twelve specific fields of information, such as main topic, group of people or individual being spoken of, narrator, location, date when the event began and ended, identification number of the document, and finally page number(s) of the passage. A similar process was used for the diaries, simplified to five fields of data (main topic, group, location, identification, date of diary entry). The entry was then keyboared into a Wang 30 word-processing system.

Retrieving and Using the Data

The entries for each transcript, ranging from thirty to fifty, were automatically alphabetized so all entries dealing with any main topic (e.g., acculturation) are listed together. One copy of the printout was attached to the transcript; a second copy was bound in a permanent index to Maryknoll’s oral histories.

The Wang system at Maryknoll was recently upgraded to a Wang OIS 140-111 system with increased memory and improved software, including list processing. Approximately 15,000 transcript entries were transferred into list-processing files, which permit query by as many as sixty different criteria. The MCHP is thus able to ask for specific entries: for example, all entries dealing with “Formation of/Sisters/Chinese/[in] Kaying/[during the] 1940s,” or “Opinion [of Maryknollers] concerning/Communists/[in] Wu-chow/[in] 1948.”

The simplified entries for the diaries were prepared in the same manner but processed differently. Bound printouts include three complete sets of entries, organized in three different ways: (a) by main topic, (b) by group or individual, and (c) by location in China. The researcher can easily access all material on a topic in a general or specific location: for example, entries about “Indigenization” or “Minor Seminaries”; entries about an individual missioner such as “Ford, Francis X.”; or all diary entries from the Yeungkong mission station in Hongmoon at a particular time. All entries are available at any given time for further research, as are the completed printouts. In this manner, rapid retrieval of specific data is possible from the rich mine of over 50,000 pages of facts, experiences, impressions, and reflections of Maryknoll missioners and their Chinese colleagues.
Current Research on the History of the Jesuits and China

Theodore N. Foss

The Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History was founded in 1984 at the University of San Francisco as an interdisciplinary research center to study the interaction between China and the West in the period before the Chinese Revolution of 1911. One of the institute’s major goals as a Jesuit-sponsored endeavor is the study of the history of the Jesuit mission to China. The Society of Jesus has been in China since the sixteenth century and the Jesuit missionaries have provided reports on their progress continuously.

The Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History houses the papers and microfilm archive of the late historian of the Jesuit mission, the Rev. Francis A. Rouleau, S.J., who devoted his scholarly life to the study of aspects of Jesuit China mission history of the period 1635–1735. The Rev. Edward J. Malatesta, S.J., director of the institute, is completing Father Rouleau’s major study on the tragic papal legation of Maillard de Tournon, who was sent to the Sino-Manchu court to settle the matter of the traditional Chinese rites in honor of Confucius and the ancestors on the part of Chinese Christians. Dr. Theodore N. Foss, associate director of the institute, is, among other scholarly projects, completing Father Rouleau’s study of the young seventeenth-century Chinese Jesuit Michael Shen Fu-tsung’s visit to the courts of Europe.

Other Jesuit-related studies being carried out at the institute include an English translation of Matteo Ricci’s T’ien chu shih i (“The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven”), soon to be published by the Institute for Jesuit Sources, St. Louis, Missouri; studies on the influence of the Jesuits on Chinese mapping; biographies of China Jesuit missionaries for the forthcoming Jesuit Encyclopedia; a study of the use of Chinese source material by Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, S.J., for his Description . . . de la Chine (Paris, 1735).

The academic year 1982–83 marked the 400th anniversary of the arrival of Matteo Ricci (1553–1610) in China. The event was marked by conferences held throughout the world: at Loyola University of Chicago; in Macerata, Italy, Ricci’s birthplace (at the University of Macerata a center has been established to publish the complete works of Matteo Ricci: Centro Studi Ricciani, Università de Macerata); at the Centre Sévres, Paris; in Manila, Seoul, and Taipei. The proceedings of most of these conferences have been published.

In Ricci’s honor two Jesuit centers for Chinese studies have been established: the Ricci Center, Taipei, and the Centre Ricci, Paris. Both of these institutions, although staffed by Jesuits, do not focus only on Jesuit China mission history. Also in a commemorative spirit, Jonathan Spence of Yale University has just published a thoughtful biography of Ricci entitled The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci.

Another important project involving the history of the Jesuit endeavor in China is the Ferdinand Verbiest Project in Belgium, which aims to collect, study, and publish the works of the seventeenth-century missionary scientist. For further information, one may write Professor Dr. U. Libbrecht, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. In 1982 the life and work of Martino Martini, S.J., another giant of the seventeenth-century mission, were celebrated in an international conference in his home town of Trento, Italy. The proceedings of this meeting have been sumptuously published.

A triennial symposium on the cultural interaction of China and the West in the period 1500–1800—with particular emphasis on the Jesuit mission—has been held since 1974 at the Jesuit center in Chantilly, France. The Colloque International de Sinologie, run by the Rev. Joseph Dehergne, S.J., has published the acts of its first four conferences and has greatly fostered the field of Chinese-Western cultural history. Father Dehergne, now eighty years old, continues to publish studies on the Jesuit mission in China. Perhaps his most useful volume is the recently published Répertoire sur les jésuites de l’ancienne mission de la Chine, which updates the nineteenth-century biographical dictionary of the China Jesuits by Louis Pfister, S.J.

Among others who are actively involved in the study of the Jesuit mission to China are the Rev. John W. Witek, S.J., of Georgetown University, whose recently published study on Jean-François Fouquet, S.J., the controversial eighteenth-century Jesuit missionary, provides a detailed look at the China mission in the early eighteenth century. A glance at Father Witek’s bibliography of manuscript materials points out the difficulty in handling sources in this field. Dr. Claudia von Collani of the Institut für Missionswissenschaft, Würzburg, West Germany, is also interested in the problem the Jesuits had in integrating the Bible into Chinese history—a process that came to be known as figurism. Through the biographical work of Professor Siebald Reil on Kilian Stumpf, Würzburg has decided to sponsor further studies on Stumpf, their native son who played an important role in Chinese court life at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The Rev. Joseph S. Sebes, S.J., professor emeritus of Georgetown University and fellow of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome, is currently completing a documentary study of the Jesuits who followed Ricci in their attempts to carry out mission work in China. Father Sebes is also coordinating the China-related entries for the forthcoming Jesuit Encyclopedia. The Rev. Albert Chan, S.J., of Hong Kong, a historian of the Ming and early Ch’ing dynasties, continues to study the Jesuits as a part of the larger picture of China of the seventeenth century. Peter Fleming, S.J., of California, is completing his Ph.D. dissertation on the origins of the Jesuit California Province’s mission to China, which began in 1928.

Of great assistance to historians of the Jesuit mission to China has been the China Mission Studies Bulletin (1500–1800) edited by Professor David Mungello of Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. It provides a forum for short studies and news in the field.

One of the founding purposes of the Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History is to provide a “clearinghouse” for the field. We welcome inquiries about any of the programs and studies mentioned in this overview and would be pleased to be of assistance in any way that would help to facilitate scholarship in the field of the history of cultural interaction between China and the West.

Theodore N. Foss is Associate Director of the Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco.
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Southern Baptist China Mission History Project

Frank K. Means

The current in-depth study of Southern Baptist mission involvement in China was begun with the impending sesquicentennial of Baptist work in China in mind. Enough fascinating information has been brought to light to focus attention in two directions: (1) the sesquicentennial of Baptist mission work in China (1836-1986); (2) contemporary China—what it is like, what is happening there, the status of the Christian movement, and possible future prospects for mission work. Both emphases appear to be timely and of more than usual interest to Southern Baptist church members as well as mission-minded Christians in other groups.

Resources for such a study are abundant. The Jenkins Research Center, Foreign Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia, has many of them in its collections and archives. The Research Center also has interlibrary loan arrangements with other key centers for bibliographical data. Primary and secondary sources include published missionary and denominational histories; published and unpublished missionary autobiographies and biographies; works on both historic and contemporary China; Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists (4 volumes); Southern Baptist Convention Annuals (1845-1952); as well as sundry items like magazine articles, maps, periodicals, cassette recordings, transcription documents, and unpublished theses.

What follows is an all too brief, undocumented summary of the study as it stands at present. Outline divisions, as given below, set forth the six sections of the study.

I. China and Its People

China and its people are examined from the standpoint of antiquity, area, chief cities, discoveries and achievements, governments during the last 150 years (and more), official language and dialects, the country’s name, European penetration, identifiable people groups, places of interest, population, religion and religions. “Either Christianity must succeed in China or, failing there, be proved unequal to redeeming humanity,” wrote William Owen Carver.

II. Chronology of Southern Baptist Mission Development in China

The General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions sent out J. Lewis and Henrietta Hall Shuck as the first Baptist missionaries to China. They reached Macao, a tiny Portuguese outpost on China’s southern border, in 1836. Actual entry into Hong Kong and China proper came later.

The Southern Baptist Convention, organized in 1845, created a Foreign Mission Board. China was chosen as its first mission field. Canton and Shanghai were the first two stations to which Southern Baptist missionaries were assigned. Southern Baptists were to maintain mission work in China from 1846 to 1951.

Early beginnings in Canton and Shanghai were enlarged by outreach into the surrounding areas. Eventually the missionaries ventured beyond south and central China into what they called north China, interior China, and north Manchuria. If progress at first was slow, the Civil War brought special hardships, and reconstruction brought further problems.

Marked growth came in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Indigenous growth in church and denominational life was accelerated as Southern Baptists struggled with debt, the depression, and a recurring state of warfare in China. Japan’s defeat in World War II caused the Nationalists and the communists to renew hostilities against each other. In a few short years, the communists were in control.

War did great harm to Christian work. Church life was disrupted. Institutions had to struggle to survive. Denominational organizations and programs suffered severe setbacks. Yet, providentially, spiritual and numerical growth were often more apparent than some might have had reason to hope. By 1949, Baptist churches in China had 123,000 members. The last Southern Baptist missionary left China in 1951.

III. The Missionaries

Just over 620 Southern Baptist missionaries were appointed to China (1845-1948). A peak number of 287 was reached in 1924, almost evenly divided among men, married women, and unmarried women.

One hundred ninety-three appointees were assigned to China for twenty-five years or more. Forty-one of the 193 served more than forty years; twenty-five of the forty-one were appointed in the nineteenth century; and four served fifty years or more. Rosewell Hobart Graves, whose tenure was longest, served fifty-seven years (1855-1912). Missionaries killed in line of duty numbered eleven.

Terms of service were lengthy. However, tenures were comparatively short in some cases because of prevailing conditions and the rigorous demands of missionary service. Declining health forced quite a few to return to America prematurely. Entirely too many children and adults went to early graves. But a hardy core persevered. Furloughs were infrequent, and many sick missionaries who probably should have returned to the homeland remained on the field.

During the war period missionaries were interned, tried, and even slain by both the Japanese and the communists. The Japanese placed some missionaries under house arrest and interned others in camps or prisons. The interned missionaries were repatriated or liberated by American forces.

All Southern Baptist missionaries were out of China by 1951.

Frank K. Means is a missiologist, retired in 1977, who served for many years on the staff of the Foreign Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention. He is coordinator for the China Mission History Project.
IV. Types of Southern Baptist Mission Work in China

Evangelism. The first objective and leading motive was to make disciples. Types of evangelism used included: personal, perennial, student, seasonal or periodic, mass crusades and campaigns, radio, correspondence, literature, recorded messages, and newspaper evangelism.

Church Development. New converts needed the churches to help them grow toward Christian maturity. Churches were important also as the basic units for kingdom extension.

Education (nontheological). Schools were considered necessary, and were of two general types: (1) day schools and (2) boarding schools. The educational program grew to include all forms of school work from kindergarten through college and seminary.

Education (theological). Virtually all of the early missionaries had training programs of some sort for their native assistants and helpers. Institutions gradually came into being, functioning on different scholastic levels.

Student Work. The churches and schools worked closely with each other and with the students. Programs and activities designed to encourage Christian faith and spiritual growth were promoted.

