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REPORT

OF A

VISITATION OF

# THE CHINA MISSIONS

BY

THE REV. ARTHUR J. BROWN, D. D.,

*Secretary*

MAY 22-SEPTEMBER 19, 1901

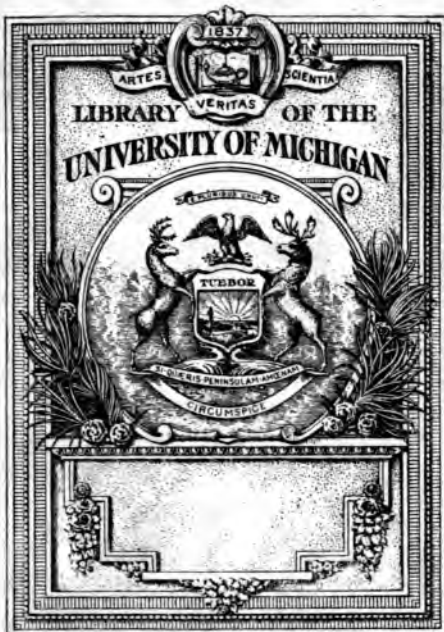
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1902



THE GIFT OF  
*Dr. James B. Angell*

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**R E P O R T**  
ON A  
**Visitation of the Missions in China**  
OF THE  
*Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian  
Church in the U. S. A.*

BY  
**THE REV. ARTHUR J. BROWN, D. D., *Secretary.***

While I visited Central and Southern China, particularly in and about the large stations of Canton and Shanghai, I gave the greater part of my four months in China to the three missions in the north, where the anti-foreign uprising of last year wrought such havoc to our work and where such stupendous problems of reconstruction now confront us.

Many will sympathize with the emotions which stirred my heart as I entered the Peking Mission, hallowed to us by the sufferings and death of so many of our Chinese fellow Christians and of all our beloved missionaries who laid down their lives for Christ during the awful summer of 1900. When I think of all that the survivors endured I wonder that their health was not irretrievably shattered. Several, indeed, had been forced to leave before I arrived, invalided home by order of the mission. But others were heroically and self-sacrificingly at their posts, and almost daily and sometimes nightly, too, during the two weeks of my visit there, we studied and prayed together concerning the grave questions which have been forced upon us.

Naturally, we took an early opportunity to visit not only the places made memorable by the great siege, but the sites of our former mission work. I say former, for the desolation is complete. The very fact that the railroad train on which we traveled to Peking rushed noisily through a ragged chasm in the wall of the Chinese city, and stopped at the entrance of the Temple of Heaven, within whose sacred enclosure we saw lounging British Sikhs, was suggestive of the consequences of war, and now we rode past innumerable wrecked houses, crumbling towers and shell-pierced walls, and through motley throngs of Manchus, Chinese, German,

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French, Italian, British and Japanese soldiers to Duck Lane, which, though narrow, is not so unimportant a street as its name implies. But where devoted missionaries had so long lived and toiled are now only shapeless heaps of broken bricks and a few tottering fragments of walls. Sadly we journeyed to the Second street compound to find even greater ruin, if that were possible. Silently we stood beside the great hole which had once been the hospital cistern and from which the Japanese soldiers, after the siege, had taken the bodies of a hundred murdered Chinese, whose putrefaction was a menace to the health of the neighborhood. Not all had been Christians, for in that carnival of blood many who were merely suspected of being friendly to foreigners were killed, while foes took advantage of the tumult to pay off old scores of hate. The bricks that can be saved would not pay for the clearing away of the debris. The loss is total.

It was worth traveling far to meet the surviving Christians. The sadness of the occasion was lessened by the unexpectedly large number. The first reports which came to New York were that 80 per cent of our native Christians and three-fourths of the boys and girls in the boarding schools had been killed or had died under the awful hardships of that fatal summer. But as the months passed, first one and then another and another were found. Husbands searched for wives, parents for children, brothers for sisters, until now no less than 250 of the adult baptized Christians (including fifty at Paotingfu), besides many baptized children and other adherents and inquirers, are known to be living.

About 200 of these surviving Christians and their families are living together in native buildings adjoining the residence which the missionaries occupy. But while it was a joy to meet them we could not forget that they had a history of agony and bereavement. For, including those who fell at Paotingfu, 191 of their fellow Christians had received the crown of martyrdom, so that almost every survivor had lost father or mother, brother or sister or friend. The Chinese are supposed to be a phlegmatic people and not given to emotion. But never have I met a congregation more swiftly responsive than this one in Peking. I bore to them loving messages from the Board, from the Women's Boards, from the Chinese Christians of San Francisco and from the Christians of Korea. My own words were not of commiseration, but along the line of Peter's encouragement of the persecuted "elect sojourners" who had been "kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation;" and these modern saints, like those of old, find the trial of their faith "precious" and even amid their tears rejoice in Him "whom, having not seen, they love."