Mass Media. Publication work required translations, the creation of original works, their publication, their distribution, and their proper utilization for maximum results. The missionaries were convinced that radio should be used to best advantage. Television's day was just dawning when the missionaries were forced to withdraw.

Medical Ministries. Several hospitals were established in China and staffed by foreign and national physicians and nurses. Some of the foreign physicians were women. Many of the national nurses were men.

Other Benevolent Ministries. Institutions were established and maintained for orphans, the elderly, the blind, and lepers. Floods, famines, wars, and natural disasters made relief and rehabilitation programs necessary, frequent, and unavoidable.

Denominational Development. The churches needed each other: (1) for mutual encouragement, and (2) for added strength in doing tasks beyond the capacity of single churches. They formed themselves into associations and conventions to accomplish those ends.

Cooperative Ventures with Other Christians. Representatives of other groups cared for the work when Southern Baptist missionaries were away from the field, and for the missionaries when funds could not be sent to them during the Civil War. Northern and Southern Baptists cooperated, for a while, in publication work and higher education. The Foreign Mission Board cooperated with several other boards to form the Medical School of Nanking University.

V. Historical Evaluations: Lessons the China Experience Has Taught

Valuable lessons have been taught, only a minor fraction of which are shared here:

1. Mission work has to be done in the context of history, even when circumstances are considerably less than ideal. The factor of timing, however, should not be overlooked. Some times are more propitious than others.

2. What happens in the United States in its national life, in the economy, in foreign relations, or in church and denominational affairs, has a direct bearing upon the ability of the missionaries to do their work on the field.

3. Who wins wars is of great importance from the standpoint of missions.

4. Mission work is more complicated in a huge country, where the people speak several dialects and regional traditions are strong.

5. Some methods must change to meet changing circumstances and needs, and new methods must be devised.

6. The present moment in missions is all that we assuredly have. Therefore, the most must be made of it, taking care to anticipate what preparations can be made for the future, whether or not there is to be a future, and whether or not we shall be a part of it.

7. God does not love China any more or any less than other nations. He loves China as much as he loves the others.

8. With a population of a billion and more, China has more of the people God loves than any other nation. Therefore, taking the gospel to China's people is the most mammoth, faith-stretching missionary task in today's world.

9. Mission boards and missionaries are not perfect. Many mistakes were made in China.

VI. What About the Future?

China is included in God's eternal purpose. He looks to his followers to make this known to China. He can be relied upon to show his followers just how and when this can best be done. Christians outside China will want to be supportive of Chinese Christian leaders as they want and request such support.

Note

The Midwest China Oral History Collection

Jane Baker Koons

Introduction

The Midwest China Oral History Collection was initiated in 1976 to gather firsthand information from midwestern Americans and others who lived and worked in China before 1952. The oral history collection is a component of the Midwest China Oral History, Archives, and Museum Collection, which is under the auspices of the Midwest China Center in St. Paul, Minnesota. One hundred and twenty narrators have been interviewed for a total of 480 hours of recording. The resulting 11,000 pages of transcript are bound into individual volumes and are available for use.

The China interest generated in the midwest at the end of the nineteenth century and the first five decades of the twentieth century ran high. No region of the United States sent more church workers, health care personnel, educators, agriculturalists, relief workers, and others to China than did the midwest. As P. Richard Bohr writes in the foreword of the guide to the collection: "The narratives in this collection are a living history of Chinese-American interaction during the critical period from the fall of imperial China to the creation of the People’s Republic. They tell of Midwestern Americans who went from the world’s youngest to the world’s oldest nation in search of a new frontier. Inspired by the ideals of humanity, democracy, and individualism, these ‘ordinary people’ participated in China’s modern transformation.”

Background research for the Midwest China Oral History Collection, conducted in 1975 and 1976 to determine need and feasibility, revealed large gaps in the existing record. For many of the midwesterners in China there was inadequate documentation of their experiences and perceptions. The turbulence created by the collapse of imperial rule, internecine warfare, the rise of nationalism, the Japanese occupation, the Civil War, and natural disasters resulted in the loss or destruction of both institutional and personal records. The experiences and perceptions of certain individuals—particularly single and married women, who were not always included in the decision-making process—were also inadequately documented. Oral history seemed a natural vehicle for preserving aspects of the lost or unrecorded history of the era.

Collection Background

Once the need for the collection was established, the initial step was to build up a name file of appropriate potential narrators. Guidelines were established to determine which of the more than 300 names on file would be appropriate narrators. During the evaluation process, the following factors were taken into consideration: institutional sponsorship, vocation, gender, geographic location, length of time in China, period when in China, and involvements after leaving. Since one of the objectives of the collection was to represent the diversity of midwestern involvement in China, the narrators selected were not limited to missionaries. Military personnel, diplomats, business persons, and those who went to China independently were also included. However, because of the pervasiveness of religious influence and structures in the midwest, 66 percent of the narrators had been in China under the auspices of an organization with religious affiliations.

The collection also includes the oral histories of a small cluster of Chinese Christians—colleagues of some of the American narrators. An example of these select narratives is the experience of the first Chinese bishop of the Lutheran Church of China as told by his son, who is himself a Lutheran pastor. In working with representatives of sixteen different missions as well as Chinese leaders speaking different dialects, the bishop had his own perceptions of the working relations between Westerners and Chinese.

Selection of the oral history narrators was made with the purpose of developing a multifaceted perspective as well as concentrated clusters of perspectives that permit researchers to compare and corroborate information from a multiplicity of viewpoints.

Certain clusters are geographical. For example, one cluster that provides in-depth perspectives is the narratives of those who
were in rural China. These individuals living outside the treaty ports and larger cities and often working outside a compound had opportunities to know rural China intimately. From the narratives of a roving medical team that treated the infectious kala-azar disease, of instructors in the rural literacy programs, of village itinerants and many others, researchers are able to understand more fully how individuals who traveled by foot, horseback, cart, chair, bicycle, and sampan, who wore queues and padded clothes and slept on straw-filled bags, perceived and grappled with the problems of China’s interior.

Other clusters have vocational or institutional foci. An example of such a cluster is the narratives of all six members of a mobile Ambulance Unit of The American Friends Service Committee. Members of Medical Team 19 served in both Nationalist- and communist-held areas. The team members compare and contrast their experiences in the different areas and provide information on Yenan’s International Peace Hospital during the civil war.

A third example of a cluster is individuals with common backgrounds, such as children who grew up in China and returned home to work as adults. These narrators, whose first language is usually Chinese and some of whom attended Chinese school, offer a generational perspective on China in the midst of great change.

A fourth example of a cluster illustrates how many of the narrators in the collection intersect. Because Shanghai was one of the few international settlements in the world open to all people regardless of passport or visa, approximately 18,000 to 20,000 European Jewish refugees fled to China between 1937 and 1939 to escape Nazi persecution. Many of the refugees spent the following ten years in China.

Even though China was occupied by the Japanese at the time, both the Chinese and the Westerners responded to the incoming refugees. Americans, including some German-speaking midwesterners, assisted in the processing and settling of the refugees in Shanghai. A small number of the refugees, primarily physicians and other professionals whose skills were critically needed, were integrated into the work of various missions and became associates of narrators in the collection. In rural areas there were grassroots responses from the Chinese. Ladies’ Aid societies in the interior, hundreds of miles from Shanghai, sent small contributions to support the refugees. A congregation in Junan, Honan, composed new lyrics to a familiar Chinese melody: “The Jews, the Jews, the chosen people of God, the Jews. Whoever loves them shall be blest; whoever hates them shall be cursed. We shall always remember the Jews.” Included in the Midwest China Oral History Collection are the narratives of eight former Jewish refugees who relocated in the midwest after leaving China. In addition, the collection includes the perspectives of midwesterners who either worked with the refugees directly or whose local organizations were involved in their support.

**Oral History Methodology**

The approach used in conducting the oral history interviews was modified biography. Studies from the Columbia University Oral History Collection suggest that the biographical narrative has the greatest potential usefulness. For this reason, the interviews cover the narrators’ family background, including influences in their childhood and youth that may have directed them to China. Extensive coverage of their involvement in China and activities following their return to the United States complete the body of the narratives. Addenda describe cases of restored contacts with Chinese colleagues either through written communications or personal visits to China.

Although certain questions were asked of each narrator to provide a mode of comparison, research was done from primary and secondary sources for every interview, and a specific set of questions was then tailored for each narrator. The interviewers had backgrounds in Sino-American relations and were trained in oral history methodology, following guidelines established by the Oral History Association.

**A Particular Value of the Collection**

In surveying oral history resources of this nature one value, among many, appears to be the documenting of how individuals responded to their world in various contexts and from differing motives and commitments, ranging from the macro-worlds of international and national structures to the micro-worlds of one individual relating to another. Here are two examples in the Midwest China Oral History Collection of individuals responding in conflicting ways to the China experience.

1. Some individuals on home leave talked to countless church and civic groups about the negative effects of extraterritoriality. A classic midwestern illustration was, “How would you feel if you went up the Mississippi River and found some Russian or British gunboats with guns directed right at city hall, ready to be fired if things went wrong?” Yet these same individuals were carried to the coast on foreign gunboats during the exodus of Westerners in the late 1920s.

2. There were also individuals like Walter Judd, who as a mission doctor in north China treated members of the Eighth Route Army, including communist leaders, and transmitted messages between Yenan and Peking (Beijing). Yet, as a Minnesota congressman, Dr. Judd helped direct American foreign policy, over a period of twenty years, away from the People’s Republic to Taiwan.

**Use of the Midwest China Oral History Collection**

Bound transcripts of the oral history narratives may be used at the Midwest China Center. In addition, volumes may circulate through interlibrary loan or may be purchased at production cost. Copies of the 111-page guide—Oral History Summaries: A Guide to the Collection—may be purchased for $5. Information concerning the resources may be directed to the Midwest China Oral History Collection, 2375 Como Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55108. Telephone: (612) 641-3233.

April 1985
Follow-up Study:
The Midwest China Oral History Collection as a Test Case

The development and use of oral history resources is a burgeoning field. Both oral history as a method and the resources generated by that method have become accepted pedagogical vehicles and sources for research, writing, and teaching.

Oral history practitioners and users of oral history resources presume that the impacts of oral history upon the study of history, both content and process, are considerable and are on the whole positive. These presumed impacts, however, remain largely un-evaluated and untested. The oral history resources of the Midwest China Oral History Collection were the basis of one of the first empirical studies in the field to test some of the presumed impacts of using these primary resources. The study “Utilization of Oral History Resources in Documented Research Papers: A Study of Impacts” was conducted as part of the collection director’s doctoral dissertation at the University of Minnesota. The study investigated the following eight impacts.

1. Because oral history resources are firsthand, primary resources, it is assumed that they humanize and personalize history.
2. The firsthand nature of the oral history resources is assumed to create a sense of authenticity and credibility.
3. Since the oral history resources may provide greater detail than secondary sources, it is assumed that they reflect more accurately the inconsistencies and complexities of the human experience.
4. The use of oral history resources is presumed to counter stereotypes.
5. Oral history is presumed to provide information that can be found nowhere else.
6. Because of the very personal, unedited nature of oral history resources, it is assumed that users are made more aware of the necessity of evaluating the reliability of the source documents.
7. Oral history is presumed to help describe the context in which a specific event or phenomenon occurred.
8. Using oral history resources is presumed to help revitalize the teaching and meaning of history.

A three-tiered procedure was developed to test experimentally in a classroom setting whether or not these impacts occur. The sample for the study included students in modern Chinese history classes in three private liberal arts colleges in Minnesota during the spring of 1983. The sample size was sixty. The students in these three modern Chinese history classes were required to write a documented research paper, with all students receiving the same research topic. Within each class the students were randomly assigned to one of two treatment groups. The study attempted to demonstrate whether or not there were differences in the cognitive and affective reactions of students to the research paper assignment. Treatment I group utilized a foundation of traditional, secondary bibliographic resources plus an additional bibliography of only oral history resources. Treatment II group utilized the same foundation bibliography plus an additional bibliography of traditional secondary sources.

The quantitative analyses and the qualitative evaluations from this sample suggest that there are six impacts in using oral history. The papers that utilized the oral history resources were judged (1) to reflect a greater empathy for individuals and events, and to humanize and personalize history more effectively; (2) to create more effectively the context in which an event or phenomenon occurred; (3) to reflect more accurately the inconsistencies and complexities of the human experience; (4) to provide a greater number of concrete and appropriate details; and (5) to provide more solid, factual information. Finally (6), the students who utilized oral history resources appeared to have a greater interest and enjoyment in the writing assignment.

Although there was no significant difference between the two groups in their cognitive or their affective reactions, all four raters noted that some students using oral history resources had difficulty handling the multiple perspectives, resulting in inconsistent and contradictory arguments, and problems in proceeding from the concrete to the abstract.

In conclusion, some of the results of this particular design suggest that the use of oral history resources requires a rather sophisticated knowledge of historical methodology. Future studies should include samples of graduate and postgraduate historical researchers to explore further the impacts of using oral history resources.

Noteworthy

The new superior general of the Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers is William M. Boteler, M.M., who has worked in Bolivia since 1968. The new president of the Maryknoll Sisters is Luise Ahrens, M.M., a missioner to Indonesia since 1972. Maryknoll, which is the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, has 906 Fathers, Brothers, and Sisters currently serving abroad.

The United States Catholic Mission Association has elected Joseph R. Lang, M.M., as executive director of the Association to succeed Anthony Bellagamba, I.M.C. Father Lang was a missioner in Peru for sixteen years, then served in Rome for seven years, and most recently was executive secretary of the General Council at Maryknoll, New York.

Samuel Escobar will become professor of missiology at Eastern Baptist Seminary, Philadelphia, in September 1985. He is currently associate general secretary of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students in Lima, Peru.

Philip J. Scharper has retired as editor-in-chief of Orbis Books. The Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers established Orbis Books in 1970, with Scharper as its founding editor and Miguel d’Escoto, M.M., now Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, as its publisher. John Eagleson, an editor at Orbis since 1971, is now editor-in-chief.

The International Association for Mission Studies, meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, elected Joan Chatfield as president, and John Pobee as vice president. Chatfield, a Maryknoll Sister, is director of the Institute for Religion and Social Change in Honolulu; Pobee, a New Testament scholar from Ghana, is on the staff of the Programme on Theological Education in the World Council of Churches, Geneva.
The China History Project of the Passionist Congregation

Robert Carbonneau, C.P.

The China History Project of the Passionist Congregation, a Roman Catholic religious order, began in 1981. It has a dual purpose: first, to gather and organize all relevant documentation on the Passionist Congregation in western Hunan, China, from 1921 to 1955; second, to write a history of the mission experience and make sources available for scholars.

The project office is located at Our Mother of Sorrows Passionist Monastery in West Springfield, Massachusetts. Its director is the Rev. Caspar Caulfield, C.P. Caulfield was a missionary in China from 1939 to 1951, and general secretary of the Passionist Missions in Rome from 1953 to 1981. Also on the staff are Associate Director, the Rev. Robert Carbonneau, C.P., and Research Coordinator Mrs. Elizabeth Marshall.

In 1968 the Provincial Chapter of the Eastern Province of the Passionists decreed that a history of the Hunan mission be written. It was not until 1981 that the task began.

The China History Project of the Passionists is a rich source for scholars. The missionary activity of the congregation took place in western Hunan between 1921 and 1955, with sources recording stories of warlords, nationalism, and revolution, as well as of Mao Zedong, a native of Hunan Province. It is impossible to gather and study the documentation of the China History Project without gaining some appreciation for the complex historical, political, and social life of Hunan Province in the twentieth century.idd

Historical Importance of the China Project

There have been studies of the Passionist presence in western Hunan, concentrating on the first decade, 1921 to 1930. However, more historical work on the significance of the Passionists must be done by analyzing archival sources thematically according to people, events, and mission theology.

The major Passionist personality is the Most Rev. Cuthbert O’Gara, C.P., bishop of Yuanling (b. 1886–d. 1968). A novice missionary upon his arrival in Hunan in 1925, he was expelled in 1953 with a wisdom of years and experience. The personality of the man, the mission policy he and his co-workers shaped and carried out, and the experience of his house arrest and imprisonment from 1951 to 1953 are revealed through his papers. An understanding of his contribution as a missionary gives an excellent foundation of Passionist mission policy and life.

Another influential personality is Brother Lambert Budde, C.P. His diary gives a detailed, factual account of the first decade of mission life. Another is the Rev. Cormac Shanahan, C.P., who was one of the first group of Western reporters to visit Mao in Yenan in May 1944.

The social, political, or military historian will find the archives invaluable. The struggle among Russians, communists, Nationalists, and warlords in the 1920s is well documented. Mao’s troops on the Long March passed through the Passionist territory in 1934. Documented are the famines and floods that plagued Hunan between 1921 and 1955, and the relief and refugee work of the missionaries. The China archives give an account of the complex and turbulent war years, when many mission stations were occupied by Japanese and Nationalist troops. The Passionist relationship to Nationalist and United States military personnel, the period of Japanese internment in the 1940s, and the communist rise to power in 1949 leading to eventual expulsion of the missionaries are all documented.

Analysis of the mission theology is an inviting task. Spiritual life of the mission depended greatly on the individual missionaries—men and women. The success of the theological underpinnings can be ascertained through studying annual reports, articles in Sign magazine, and personal reflections in mission correspondence.

Two key questions to be researched are: How did the mission theology differ from other missionary groups? How did the
Chinese view the Passionists?  
Looking toward the future, personnel from the China Project of the Passionists join with Catholics in America Concerned with China (CACC) for continuing historical and theological dialogue on mission and with projects such as the Princeton Theological Seminary Scholar’s Guide to China Mission Resources. On a local level, the project encourages academic outreach to high schools and colleges. Scholars are invited to use the resources, and the staff is frequently involved in speaking or teaching.

Notes


Recommended

We are pleased to draw attention to several new journals for mission studies that will be of special interest and value to readers of the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*. We welcome the vitality of these publications and commend them to our readers.

**International Journal of Frontier Missions.**
Published quarterly by the International Student Leaders Coalition for Frontier Missions, P.O. Box 40010, Pasadena, California 91104.

**Mission Studies.**
Published twice a year by the International Association for Mission Studies, Rapenburg 61, 2311 GJ Leiden, The Netherlands.

**Misión.**
Published quarterly by Orientación Cristiana, P.O. Box 140385, Miami, Florida 33114.

**Together.**
Published quarterly by World Vision International, 919 W. Huntington Drive, Monrovia, California 91016.

**Transformation: An International Dialogue on Evangelical Social Ethics.**
Published quarterly by the World Evangelical Fellowship Theological Commission (Unit of Ethics and Society), P.O. Box 1308-EQ, Fort Lee, New Jersey 07024.

**Urban Mission.**
Published five times a year by Westminster Theological Seminary, P.O. Box 27009, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19118.

**World Christian.**
Published every two months by Today’s Mission, Inc., P.O. Box 40010, Pasadena, California 91104.
Anglicans in China: A History of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui

G. Francis S. Gray

The present writer has prepared a general account of Anglican mission work in China, culminating in 1947 with the election of one of the Chinese bishops as chairman of the House of Bishops in an autonomous church of the Anglican Communion. The study is to be published under the proposed title, A History of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui [The Anglican Church of China].

It is primarily a record of Christian devotion (never without its critics), which, with all its many weaknesses and failings, the writer would like not to be forgotten, which could easily happen, and is too much ignored. It is recognized that the Anglicans were only a very small part of the total Christian mission in China. The record surveys in succession the various periods: each chapter opens with general remarks about the period, and then mentions in turn the areas where there came to be an Anglican diocese.

My aim in this book is not a socioeconomic study or criticism of a part of the Christian mission, nor a psychiatric study of the motives and impulses of missionaries and local church people. Rather, it is a record, factual not judgmental, of a small part of the Christian mission, in what can well be regarded as the greatest single country in the world.

The index—subdivided into (1) Places, (2) Persons, non-Chinese, (3) Persons, Chinese, (4) Miscellaneous—is felt to be important. It is hoped to include the Chinese characters for both Chinese places and persons, and much effort has been given to finding these—not always successfully with regard to persons.

The record is basically factual, based on extremely scanty sources, including notes of conversations with a number of Chinese Christian leaders in the late 1940s, of opinions they expressed to me about the church, and of information they gave me about it. They include Dr. Francis Wei Tso-min, under whom I worked for my last period in China, Bishops Addison Hsu Kison, Lindel Tsen Ho-p'u, Y. Y. Tsu, T. K. Shen, and many others, as well as Western missionaries from various countries involved in this effort. I should like to feel that this account is in its modest way a tribute of respect, admiration, and affection to those who worked in this part of the church's world mission.

The writer was in China from 1930 to 1951, mostly engaged in theological teaching, in succession on the list of the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the American Church Mission. Friends said that such a record would be useful, and should be done while someone is still alive who took part in it. It continues, in the writer's retirement, a project begun while he was teaching church history at Huachung University, Wuchang, after World War II. He is fully conscious of the drawbacks of a Westerner, rather than a Chinese, in writing such an account, and hopes that the inadequacies of his work may provoke Chinese, or others, to do better.

Since no publisher could be found for what would be of interest to only a limited number of people, this manuscript of about 125,000 words (excluding index) will be privately published, probably in early 1985, by I.C.T., 66 Barnsbury Road, London N1 OES, England.

Efforts of the Imperial German Government to Establish a Protectorate over the German Catholic Missions in South Shantung*

Karl Josef Rivinius, S.V.D.

The Thesis and Nature of the Problem

Around 1850 France accepted in China a protectorate over the Catholic missionaries, together with their institutions irrespective of their nationality. With great skill France used the foreign mission endeavors for its own national political interests. Since the recent recruits to the missions came in large part from Germany, Italy, Belgium, and Spain, France had to learn how to employ its energy and intelligence to serve its own national interests. This religious protectorate of France became based on bilateral contracts, conventions and agreements accepted by China, thus guaranteeing freedom of religious practice. Moreover, China during this period of the Middle Kingdom agreed not to prevent any missionary activity and included in its agreements the protection of Chinese converts under its sovereignty.

The Roman Congregation Propaganda Fide, the missionary headquarters of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Western powers interested in China acknowledged without any question the right of France for a rather long period of time. But in the last third of the nineteenth century Germany, which carried on trade with China and was attempting to develop markets for exports and natural resources for its home industry and other states as

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*Translated from the German original by the Rev. Charles T. Huegelmeyer, M.M.
also realized that their imperialistic colonial politics could be employed at the same time as an instrument in their domestic policy, serving as a systems-stabilizing element. From the outset it was clear that France guarded its power as protector as a valuable privilege. It defeated any attempt of the other powers to share in the protection of its own citizens. On the pretext then of assuming their own responsibilities in this area they hoped to gain among other things a substantial material benefit to reward their efforts. In this regard, the notion of prestige, as well as foreign political, economic, sociopolitical, sociopsychological, national missionary zeal and other ideological factors played an important role. The various nations, however,

also realized that their imperialistic colonial politics could be employed at the same time as an instrument in their domestic policy, serving as a systems-stabilizing element. From the outset it was clear that France guarded its power as protector as a valuable privilege. It defeated any attempt of the other powers to share in the protection of its own citizens. On the pretext then of assuming their own responsibilities in this area they hoped to gain among other things a substantial material benefit to reward their efforts. In this regard, the notion of prestige, as well as foreign political, economic, sociopolitical, sociopsychological, national missionary zeal and other ideological factors played an important role. The various nations, however,

It was the missionaries who, as forerunners, prepared the way willingly or unwillingly for the penetration of German interests and a German presence in the interior of China.

The present writer’s study (the second volume of Divine Word Missionaries in China, due to appear in 1985), treats the problem mentioned above without taking into account intentionally the fruitless confrontation of the various theories of imperialism. As monographs do not exist—although there are some treaties that do mention in passing the German protectorate—the research is certainly worthwhile, since many hitherto unpublished documents and unknown documents will be made accessible to the reader.