Clouds lowered over us as we left Peking at ten minutes to 8 o'clock, Saturday morning, July 6th, on the Peking & Hankow Railway for Paotingfu, that city of sacred and painful interest to every American Christian. Soon rain began to fall and it steadily continued while we rode over the vast level plain, through unending fields of kao-liang, interspersed with plots of beans, peanuts, melons and cucumbers, and mud and brick walled villages whose squalid wretchedness was hidden by the abundant foliage of the trees, which are the only beauty of Chinese cities. At almost every railway station roofless buildings, crumbling walls and broken water tanks bore eloquent witness to the rage of the Boxers. At Liang Hsiang Hsien the first foreign property was destroyed, and all along the line outrages were perpetrated on the in-offensive native Christians. Nowhere else in China was the hatred of the foreigner more violent, for here hereditary pride and bigoted conservatism, unusually intense even for China, were reinforced by Boxer chiefs from the neighboring province of Shantung, and were particularly irritated by the aggressiveness of Roman Catholic priests and by the construction of the railroad. It is a part of the trunk line which is to run southward from Peking to the great city of Hankow on the Yang-ste River. It is being built by a Belgian syndicate, and trains are running the 110 miles to Paotingfu. But the schedule is slow and the stops long, so that it was not till three o'clock that we sighted the strong wall of Paotingfu. A minute later, as we silently stood at the car windows, we passed the ruins of our mission compound, and soon we arrived at the large, well-built brick station, from which we bumped and splashed in a Chinese cart through narrow, muddy street to the spacious residence of a wealthy Chinese family who had deemed a hasty departure expedient when the French and British forces entered the city, and whose house had been assigned by the magistrate as temporary quarters for Mr. Lowrie.

As some additional facts have come to light since the preparation of Mr. Lowrie's leaflet on the "Tragedy of Paotingfu," it appears desirable to restate the narrative, so that it may be brought down to date. As all the Presbyterian martyrs in China fell at Paotingfu, every scrap of information should be preserved with sacred care. It is impossible to ascertain all the details. None of the foreigners live to tell the painful story. No other foreigners reached Paotingfu until the arrival of the military expedition in October, three and a half months later. The Chinese who had participated in the massacre were then in hiding. Spectators were afraid to talk lest they, too, might be held guilty. Most of the Chinese Christians who had been with

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into the outrages that had been committed, which, of course, included those upon Roman Catholics as well as upon Protestants. Mr. Lowrie, as the only man who could speak Chinese, and the only one, too, who personally knew the Chinese, at once came into prominence. To the people he appeared to have the power of life and death. All examinations had to be conducted through him. All accusations and evidence had to be sifted by him. The guilty tried to shift the blame upon the innocent, and enemies sought to pay off old scores of hatred upon their foes by charging them with complicity in the massacres. It would have accorded with Chinese custom if Mr. Lowrie had availed himself to the utmost of his extraordinary opportunity to punish the antagonists of the missionaries, especially as his dear friends had been remorselessly murdered, and all of his own personal property destroyed. It was not in human nature to be lenient in such circumstances, and the Chinese fully expected awful vengeance.

Profound was their amazement when they saw the man whom they had so grievously wronged acting not only with moderation and strict justice, but in a kind and forgiving spirit. Every scrap of testimony was carefully analyzed in order that no innocent man might suffer. Instead of securing the execution of hundreds of smaller officials and common people, Mr. Lowrie counseled the Generals to try Ting Jung, who at the time of the massacre was Provincial Judge, but who had since been promoted to the post of Provincial Treasurer and acting Viceroy; Kwei Heng, the commander of the Manchu garrison, and Weng Chan Kwei, the colonel in command of the Chinese Imperial forces, who had seized the escaping Bagnall party and sent them back to their doom. The evidence plainly showed that these high officials were the direct and responsible instigators of the uprising, that they had ordered every movement, and that the crowd of smaller officials, Boxers and common people had simply obeyed their orders. They were found guilty and condemned to death.

Was ever retributive justice more signally illustrated than in the place in which they were imprisoned pending Count von Walderssee's approval of the sentence? The military authorities selected the place, not with reference to its former uses, of which, indeed, they were ignorant, but simply because it was convenient, empty and clean. But it was our street chapel and dispensary, the very dispensary in which the martyred Dr. Taylor had so often healed the sick in the name of Christ. Mr. Lowrie says that he looked through the window of the chapel, where curious gazers had been wont to gape at him during a Sunday morning service, and that he heard the

pitiful moans of the once powerful Acting Viceroy, a handsome man of forty-five, now a condemned felon in the room where the Christ he hated had been preached. In an adjoining room, where Mrs. A. P. Lowrie had taught classes of Chinese women, lay the proud Taotai, of Tientsin, who was also adjudged worthy of death for his crimes in that city, and who was afterward sent back to the scenes of his iniquities and beheaded there. The remaining rooms about the little court, which we had rented for our work, held the other distinguished criminals.