The carrying out of the missionary task under the protection of a secular power represents an almost ideal paradigm of interaction between the propagation of the Christian faith and political involvement in China during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. From the outset it was clear that when the Divine Word Society assumed the protectorate over German missionaries, conflict would occur between the two contractual parties. Also, the claim of honoring and actualizing the interests of the two parties was put on a legal basis. The official acceptance of the German protectorate, which was strongly criticized in some German circles, made the work of the German missionaries very difficult. The Chinese people themselves identified the work of the missionaries with the effort of foreign diplomats, merchants, and capitalists. The German government on its part tried to support the missionaries with all of its strength, helping them in every way. It was the missionaries who, as forerunners, prepared the way willingly or unwillingly for the penetration of German interests and a German presence in the interior of China.

There is no doubt that the missionaries in carrying out their tasks were conscious of their national interests. Nevertheless, it does not suffice to judge superficially and thus to conclude that they were "pawns," "submissive servants," "docile underlings," "willing tools," in the hands of the German government, or "trailblazers of German nationalism," "predecessors" and "hound dogs" of colonial imperialism, and high-financing, unrestricted capitalism. Exaggerations and generalizations with respect to certain isolated actions and attitudes are the result of factual ignorance, simplistic explanations, and religious intolerance. Making distinctions and careful evaluations would be much more appropriate. There are many indications that the great majority of missionaries maintained their independence in their task of propagating the faith. In studying the documents related to this case we realize that we have to make an adjustment for this lack of unbiased historical judgment by modifying concepts that are ideological and stereotyped.

The different steps that led to the official acceptance of the protectorate by the Society of the Divine Word in 1890 were thoroughly studied, and the interdependence of domestic and foreign politics is underscored. One of the highlights of this research is the relationship between the German empire and France, which understood its role of protector to be under serious threat. Other powers also that were either present in China or interested in China are taken into account insofar as they were involved in this question of protective power and found themselves as a result of such involvement in a position of confrontation.

In this study, the Divine Word Missionary bishop, John Baptist Anzer, and his missionary role in the ongoing negotiations concerned with transferring the protectorate, as well as the tug-of-war between the various interests represented are clearly defined. Furthermore, the study has to clarify whether there is any truth in the often repeated charge that Anzer, while being the representative of the church and the Catholic faith, had at the same time been the main driving force in securing those secular treaties. Finally, investigations into the intentions, motives, and aspirations that led to the acceptance of the German protectorate are made.

Three significant case studies of events that occurred as a result of taking over the protectorate of nationals illustrate the consequences and repercussions of this action on the work of the missionaries. These studies involve the so-called Yenchoufu affair, the Kiautschou [Jiaozhou] Bay incident when Germany occupied the bay in 1897, and the Boxer Rebellion. These case studies document the political, historical, diplomatic, and legal implications of the three affairs. Also, the reaction in China to those events, as well as the reaction in Germany, was very strong, especially in the case of the Boxer Rebellion. These reactions are analyzed. With respect to China policy, the action taken by the German government and the attitude of the missionaries repeatedly provoked differences of opinion on the part of the imperial government, as well as conflict among the German people. The missionaries were accused of serving the policy of the government, thereby provoking the Boxer Rebellion, which in turn was understood to be the cause of the German occupation of Kiaut-
schou Bay. Bishop Anzer, the chief spokesman and representative of the South Shantung mission, was the main target of the critics.

On the Sources

In order to analyze the facts to be discussed on the basis of broad and reliable source materials, extensive and laborious investigations had to be undertaken in the most important archives. This work was often time-consuming, since many of the documents are handwritten. The most important archives consulted were the Political Archives of the Bonn Office of Foreign Affairs (Politishe Archiv des Bonner Auswaertigen Amtes), the Federal Archives in Koblenz (Bundesarchiv in Koblenz), and the military section of the Federal Archives in Freiburg/Br. (Bundesarchiv-Militaerarchiv in Freiburg/Br.). The latter contains the records of the former German imperial navy office that was responsible for the Kiautschou Territory. The papers (Depositum) of Karl Bachem, a politician of the Center party, which are contained in the Historical Archives of Cologne (Historische Archiv der Stadt Köln) brought to light some very revealing documents on the Catholic mission in South Shantung. In addition, the records of the following archives were taken into serious consideration in the course of our research: the records of the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris (Archives Diplomatiques du Ministere des Affaires Etrangéres), and those of the Archives of the French Legation in Peking (Archives de la Légation Française), which are located today in Nantes. Also, very rich and profitable indeed was the opportunity to deal with the documentation in the archives of the Generalate of the Society of the Divine Word in Rome, as well as the material in the archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, or, Propagation of Faith, and the Vatican Secret Archives (Archivio Segreto Vaticano).

In order to indicate how the relations of the different German federated states with the Chinese empire had undergone development since the earliest contacts in the middle of the nineteenth century, it was necessary to study the records in the Bavarian State Archives in Munich (Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv), as well as the records in the State Archives in Stuttgart (Hauptstaatsarchiv) and in the General National Archives in Karlsruhe (Generallandesarchiv). The investigation in the archives of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce and the State Archives in Bremen (Staatsarchiv), which held such great promise of fruitful research, proved worthless, since the records were either partially destroyed in the war or damaged by flood.

It is very regrettable that I could not obtain access to the important archives of the German Democratic Republic, especially the Central Archives in Potsdam (Zentralarchiv). Without giving any serious reasons, the Ministry of Interior turned down several of my requests with merely a reference to changes in regulations. Actually, these archives contain several thousand separate files, which comprise the entire body of records of the former German imperial legation in Peking, as well as records of the colonial legal and economic sanctions of the German Foreign Office in its relations with the Chinese empire. Nevertheless, the refusal of my requests proved to have no serious consequences on my research, since the various offices mentioned above had copies of the documents relevant to the events in their areas of responsibility. These copies are reflected in the reports of the political division of the German Office of Foreign Affairs, and these can be found in the Political Archives (Politishe Archiv) of that office in Bonn.

Finally, it is suggested that one scrutinize systematically the newspapers of that time, so as to obtain a multifaceted picture of the political involvement of the German government in China, thereby enabling one to understand the different reactions and attitudes to positions as they were publicly articulated in the press.

Most of this material can be found in the State University Library in Bonn (Universitätsbibliothek), the Bavarian State Library (Bayrische Staatsbibliothek), and in the Reichsbote, which is contained in the German State Library in East Berlin.

The German Protectorate over the South Shantung Mission

The protection of the mission by a foreign power represented an important problem to the missionary effort in China during the nineteenth century. Often it was more of a hindrance than a help to the mission. As a result of the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858 between China and France that provided the basis of the French protectorate, France had become the protector of all the missionaries working in China. The legal definition of this role, as it was stated in paragraph one of the treaty, was given more stress and more force through the Peking Convention of October 25, 1860. In accordance with these agreements missionaries received the guarantee of freedom of travel without hindrance to the interior of China in order to preach and to live their faith openly, and also the right to purchase real estate for the purpose of building mission stations and churches. The issuing of a missionary passport as a protective document was tantamount to declaring a person a subject of the protectorate, and France rejected every attempt of other powers to dispute its rights in this regard.

The two missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word, J. B. Anzer and J. Freinademetz, were compelled to accept French passports, but soon after their arrival in Hong Kong, Monsignor Raimondi suggested that Anzer apply for a German passport. Anzer did not comply with this request for what appeared to him to be very obvious reasons. In subsequent years he became more and more concerned about this issue, particularly in the period between 1888 and 1890. Eventually, on June 23, 1890, Bishop Anzer agreed formally to accept a German passport and German protection with all of its consequences, dealing in this case with the German envoy Von Brandt. This decision, which was made only after consultation with the founder of the Society of the Divine Word, Arnold Janssen, with Rome, and with his own missionaries in China, brought with it many attacks on Anzer in the following years among the German people, especially after it was associated with the Kiautschou Bay incident and the Boxer Rebellion. Anzer and the missionaries associated with him were accused of being docile underlings in having made the agreement with the German government.

The Divine Word Missioners in China

The Rev. Richard Hartwich, S.V.D., a former China missionary now working with the China archives in Rome, describes two projects now in process and a tentative plan for the entire China missions project.

The Life of Bishop John B. Von Anzer is being written by Professor Karl J. Rivinius, the author of this article. The first volume (1879-1903) of Stuyler Missionare in China: Beiträge zu einer Geschichte ("Divine Word Missionaries in China: Contributions for a History") has been published. The second volume, covering the years preceding 1911, is due to appear in 1985.

A tentative plan for the project as a whole divides the S.V.D. China history according to dates and regions, subdivided by prefectures and vicariates. S.V.D. missionaries worked in Shantung, Kansu, Tsinghai, Sinkiang, and Honan provinces.
Part of this attack was the accusation that Anzer had diluted the work of the mission with political interests, inasmuch as he had accepted an awkward political dependence in the hopes of gaining financial and material benefits. The more profound reason for those attacks was Anzer’s steady collaboration with the German imperial government, once the question of the German protectorate had been solved, and firm support had been gained for the Catholic mission in South Shantung. It seemed only a matter of logic to the bishop that once Germany had assumed the role of protector of the mission, he could call upon Germany for this service at any time, as was actually the case in the crisis years of 1887–90. Thus certain conflicts and decisions that provoked sharp criticism and opposition could not be avoided in every instance.

Once the negotiations in Peking had been concluded, Anzer immediately applied to the German legation before departing for Europe to have passports issued to the newly arrived missionaries, who had come to China in the autumn of 1889. He later registered himself along with all the German missionaries in the German government files in the Peking consulate. Clearly this means that the bishop himself had requested the issuance of German protective papers, as well as the passports of missionaries. At this point the mission region of South Shantung was no longer under French protection, but under that of the Germans. The German government on its part accepted explicitly the responsibility to meet in the future all the demands presented by the interests of the mission and to guarantee its protection without any restriction. In this way the efforts of the German legate, Von Brandt, came to a successful conclusion after several years of negotiations. As early as 1872 the German ambassador, Harry Graf von Arnim, had expressed in Paris the intention of the German government to place German nationals in China, including missionaries, under its protection. Germany was not willing to tolerate any longer what it considered “the abusive action of the French Legation in China in issuing passports to German missionaries.”

It cannot be denied that in this question of national protection, motives of national prestige and political consideration influenced decisions. These also were partially motivated by German domestic politics and the national politico-religious understanding. Thus it was correct to evaluate the acceptance of the protectorate as an understanding between the Society of the Divine Word and the Berlin government, despite the continuing tense relationship between the Catholic church and the government, even after the Kulturkampf had ended. The Society of the Divine Word by this agreement exchanged the concession of accepting the protectorate over the mission for an expansion of its own activity within Germany, which had been curtailed during the period of the Kulturkampf. The Kulturkampf had come to an end officially in 1886/87 by the proclamation of the Friedensgesetze (Laws of Freedom).

It is, therefore, no mere coincidence that the beginning of consultations with respect to the protectorate began in 1887. In fact, the revised national law did not yet include the lifting of the ban on the activities of religious orders, which included the prohibition of residence or any overt activity in German territory on the part of religious. The situation, however, gave rise to hopes of early removal of the restrictions. In this situation the offer made by the superiors of the Society of the Divine Word to the German government of accepting its protection may well have been considered a means to accelerate the process of admission to the German Reich. This does not contradict the notion of an agreement do ut des [quid pro quo], since the revocation of the law banning religious orders in May 1890 preceded the official request of protection made to the German government by Anzer in November 1890. This means that the German government was the first to make a concession. Furthermore, to take the initiative in abolishing the ban on religious orders may have been a gesture of captatio benevolentiae made by the German government to the Vatican. With this obliging gesture the German government could have had the intention of inviting the Vatican to abandon its reluctant attitude in the question of the German protectorate.

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**Chinese Recorder—Index and Biographical Guide: Strategies Used in Creating a Multivolume Work on China and Asia**

**Kathleen L. Lodwick**

Endless paging through the Chinese Recorder searching for articles for my dissertation on the missionaries’ efforts to eradicate the use of opium in China in the late Ch’ing dynasty convinced me of the need to organize the material in this most valuable periodical. Having discovered through the pages of the Chinese Recorder that the Anti-Opium League in China was organized, wrote a constitution, elected officers, established representatives in all the major mission stations, scheduled, postponed, and then held a national meeting within about a year’s time, I was convinced of the real impact of this periodical within the mission community in China. I was also struck by the large number of articles in the Chinese Recorder that dealt with Japan, Korea, Southeast Asia, India, the South Pacific, and even Southwest Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Wisely ignoring a suggestion that I could do an index to the Chinese Recorder while also writing a dissertation on opium suppression, I saved the idea for the Chinese Recorder index until I was employed in my first job during the 1976–77 academic year.

I knew the Chinese Recorder was the most important source of information about the work of the Protestant missionaries in China and elsewhere in Asia. Published monthly in Shanghai from 1868 to 1941, it covered the prominent issues of concern to its readers. With correspondents in all the major mission locations in China, it had a large readership in China as well as in Europe and North America where a number of copies remain in libraries.

Ecumenical in outlook, the Chinese Recorder succeeded the Missionary Recorder, which had been published in Foochow in 1867. Although it was a Protestant publication it contained numerous references to Roman Catholic and Orthodox missions as well as many articles on Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, Shinto, and animism. It also covered such diverse topics as the status and education of women, the Boxer Rebellion, famine relief, aborigines, piracy, and the rise of communism in China.

Experimentation on an index to the Chinese Recorder told me that I faced an enormous task, requiring assistance and funding. Today—with thirty-three research assistants, proofreaders, and

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data-entry clerks; more than $120,000 in grants from three sources; three-quarters of a ton of paper crammed with data; one computer; lots of help from China and mission specialists in the United States, Canada, Britain, Hong Kong, and China; and nearly a decade later—the project is approaching publication.

In 1976 I outlined my plan to create an index and biographical guide for the Chinese Recorder in a letter to Professor John King Fairbank at Harvard University, who encouraged the project and agreed to write letters of support.

The first grant was $500 from the American Association of University Women to purchase a microfilm copy of the Chinese Recorder. Subsequent grants, largely from the National Endowment for the Humanities, have made it possible to carry the project to its final stage. Experienced consultants have inestimably aided the project.

**Index Categories**

The categories used for the Personal Name Index are Affiliation, Arrivals, Articles (in the Chinese Recorder), Attacks, Children, Conferences Attended, Correspondence (published in the Chinese Recorder), Dates in China, Death, Departures, Itinerancy, Location, Letters to the Editor, Other Publications, Position, Spouse, and Unspecified References.

The categories used for the Missions/Organizations Index are Attacks, Converts, Finances, History, Hospitals, Location, Meetings, Opium Refuges, Ordained Asians, Orphanages, Personnel, Press, Reports, Schools, Statistics, and Unspecified References.

Within the Personal Name Index appears the Biographical Guide, which gives family information about the person when such information appeared in the Chinese Recorder. For example, the names of children often appear here, as do the notations "third wife" or "brother of" or "father of." These notes are helpful, since the mortality rate for missionaries was quite high and remarriage common. The Rev. E. C. Lord was exceptional in that he had six wives, but three wives were common.

Multiple wives created one of the recurring problems, since the Chinese Recorder, particularly in the nineteenth century, tended to refer to women only as "Mrs. Surname." Much checking and rechecking has been done to straighten out who was who, particularly when news of a woman's death appeared perhaps in a March issue and the June issue reported that her husband, his wife, and children were arriving at Shanghai!

My original plan was to include everyone mentioned in the Chinese Recorder in the index, but this proved impossible because of length. I have eliminated those with inadequate identification, those who had four or fewer page references, and wives (or husbands) whose references only duplicated those listed for the spouse. Exceptions to this rule were made, such as the cases of multiple wives when everyone is included to avoid total chaos. The finished Personal Name Index will contain references to about 11,000 people.

To illustrate the use of the Personal Name Index, I cite the references for the Rev. George P. Bostick. A researcher would discover that he was affiliated with the American Southern Baptist Mission and the Gospel Baptist Mission. He has four notations to arrivals, three to departures, five to his spouses, one to children, and five unspecified references. He authored one article and two letters to the editor, which appeared in the Chinese Recorder. The location references put him in Pochow, Anhwei; Shanghai; and four places in Shantung—Chefoo, Pingtu, T'aian, and Tungchow—as well as the United States. His death in 1926 is noted. He had three wives. The first, Bertha, who died in Tungchow, Shantung, in 1890 is mentioned only once; the second, mentioned in four references, the former Mary Thornton of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, arrived in China in 1890 and died in 1903; and the third, whose first name does not appear, is listed in only two references.

The Missions/Organizations Index includes all church and mission groups that are mentioned in the Chinese Recorder and such nonchurch groups as the Boy Scouts and the Red Cross. More than 900 missions and organizations appear in this index. Unlike the Personal Name Index, every mission and organization mentioned in the Chinese Recorder, including some that were active in Japan, Korea, Southeast Asia, and India, appear.

A third category, the Subject Index, was prepared by Professor Casimir A. Kulikowski of Rutgers University and then reviewed by a number of China scholars. Modifications have been made as the work progressed. For example, the topic "Hymnology" had to be broadened to include other types of music. Other categories became more specific, such as the ones for mission conferences and schools. The conferences appear by name in the finished index.

**United States Catholic Missionaries**

There were 6,134 Catholic missionaries from the United States serving abroad in 1984, according to the latest report in Mission Handbook 1984-85, published by the United States Catholic Mission Association. Counted in the annual survey are United States citizens serving for at least one year outside the 48 contiguous states. Not included are 162 overseas workers of Catholic Relief Services who are working in 70 countries. Trends over the last twenty-eight years can be seen from the following statistics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Missionaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>5,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>7,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>9,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>7,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>6,393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>6,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>6,134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The major sending groups are the Jesuits with 552 (671 in 1976), the Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers with 537 (676 in 1976), and the Maryknoll Sisters with 369 members (493 in 1976) serving abroad.

There are 1,498 serving in South America, 1,420 in Asia, 967 in Africa, 644 in Oceania, 650 in Central America, 513 in the Caribbean, 84 in the Middle East, and 29 in Europe. The individual countries where the largest numbers are serving are Peru (450), Brazil (440), the Philippines (369), and Japan (308). Copies of the report may be ordered from USCMA, 1233 Lawrence Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20017. Cost: $1.50 domestic; $3.00 overseas airmail.

Schools presented a difficult problem, since they tended to reorganize themselves with startling rapidity, particularly during World War II. Schools in Asia are listed in a category called "Educational Institutions" rather than as elementary, secondary, university, mission, and nonmission schools. Schools in the Western countries can be found under the categories of "Western Secular Education" and/or "Missionaries, Recruitment and Training."

The most difficult problem in creating the indexes has been the romanization systems used by the Chinese Recorder. The periodical predated the Wade-Giles system of romanization and the early issues appear to use a new system of romanization every...
Parig Digan, S.S.C.

The Society of St. Columban is an international Roman Catholic missionary society with a total membership of 873 in 1984. Founded in Ireland in 1916, it was soon established also in the United States and in Australia. It continued to draw its membership exclusively from the English-speaking world until 1982, when its doors were opened to candidates from its countries of assignment. Founded as a male clerical society of diocesan priests (i.e., not a religious congregation), it had a place for lay helpers, but is almost exclusively clerical in membership today. Founded as a mission to China, it eventually spread its missions to other countries in Asia, the Pacific, and Latin America.

The society thus has less than seven decades of history behind it. Like many other young societies and action movements, it was not much concerned about writing its history until it had a history to write. Like other societies whose early history was made in twentieth-century China, it found itself cut off from its roots there during at least the first three decades of the People’s Republic. Meanwhile the old China hands themselves, reassigned elsewhere after the closing of the China mission, were gradually dwindling in numbers and failing in memories of that mission.

This situation was taken in hand by the Columban General Chapter of 1982. This chapter called on the Columban Central Administration to “initiate a critical history of the Society,” with special reference to its relevance “as a necessary resource” for revising the Society Constitutions, and also with special reference to the urgency of the need to save the China part of the story from oblivion. The same chapter formalized the establishment of the Columban Central Research and Information Service, which within the following year was given a coordinator with Columban

Special Lists

From the data entered into the computer, the special lists, which are a unique feature of the Index and Biographical Guide, have been made. These lists are of Women, Medical Doctors, Women Medical Doctors, People by Affiliation, People by Place, and Missions by Place. The List of Women contains the names of about 3,000 individuals. About 450 people appear in the List of Medical Doctors, and the List of Women Medical Doctors contains 122 names. The List of People by Affiliation is quite lengthy because people frequently belonged to many ecumenical groups in addition to the mission that supported them. The lists of People by Place and Missions by Place are also quite long and will be valuable to scholars researching the role of missionaries in particular places.

The finished work will be approximately 1,000 pages in length and will be published in two volumes, probably later in 1985 by Scholarly Resources, Inc., of Wilmington, Delaware.

The Columban History Project

Parig Digan, S.S.C.

Many of the romanization systems were devised by missionaries who spent much time reducing Chinese to a Latin alphabet and teaching their systems to students in their schools. The lack of a standard romanization system created particular difficulties in trying to identify places. Chinese characters appear infrequently in the Chinese Recorder and often articles did not even refer to the province. With the help of Chinese historical geographers in both the United States and China, we have greatly reduced the list but we still have some unidentified locations.

Methodology

The original work of creating the indexes was done on paper and not on a computer because of the many discrepancies in spelling that appeared. Another problem was the large number of articles and letters to the editor that were signed with initials. Where I have been fairly certain of authorship, I have indicated this.

After the material was compiled on paper and verified, the data were entered into an IBM PCXT computer by eleven data-entry clerks and proofreaders and checked for errors. The programmer is extremely efficient and programs have been created with a minimum of problems. However, I would advise any who venture into the computer world with a project of this size to be extremely careful to hire the very best consultant and programmer they can locate.

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Parig Digan, S.S.C., an Irish Columban priest, served for ten years as a parish priest in the Philippines, for eight years as Asia research secretary for Pro Mundi Vita, and is currently Research Coordinator for the Columbans.
A History of the English Presbyterian Mission in East Guangdong Province

George Hood

The study on which the present writer is working is based on the experience of the English Presbyterian Mission in East Guangdong (Lingdong), a single Protestant mission body in one small area of south China, its coastal region Hoklo (Chaozhou/Shantou)-speaking and the hinterland Hakka. Its theme is the interplay between the purposes and practices of the mission body and the historical circumstances under which they were working, the ways in which the context favored, frustrated, distorted, or defeated the objectives of the mission, which were explicitly to establish a self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating church.

Although the area is small it focuses many of the leading factors of the tragic involvement of missionary effort with Western aggression. It was a center of the early opium traffic and also an area identified with both the origins and the activities of many of Gutzlaff's Chinese Union members. Shantou became an open treaty port by the Treaty of Tientsin, and the extent to which the missionaries used or refrained from using the protection afforded by that and the other Unequal Treaties is examined in detail. In a later period, the 1920s, the area also witnessed the Eastern Campaign of the united KMP/CCP front led by Chiang Kai-shek, the intense anti-British boycott of 1925-26 during part of which Zhou En-lai administered Shantou, the early Peasant Movement, associated with Peng Pai, and the establishing of the first Chinese Soviet at Hai-luh-feng in 1927.

The mission methods were most clearly articulated and represented in the life, work, and writings of J. Campbell Gibson, whose missionary service from 1873 to 1919 extended from this area to the national scene and the beginnings of the modern ecumenical movement at the 1910 Edinburgh Conference. The present condition of the church in the area, following its experience in the post-Liberation period, enables a comparison to be made between the missionary objectives and the contemporary selfhood of the Chinese church. The objective of the study is both historical and missiological, to add one piece to the mosaic of mission history in China by critical examination of the experience of one mission body in one small area, and thereby increase both our understanding of the present church in China and the influence of its mission legacy upon its selfhood.

The study is now nearing completion and will be submitted as a doctoral (Ph.D) dissertation at Birmingham University in 1985. Primary written sources are mostly in the United Kingdom because the Lingdong Church lost virtually all its records in the Cultural Revolution. Among sources that have been used are mission archives in the United Kingdom, the Public Records Office, the Jardine Matheson Archive at Cambridge University, the Gutzlaff correspondence at Selly Oak Colleges, and family papers of individual missionaries, notably those of J. C. Gibson and T. W. D. James. Other resources in Hong Kong and Shantou, both oral and written have also been used.

George Hood, retired English Presbyterian missionary, served for five years in south China and twenty years in Malaysia among Chinese from the Hoklo-dialect area. He recently spent nearly three weeks visiting old friends and churches in his China field of service.

April 1985
KomMissieMemoires: An Oral History Project of Dutch Catholic Missions


As early as 1975 plans arose in Dutch missionary circles to record on tape by means of interviews the memoirs and experiences of Dutch Catholic missionaries. Much time and consultation were needed before a beginning could be made with an experimental year. During that year (March 1977–March 1978) valuable experience was gained concerning both the technique of such interviews and the wide field of investigation. After fifty test interviews we came to the conclusion that it was possible indeed to build up, through tape-recorded interviews, a documentation of memoirs of missionaries whose quality would be adequate enough to create the possibility of a well-founded scholarly investigation at a later date.

A three-year plan was set up. Martin Peters (A.B., London; M.S., Columbia), chief editor for many years of The Standard, a Catholic weekly in Ghana, became full-time leader of the project. Together with some part-time interviewers and a secretary, he formed a working group in charge of the project. In addition a Steering Committee was set up to guide the whole project and bear the responsibility for content and general lines of policy. The cooperation of the Catholic Documentation Centre (KDC), connected with the Catholic University of Nijmegen, provided the project with a solid basis. Generous financial support from a few missionary organizations enabled us to carry out our plans. The project was officially known as Kommissie Missie Memoires, soon abbreviated to KomMissieMemoires (KMM).

After the termination of the first working period of three years, during which more than 600 interviews took place, the Steering Committee decided after a thorough evaluation that a responsible rounding-off of the project would require at least four years. The necessary funds for this second working period were available. In May 1985 the project will be terminated (provisionally).

Field of Investigation

Our investigation is not directed toward dealing with specific questions or a certain field of problems, nor directly toward a scientific processing of the material collected. The aim of the KMM project is limited to the collection of data that can be relevant for future scientific research in diverse fields.

We are aiming at a collection of interviews that will be representative of what Dutch missionaries have achieved and experienced in the countries where they are working or have worked. The KMM project therefore covers a very wide field of investigation. In order to create some pattern in this and to render the acquired material suitable for scientific research, an extensive questionnaire was composed, which divides the field of investigation into some fourteen smaller fields. The questions aim at collecting biographical as well as thematic data. The questionnaire serves as a guide to the interviewer. Not all questions are touched in every interview; the selection of questions depends on the work and particular situation of the missionary concerned. At a later stage the need arose of compiling a special questionnaire, adapted to the work and situation of the missionary interviewed. However, the outline of the general questionnaire is always maintained.

Our research is limited to Dutch Catholic missionaries. Some Protestant missionary societies in Holland, intending to undertake a similar project, came to us for information. The KMM promised every cooperation.

Selection of Candidates

We started by writing a letter to all provincial superiors, explaining the aim of the KMM and asking for suitable candidates. As the work of the KMM became better known, spontaneous applications also came in and others drew attention to suitable candidates. There was never any lack of candidates, but soon the need for sound planning and for fixing criteria with regard to the selection of candidates arose. Following existing statistics the spread of Dutch missionaries in the various territories was carefully mapped (in 1969 there were 8,452 Catholic Dutch missionaries working in eighty-four different countries). Based on these data we could determine approximately how many missionaries in each country should be interviewed. Quantitatively, 10 percent of the total number was considered a representative norm. However, while fixing the number that could be considered representative, other criteria were also kept in mind. Important events, special developments, or initiatives in a certain country could necessitate a larger number of interviews. In other cases a smaller percentage could be considered representative, for instance if a large number of Sisters in a certain country or area were all engaged in nursing.

During the second working period the collections of interviews concerning the countries where a larger concentration of Dutch missionaries were working (about twenty) were separately evaluated. For every country some people who were well acquainted with the missionary situation there were asked to study the collected interviews of their country so that possible gaps could be spotted. On the basis of their reports additional interviews were made. We hope that this method ensures that the number of interviews concerning each country where Dutch missionaries are working or have worked is sufficiently representative.

The Interviews

By and large the following method is used in every interview. First, personal contact is made with the candidate to explain to him or her the purpose of the interview and to ask for the person’s consent. Personal data and background information are noted down. Next, the topics of the talks are determined and proposed to the candidate. Both the interviewer and the candidate prepare for the talk. The interview takes place in an environment chosen by the candidate. A whole day is set aside for the interview, to ensure the desirable tranquillity for such a talk. If necessary a second appointment is made to continue the talk on another day. The intellectual and emotional involvement of the interviewer is an important condition for the success of the interviews. An
atmosphere of confidence should be created also through clear agreements with regard to use of the material.

Processing of Material Obtained

No transcriptions are made from the tapes. The practical reason is that this time-consuming work is beyond our means. But it is also a matter of principle. It is typical of an interview that it is a "spoken" document. In our view an important part of its specific character would be lost through a transcription. The tape itself remains the authentic document. However, a registration is made of every interview. Following the personal data of the missionary interviewed, a summary of the interview describes all the topics that have been touched. In the margin the counter number is noted locating the various topics, so that they can easily be found again by a future researcher.

During an evaluation it appeared that many names, geographical as well as names of persons and institutes, were reproduced more or less phonetically on the registrations. This was corrected afterward both by the person interviewed and by the experts who evaluated the collected interviews of the countries. It often occurs that the missionary interviewed possesses written documentation: diaries, correspondence, reports, and so forth. At times these are offered to the KMM, or photocopies are made. Even if the interviewee wishes to keep this documentation, it is registered both on the tape and on the registration form, and is often a valuable supplement to the interview.

A schematic description is made of the interviews, which makes it possible to process them in a computer. This description includes: (a) identification of the interviews: serial number; (b) identification of the person interviewed: name, age, order or congregation, and so forth; (c) description of the activities of the person interviewed: country or place of work, functions, working period, and the like; (d) description of interview: date, interviewer, scope, duration, and the topics discussed.

At present the data of more than 700 persons have been computer-processed, greatly enhancing their accessibility. Along with the more extensive registrations, there is a plan to compose a short registration of each interview with the more important topics and data it contains. These short descriptions can be computer-processed, and offer the possibility of compiling a register of names and topics. It will take a few years before this extensive work is completed, but after that we hope the collected material will be accessible in the best possible way.

Regulations with regard to the Use of the Material

Although the project has not yet been concluded, already some interviews have been used for the publication of a booklet in which the portraits of ten missionaries are sketched. Several scientific research workers have asked for permission to make use of interviews for their research. This compelled the Steering Committee to consider the criteria for such use.

From the very beginning the purpose of the KMM had been explained to every person interviewed, and permission to use the interview had been requested, but the exact substance of that permission was not always clear. The Steering Committee has now prepared a precise statement of permission to be signed by interviewees, which makes it clear that no one can use the interviews without the explicit permission of the Steering Committee of the KMM. This permission is given only if the applicant can show that his or her project will provide a valuable contribution to scholarship and/or information concerning mission and related studies. At the same time the Steering Committee will watch carefully over the good name of the person interviewed, and his or her security and that of colleagues, who might experience some harm by eventual publications. In order to accomplish this, a second permission by the Steering Committee is required if one decides to proceed with publication. The form submitted to the person interviewed for his or her signature leaves open a possibility to add still other restrictions. However, so far the missionaries have rarely made use of this possibility.

The Results Obtained

The first working period (1977–81) was a period of collecting: 615 interviews were conducted (315 priests and bishops, 78 brothers, 218 sisters, and 4 laymen). Initially a higher number was expected, but this was due to lack of experience. The preparation, the interview itself, and the registration of the interview are very labor-intensive. An extensive evaluation of these 615 interviews revealed diverse gaps, among others the fact that the younger generation of missionaries and the lay missionaries had been insufficiently heard. It became clear also that much still had to be done to make the large collection of information as fit for use as possible and accessible for scientific research.

These two observations have determined the policy of the second working period (1981–84), mainly directed toward adding what was still lacking. At the conclusion of the project about 900 interviews will have been collected. A high degree of representativeness can then be guaranteed of the twenty countries where, in 1969, 85 percent of the Dutch missionaries were working. This is less the case with regard to the other countries. The quality of the interviews has increased as the years have gone by, but, with some exceptions, they may all be described as "good." It is certain that very important data have been recorded that otherwise would have been irrecoverably lost.

Finally, we do not wish to leave unmentioned a result not precisely "scientific" but indeed of great human interest. Many grateful reactions reached us from missionaries interviewed. Through preparing for the interview and the interview itself, these missionaries have been enabled to review once again their whole life and to talk about it to an interested listener. That their story is listened to and that there is interest in all they have done and experienced creates in them a deep feeling of satisfaction.

We are aware that our collection covers only a small portion of the great missionary movement of the past century. Therefore we consider it highly desirable that similar research be undertaken at an international level. This could produce an important contribution to the history of missions of the Catholic church, and at the same time provide the young churches with an indispensable source of information concerning the history of their origin. The KMM is prepared to put all its experience at the service of such a broadly based international oral history project.
Book Reviews


In this Harvard dissertation-turned-book, James Reed claims that America’s inability to understand Japanese expansionism, Chinese national aspirations, and Asia’s revolutionary nationalism “can be attributed in large degree to the Protestant missionary movement” (p. 3). Reed’s book examines the influence of the “Missionary Mind” on America’s East Asian policymaking during the critical period between America’s embrace of the Chinese Republican Revolution of 1911 and its condemnation of Japan’s efforts to dominate China by means of the Twenty-Demands of 1915.

Reed sees the Missionary Mind as the repository of midwestern Protestant hopes to transfer Christian values and agrarian democracy to rural China, America’s “youngest sister republic.” The author contends that the mechanism by which China was to be “protected” for the transfer of “American innocence” was the Open Door policy. The perpetuation of this policy was, according to Reed, an extension of the Missionary Mind’s influence on America’s foreign-policy establishment.

The American business community recognized that Japan was far more economically important to the United States than China. Yet the missionaries—who were suspicious of a rapidly urbanizing Japan and protective of rural China—were the ones to influence American foreign policy. Reed finds that the fifty to one hundred Americans involved in East Asia policymaking had little else by which to be influenced than the 30,000 annual missionary pronouncements on East Asia. Swayed by the “righteousness” of the Missionary Mind, the foreign-policy establishment from Woodrow Wilson on stood by China and initiated a policy of “nonrecognition” toward Japan.

Ultimately, this missionary-influenced foreign policy determined America’s relations with Japan until 1941 and caused the United States to support the Republic of China from 1911 to 1972, to isolate the People’s Republic of China from 1949 to 1972, and to fight three tragic wars in Asia.

This is a provocative book and must be taken seriously. The “righteousness” of the Missionary Mind it describes still influences America’s foreign relations. Yet the content of the Missionary Mind needs further analysis than the author has given it. Reed has generalized about it from the writings of missionary leaders and bureaucrats. Some of these people spent little time in the field. But how about the rank-and-file missionaries? At the time Reed’s book appeared, the Midwest China Center published the narrative histories of 110 midwesterners, primar-

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The Gospel of Gentility is a broadly conceived work written with grace and style. Concrete examples, apt quotations, and some wonderfully graphic photographs enrich the narrative while adding interest. Though basically a study of some forty American women missionaries who served in China at the turn of the century, the book is also a contribution to women's history, for Jane Hunter is acquainted with the literature of the field and can place her study within the context of current scholarship.

By 1890, 60 percent of the American Protestant missionaries in China were women, while by 1919 married women, single women, and men each comprised about one-third of the force. A high percentage of the women came from midwestern small towns and from pious families of modest means and station. Even more revealing is Hunter's finding that a significant proportion of the volunteers were eldest daughters or members of families with all girls. Perhaps as a consequence, they developed a certain independence and yearned for a sense of achievement. The evangelical Protestantism that they espoused, however, dictated that they express their desire for self-liberation in the language of self-sacrifice.

Soon after arriving in China, most of the newly married missionary wives acquired family responsibilities, an eventuality which many seem not to have anticipated, according to Hunter.

...Their careers in China, at least during the child-bearing years, were marked by conflicting demands of home and mission, with the former being given priority in nearly every instance. Why? asks Hunter. Because the women were not ideological feminists and, furthermore, they were trying to rear their children in little islands of American culture surrounded by an alien society. Nor were most of the single women proponents of women's liberation. In their evangelism they relied on the feminine virtues: the personal, emotional approach, nurturing, self-sacrifice. Simultaneously, though, they assumed roles and responsibilities far beyond those accessible to them in the West: founding and administering schools and hospitals, traveling through the countryside accompanied only by male servants, etc. Among the Chinese they became known as "shelterers" and the secular message of their lives had greater impact on their Chinese women students than their feminine proselytism.

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April 1985
phies are tricky sources to handle, especially when written for public consumption by home congregations, as was often the case here. Hunter's generalizations about her women missionaries are on the whole convincing. She has a large enough sample and she achieves a judicious balance between specific detail and interpretation. In the short section on Chinese converts, however, Hunter succumbs to the temptation to overinterpret her sources. She acknowledges that the poor left few records, though they made up the majority of the converts, and that her documentation for Christian converts comes from highly talented and unrepresentative women. After a cautionary note, however, she generalizes about Chinese women converts as a whole and some of her interpretations are open to question. Since she concentrates on American women missionaries, this overinterpretation in relation to the Chinese Christians does not detract from the book's very real accomplishments. It is a delight to welcome such a readable and intellectually provocative monograph on the Western origins and outlook of these "she-tigers," on their lives in China, and on their relationships with Chinese.

-Jessie G. Lutz

Chinese Theology in Construction.


This book is a serious attempt at presenting "a theological case study of the Chinese Church in the era of Anti-Christian movement of the 1920's" (p. vii, Preface). A vast amount of historical data is provided to help in the recreation of the intellectual ferment of the time. As a result, the ideological presuppositions of the participants in that debate, both the challengers and the defenders of the Christian faith, are brought more or less to the front. This, in the opinion of this reviewer, is the most useful contribution of the book. The awareness that there are hidden ideological components in theologizing, or in the construction of theology, is a necessary tool of assessment, certainly and absolutely for the period in this study, but no less for now or any other time.

Having said this, I must confess puzzlement as to the author's use of the term "ideology." There is a tendency here to equate "Western ideology" with "Westernization." This could be a legitimate use had it not been for the centrality of the issue for this particular study, which should require a much more refined and sophisticated treatment. Before 1920, as the author points out, Christianity was attacked in China for not being Confucian enough. After that, it was attacked, suggests Lam, on the ground that it was not Western enough. Now what exactly does that mean? Lam is painstaking in documenting the responses of different theologians, but uses expressions such as "Western ideology," "Westernization," "modernization" almost interchangeably. Probably such was the reality in the thinking of that period in Chinese history—and, incidentally, probably even now in the 1980s. This suggests the urgent need for further theological research on China. We are grateful for Wing-hung Lam's contribution.

-Raymond Fung

Raymond Fung, Secretary for Evangelism in the World Council of Churches, worked in urban evangelism in Hong Kong. He is the author of Households of God on China's Soil.
Poor, Yet Making Many Rich: The Poor as Agents of Creative Justice.


Richard Dickinson, dean of the Christian Theological Seminary in Indianapolis, Indiana, here draws on his years of experience in the WCC's Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development to compose this informative narrative of the various dimensions of this controversial area, focusing especially on the period since the Nairobi Assembly. As the WCC now enters upon a new phase under new leadership, while dealing with a good deal of shrill criticism of its programs and positions on questions of economic justice, this book will help readers to know where the discussion has come from and what issues need to be confronted now.

Part One covers both the secular and the theological context of the WCC's development-liberation work, touching on such ideas as the growing disenchantment with "development" and the fresh ideas of the New International Economic Order. The author skillfully traces the theological debate back to the 1925 Stockholm and 1937 Oxford conferences and to the pioneering work of J. H. Oldham through the formation by the WCC and the Roman Catholic Church of SODEPAX (The Society for Development and Peace) in 1970 and to the present. He ably discusses such ecumenical ideas as "contextual ethics," the role of Jesus Christ in the continuing creation and transformation of history, the central role of the poor, and the churches as "signs" of solidarity and new community.

Part Two evaluates five modes of church solidarity with the poor, each as response to the question posed most clearly by the WCC member churches at the Nairobi Assembly: "The church's concern for development has arisen primarily from the concern for the poor. But how does the church express its solidarity with the poor and fight along with them for liberation and justice?" (p. vii). As Dickinson shows, this query has been answered in many ways, from relief and "project assistance," on the one side, to accompanying the poor in concrete struggles—some of them requiring an element of counterviolence—on the other. He shows how the idea of a "just, participatory and sustainable society" became a focus when the previous theory of a "responsible society" declined. He also notes that a Church and Society consultation meeting in Geneva in 1982 around the theme of "The Churches and People's Participation" insisted that "People's movements do not aim to develop participation within existing oppressive structures. The aim is rather for people's movements which lead oppressed groups to power so that they can control their lives and their economy, creating just and participatory structures." (p. 131). This statement may have inspired the book's subtitle, which envisions the poor as agents.

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rather than merely recipients or beneficiaries of creative justice.

The author knows that the discussion must continue and mentions some crucial theological issues still to be dealt with. What, for example, are the differences between authentically biblical notions of justice and the ones we have inherited from classical Greek and other philosophical sources? Is the proper relationship of human to non-human nature that of partner, dominator, cultivator—or something else? What are the biblical roots of the notion of “participation”? Finally, of course, the perennial issue: What is the relationship between the coming kingdom of God and the strivings of the poor on earth?

The book ends with some personal reflections by Dickinson on the future of the WCC and with two ten-page comments, one by Annie Jiajje of Ghana and one by T. B. Simatupang of Indonesia.

For this reader, the whole exciting story poses the vexed question of power. What do the "politics of Jesus" and the "messianic paradigm" say to the struggle for, and the use of, power in our messy world? What does the gospel say about poverty, both to us the privileged and to the captives of injustice who are now hearing it in such numbers?

—Harvey Cox

Barriers to Ecumenism: The Holy See and the World Council of Churches on Social Questions.

The Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches have been in close collaboration for nearly twenty years. In fact it was contacts with the World Council that initiated the process of having observers at Vatican Council II. A useful and realistic contribution to the ongoing dialogue between Catholicism, Protestantism, and Orthodoxy, this volume by Thomas Sieger Derr, professor of religion at Smith College, grew out of a paper he was asked to present to the 1979 meeting of the Joint Working Group of the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches.

In the first flush of Vatican II enthusiasm, it was felt that cooperation with other believers on social questions would be the most effective, enduring
first step in church reconciliation. After ten years of Vatican/World Council collaboration in a joint Society for Development and Peace (SODEPAX), this particular venture has been terminated. Those difficulties in mission that gave rise to the demise of this enterprise are chronicled in this study, which will enrich all scholars' understanding of the deep differences in our churches. It is also of consequence to note that there are personality issues and issues of history that do not come to the surface as readily as do differences of structure and style. Pragmatic collaboration in mission is doomed to failure if it is not accompanied by the quest for reconciliation in faith and understanding of what the common mission entails.

The ebb and flow of institutional relations is no gauge of the common call to which the evangelical Christian, committed to catholic fullness, is drawn. Therefore the failures of certain segments of ecumenical life will only stimulate more serious and in-depth commitments to that goal, which churches seek together in mission.

—Jeffrey Gros, F.S.C.

Theology of a Classless Society.


This book is a praiseworthy attempt to sketch out an approach to a social ethics based on some fundamental insights of Orthodox theology. Its importance and its strength is precisely in the assumption that such a task is possible, desirable, and necessary. Geevarghese Mar Osthathios is a metropolitan of the Orthodox Syrian Church in Kerala, South India. His chief theological grounding is in the Eastern Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Though his effort is subject to numerous shortcomings, which need not be described here, the importance of this book is that it is an exposition of the author's conviction that an Orthodox theological perspective can provide a genuine theology for social ethics. Some will question both his method and his style, but a voice such as his must be heard among Eastern Christians at this time.

The book is searching for an adequate expression of a Christian approach to the crying questions of justice and human dignity in our time. Mar Osthathios's greatest contribution is that he makes the effort to place the question and to respond to it with the confidence that the main lines of response can be found in the Eastern Christian tradition. The book provides a vision of a social state that seeks to reflect a trinitarian theology in the human condition and that uses the analogy of the family to mark out its major parameters. It should be read more as a statement of conviction than as a systematic treatise. More than that, one hopes that it will provoke further efforts to delineate a fully adequate Orthodox social ethic.

—Stanley S. Harakas
The Genesis and Formation of the World Council of Churches.

Paperback $6.95.

No one, of course, could have written about the beginning of the World Council of Churches (WCC) with so much personal authenticity as its first general secretary. It is not as though the story has not already been told by others. The biographies and memoirs of several key men in the history are already available: those of Nathan Söderblom, John R. Mott, Samuel M. Cavert, William Temple, Marc Boegner, and Visser’t Hooft himself. There are also the concise chapters in A History of the Ecumenical Movement, edited by Ruth Rouse and Stephen C. Neill, as well as several popularized versions. Any number of people can now recite the sequence of conferences of Faith and Order, Life and Work, and the International Missionary Council to show how the three streams became one: the first two in 1948 and the third in 1961. So why do we need another book?

First, because “Wim” had more matters he wanted to relate from his memory of the 1920s and 1930s. For example, he gives more prominence than do others to the initiative of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1920 and the seemingly ubiquitous work of Archbishop Germanos Strenopoulos. Also, he has always been eager to discuss the “eclesiological significance” of the WCC in historical and theological detail. His recollections of the famous debate within the Central Committee at Toronto, 1950, reveal how that “crisis unto life,” as he calls it, made it possible for churches with rigorous and even exclusive self-definitions to remain in the council without compromising their doctrine. However, in agreement with Bishop J. E. L. Newbigin, Visser’t Hooft has been ever disposed to push the question further, asking in what sense the WCC is a manifestation of the church universal and more than a practical instrument of cooperation. How does membership affect a church’s changing self-image, if indeed it can change? This remains a most important question for the Roman Catholic Church.

One bit of intelligence new to this reviewer is the author’s explanation of why the bishop of Gloucester, A. C. Headlam, was so adamantly opposed to bringing the Faith and Order movement, with which he was involved, into the WCC. It was because Headlam felt a strong sympathy for National Socialism in Germany and was very displeased by the Life and Work leaders’ rejection of the Reichskirche, against which both Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the bishop of Chichester, G. K. A. Bell, contended.

The second justification for this book is the present need of the new generation of World Council participants. A handy account of the WCC’s origins tells them clearly why there is a World Council of Churches and what its experience has been. They can read, for example, that the Amsterdam Assembly, 1948, had a nominating committee that was charged to include appropriate numbers of laity and especially women. But the committee had to announce with regret that the
churches had not sent enough delegates of those categories—just as in 1983. Nevertheless, problems have not all remained the same during thirty-five years. The new issues with which the WCC has to be concerned are indicators of its vitality and widening importance.

The book includes interesting early photographs of people made famous by their pioneer roles; also, five decisive documents are appended.

—J. Robert Nelson


This comprehensive book, spanning 350 years, is much needed. Among its useful elements are brief analysis of Okinawan religious beliefs; quite even-handed account of work of various churches; story of the first Christian martyr in the Ryūkyū Islands; focus on the contributions of Okinawan clergy and laypersons; growth of rural churches as compared to those on the main islands of Japan; effect of political, socioeconomic factors on the church and influence of the church on society; sections on issues of land appropriation for United States military bases and reversion to Japan.

The book might have been strengthened by mentioning points of commonality along with differences in Okinawan and Christian beliefs; including in the good analysis of the dynamics of church growth more emphasis on the quality of church life/witness; mentioning the significant postwar work of the Rev. Miyara Yōzen (United Church) and many other Christians in the Yaeyama Islands; recognizing other factors in the creed problem of the United Church (pp. 183-85: for example, omission of cooperating missionaries from the creed committee, Swedenborgianism as limiting rather than only "diversionary," the attempt by some denominations to capitalize on a United Church problem); recognizing that Methodist missionaries did not act as described in paragraph 3, pp. 181f.

There are several typographical/factual errors. Names of many other contemporary missionaries should at least be listed (among them, Filomena Natividad Quisol, first Methodist missionary to Okinawa from the Philippines; Rev. and Mrs. William T. Randall [American Baptist]). Neither the author’s statement that in 1964 there was "not a single missionary scholar on this island" (p. ix) nor Russell E. Brown’s description of this volume as the “first account ever published to chronicle the development of Christianity in the Ryūkyū Islands” (p. vii) is accurate.

Nevertheless, this excellent book should be read for filling in a little-known area of the church’s mission effort.

—C. Harold Rickard


Martin Goldsmith, a former missionary to North Sumatra and South Thailand and present lecturer on missionology at All Nations Christian College in Ware, England, has prepared an introduction for Christians aware of their obligations to their Muslim neighbors but lacking knowledge of Islam. In light of the increased and unavoidable contact between Christians and Muslims in the modern world, such knowledge is a prerequisite to effective witness. After sketching the basics of Muslim history, beliefs, and practices, the author explains how the sense of superiority is nurtured by Islam’s stern monotheism,
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Lyle Vander Werff is Professor of Biblical Studies and Mission at Northwestern College of Iowa and former missionary with the Arabian Mission (Kuwait) of the Reformed Church in America. He is the author of Christian Mission to Muslims.
Melanesians and Missionaries: An Ethnohistorical Study of Social and Religious Change in the Southwest Pacific.


In recent years the study of missions in the Pacific has been enriched by an extensive, anthropologically oriented study of Christianity in the Solomon Islands by Alan Tippett (Solomon Island Christianity: A Study in Growth and Obstruction, 1966) and by a critical, historically oriented study of the Melanesian Mission by David Hilliard (God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942, 1978). The present work by Darrell Whiteman is, in many respects, a fusing of the interests of these earlier works. It is a historical study of the Melanesian Mission, concentrating on the ways in which that mission related to traditional culture, and it is an anthropological study of the contemporary life of the Anglican church, which arose from the work of that mission. The author was a research anthropologist at the Melanesian Institute for Pastoral and Socio-Economic Service in Papua New Guinea, and is now on the faculty of Asbury Theological Seminary in Kentucky. His work is thoroughly original. Though he has made use of the earlier studies, he himself has dug through the full corpus of relevant archives and has spent a year as a participant in the life of the church on the island of Santa Isabel, the chief stronghold of Anglicanism in the Solomons.

The main theme of the book is that, though the foreign missionaries came as advocates of change, it was the islanders themselves who were the agents of change. They decided what they would accept from the missionaries and how they would alter their old religious life. The missionaries receive high marks from the author for their initial desire to encourage a truly indigenous Christianity, though from the 1890s through the 1930s they slipped into a more paternalistic, Europeanizing mode of operation. The failure of those later years is seen as the cause for much indifference in the church and a nominal kind of Christianity at the present time. Christian life is too often something that goes on in the church building and is unrelated to the rest of life. Though these weaknesses surely exist, their relation to earlier missionary policies may need to be questioned more closely. The 1920s and 1930s were periods when Santa Isabel could boast native Anglican priests of great spiritu-
words are often interwoven with the magical, religious activities that go on outside the church, suggesting that an indigenous form of Christianity may be more widely relevant than the direct activities of the church would suggest. This is but one of the many important discussions that are opened up by this book. Many missionaries and students of missions will be fascinated by the openings provided here.

—Charles W. Forman

Human rights became an issue of interest and concern for many people in the United States during the last two decades as a result of the domestic civil-rights movement of the 1960s and increased attention given to international human-rights problems by non-governmental organizations, the Congress, and the Administration during the 1970s. Unfortunately, there has not been a concomitant development of materials to assist in informing and educating this new constituency.


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William L. Wipfler is Director of the Human Rights Office of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. He is an Episcopal priest who served as a missionary in the Dominican Republic from 1955 to 1963 and in Costa Rica from 1964 to 1986, and as director of the NCC Latin America Department from 1967 to 1977.
The Middle East has proved to be a most perplexing locus for Christian mission, particularly for those who gauge the success of mission by the number of converts garnered. George C. Jennings, who describes himself as a "professional anthropologist who identifies with evangelical Christianity," attempts to explain on the basis of his experience as a missionary why the Middle Eastern Muslims have been so impervious to efforts to convert them, and also offers some strategies for mission in the future. In the course of his essay he also raises some other issues: prophecy (apocalyptic) and mission, Westernization, and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Jennings makes some good points—not original, but worth repetition—about the pitfalls of ethnocentric mission, about the negative effects of Westernization, about theological and missiological shortcomings of some of the more extreme interpretations of the establishment of the state of Israel as fulfillment of prophecy. On the latter point, he suggests that some of these interpretations imply a hatred toward Arabs that makes mission among them impossible.

I wish this were a better book. It is rambling, and at times the author's convoluted sentences defy comprehension. Although there is a short page of "errata," it barely scratches the surface of some fairly egregious misspellings and inaccuracies. In addition the book is rife with grammatical errors, which, in combination with a penchant toward anthropological jargon, cause one to read, reread, and then give up.

Finally, I must confess an impatience with attempts to "characterize" Middle Easterners. I have found them to be as diverse and unpredictable as Americans, and thus find generalizations about them, no matter how elaborately attired in "modal personalities", unhelpful. The author, to his credit, recognizes the problem, but he plunges ahead anyway.

—Dale Bishop

Eerdmans' Handbook to Christianity in America.


A Documentary History of Religion in America since 1865.


The two books under review provide continuing evidence of the activity by Eerdmans Publishing Co. in publishing original works of church history. They join the Handbook to the History of Christianity and the first volume of Gaustad's work in what is becoming a shelf of most useful books for the teaching of the Christian tradition.

The Eerdmans' Handbook to Christianity in America is a work of joint authorship. Happily it does not suffer from what Gaustad, in the other book under review, calls "the cool and generally clumsy prose of the committee" (p. xvi). The Handbook is written in a clear and rapidly moving style, which encourages the reader to press on. The committee members are generally associated with institutions of conservative reputation. One begins to read fearing to find a conservative bias; but with very minor exception, this is not the case. Moreover, the narrative written by the committee is repeatedly illustrated by short essays by outstanding scholars from many theological-historical backgrounds. Thus there are short essays by Edwin Gaustad on
Anne Hutchinson and on Roger Williams, by Richard Love on the Salem witch trials and on Cotton Mather, by F. Ernest Stoeffler on Pietism, by William R. Hutchison on Protestant modernism, and by Sidney Ahlstrom on civil religion.

The book is lavishly illustrated by portraits and other pictures, by maps, and by elaborate time-lines and pie diagrams. One may wish that the painters of the portraits had been identified, and one may think that the best timelines are those that students create for themselves; but this does not gainsay the fact that this is a beautifully produced volume, well suited for the college-text market.

Like other books in the Handbook series, the volume provides biographical details on figures mentioned in the narrative by interspersing short essays on colored paper in the longer text. Extracts from original sources, Chauncey and Edwards on the Great Awakening, for example, are similarly handled. The approach is illuminating and usually helpful. When, however, as in one chapter, there are 17 1/2 pages of interspersed material in a chapter whose basic text runs only 4 1/2 pages, the result is a confusing potpourri.

Gaustad's work is the second volume in a two-volume collection of primary materials. The passages selected were usually "written, spoken or hurled by persons planted firmly within the stream [of America's religious history]" (p. xv). Partisan voices have been chosen because they have more "flavor"; and editorial comment seeks to maintain the balance.

While the selection is good and useful, reservations do arise. Is it really possible, as the preface suggests, to enable "the reader to be his or her own historian . . . construct a narrative, offer an analysis [and] arrive at an individually tailored synthesis" (p. xv)? The extracts in question never run more than four pages and often are less than one page in length. However, the volume is very useful. Indeed it is by far the best thing of its kind available for use in college or seminary classrooms. But this reviewer felt the stated goal to be a bit grandiose.

—Earl Kent Brown


The "neoconservative offensive," to which the book title refers, has been launched by the Institute for Religion and Democracy (IRD), a think tank based in Washington, that provides religious veneer for the policies, both domestic and foreign, of the Reagan administration. The author has engaged in an extensive analysis of ideological factors that characterize the IRD. The discussion is often theoretical and technical, established out of a Marxist analytic base, but readers who take the trouble to acquire the author's specialized vocabulary will find their own analyses illumined. One significant part of the discussion, for example, shows how groups like the IRD seek to link their domestic antagonists to the external adversaries that they feel threaten North American security. Thus those in the United States who criticize the IRD and support social policies in Cuba or Nicaragua are painted by the IRD as subverters of the American way of life.

In addition, however, to a theoretical framework, there is much solid information about the IRD, its leaders, its
sources of income, its connections to the United States Information Agency (USIA), and so forth. The information is amplified by a series of appendices, reproducing the texts of four specific IRD documents, and by contributions from Cornel West, Michal McIntyre, and James Armstrong, the latter being a passionate sermon delivered at Riverside Church, New York City, in response to the notorious CBS "60 Minutes" broadside against mainline churches, in which IRD members figured prominently.

The book has extensive documentation and bibliographical data. While its academic style precludes "popular" use, its contents provide major help to those, like this reviewer, who feel a need to combat the IRD on behalf of the ultimate victims of IRD ideology—the poor and oppressed of Latin America and the entire Third World.

—Robert McAfee Brown

The Idols of Death and the God of Life: A Theology.


The Departamento Ecuménico de Investigaciones (DEI) of San José, Costa Rica, first produced these essays by ten well-known Latin American activists. No one softened their impact for North Americans. Still, the tone of the introduction is more strident than any essay. The English translation is fluid, but occasionally lapses into obscurantism ("impactive," "strainful," "prescind from"). The essays provide a unified example of liberation-theology themes, methodology and hermeneutics.

Pablo Richard’s lead essay is the book’s programmatic statement. Though human products, idols have real power and are not to be denied importance. All idolatry offends the Liberator God’s transcendence.

Severino Croatto articulates the world-view of cultures from biblical times. Those societies’ powerful people used idols and myths to legitimate oppression. The God of the Bible opposed such manipulation at every point.

George Pixley describes the historical battle against idols. On Jesus’ resurrection: “The central point of the New Testament profession of faith is that this poor man... has been declared the just one by God, and through his resurrection he has been appointed the judge of the very ones who condemned him” (p. 54). The book is worth that sentence alone.

Jon Sobrino sounds the book’s keynote: “... the creation of divinity by humans... leads historically... to death” (p. 67). Victorio Araya restates in topical form Pablo Richard’s themes. Reflections by Javier Jiménez, Frei Betto, and Hugo Assmann cite oppressed people’s suffering and revolutionary hopes.

In his incisive, though disjointed, piece, Joan Cazañas calls the bluff of so-called inductive theology, which camouflages its traditional presupposi-

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James C. Dekker, a missionary of the Christian Reformed Board for World Missions, worked in Costa Rica and Guatemala (1978-82) and is preparing for a new assignment in Venezuela.
tions by forcing the faith of activists into old molds. Such attempts are themselves idolatrous. Franz Hinkelammert's "Entrepreneurial Metaphysics" stands out. He sardonically analyzes capitalism's lan-
guage. His point: money is the god of entrepreneurs, they will do anything to establish its false deity, including sacrific- ing human rights on its altar.

—James C. Dekker


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