Not long afterwards, the three officials were led out of the city to a wide, level, open space, just east of a little clump of trees not far from the south-west corner of the city wall, and as near as practicable to the ruins of the mission buildings and the place where the missionaries had been beheaded, and there, in the presence of all the foreign soldiers, they were themselves beheaded.

Nor was this all, for Chinese officials are never natives of the cities they govern, but are sent to them from other provinces. Moreover, they usually remain in one place only a few years. The people fear and obey them as long as they are officials, but often care little what becomes of them afterward. They had not befriended them during their trial, and they did not attend their execution. The Generals, therefore, felt that some punishment must be inflicted upon the city. Chinese cities are proud of the stately and ponderous towers which ornament the gates and corners of the massive city wall, and, as they imagine, protect them from foes, human and demoniac. All of these, but two comparatively small ones, were blown up by order of the foreign generals. The temples which the Boxers had used for their meetings, including the one in which the American Board and China Inland Missionaries had been imprisoned, were also destroyed, while the splendid official temple of the city, dedicated to its patron deity, was utterly wrecked by dynamite.

Not till March 23d could memorial services be held. Then a party of missionaries and friends came down from Peking. The remaining Christians assembled. The new city officials erected a temporary pavilion on the site of our compound, writing over the entrance arch: "They held the truth unto death." Within, potted flowers and decorated banners adorned the tables and walls. It was solemnly impressive; Mr. Lowrie, Dr. Wherry and Mr. Killie and others making appropriate addresses to an audience in which there were, besides themselves, fifteen missionaries, representing four denominations, German and French army officers, Chinese officials and Chinese Christians. A German military band furnished sweet music, and two Roman Catholic priests of

the city sent flowers and kind letters. The following day, a similar service was held on the site of the American Board compound.

We sadly visited all these places. It was about the hour of the attack that we approached our own compound. Of the once pleasant homes and mission buildings not even ruins are left. A few hundred yards away, I should not have been able to distinguish the site from the rest of the open fields if my companions had not pointed out marks mournfully intelligible to them, but hardly recognizable to a stranger. The very foundations have been dug up by Chinese hunting for silver, and every scrap of material has been carried away. Even the trees and bushes have been removed by the roots and used for firewood. In front of the Simcox house are a few unmarked mounds. All but one contain the fragments of the bodies of the Chinese helpers and Christians, and that one, the largest, holds the few pieces of bones which were all that could be found in the ruins of the Simcox house. A few more may yet be found. We ourselves discovered five small pieces, which Dr. Lewis afterwards declared to be human bones. But their charred and broken condition showed how completely the merciful fire had done its work of keeping the sacred remains of our dear ones from the hands of those who would have shamefully misused them. The American Board and China Inland Mission compounds are also in ruins, a chaos of desolation. But as the martyred missionaries and native Christians were beheaded and not burned, their bodies have been recovered and interred in a long row of twenty-three graves.

Sunday I preached to the little company of Christians remaining. It was difficult to repress emotion as I faced the unexpectedly large number of fifty-eight men and twenty-two women, and realized all that they had endured for Christ's sake. Again a tenderness of feeling was manifest which will make it ever impossible to believe that all the Chinese are stolid. I wish that all our Christians at home could have seen that group of humble Chinese Christians in that open courtyard as they sang and prayed and communed with me. I should be glad if I could feel that I helped them half as much as they helped me. That service was a spiritual tonic to me. There is hope for China when, after all that has passed, such Christians are yet to be found.

I gave longer time to the two Shantung missions, partly because our work in that province is so extensive, and partly because, except for the unfinished line from Tsingtau, there are no railroads as in the Chihli province. I visited each of our seven stations in Shantung, besides most of the stations of other Boards, traveling by water along the coast, but for

five weeks in a rude mule litter called a shendza, far into the interior, going to our remotest stations and traversing the heart of the region where the Boxers originated. I preferred to travel quietly, without military escort; but neither the United States Consul nor the Governor of the Province would consent, insisting that the life of a foreigner was not yet safe and that they could not afford to risk the consequences of further trouble. So our little party of two or three was "guarded" all the way by from two to eleven Chinese soldiers.

All the missionaries in the Province, except in the ports of Chefoo and Tsingtau, were forced to leave their stations in June, 1900, and were unable to return till March 19th of this year, when several of the men re-entered the interior under guard. The great Wei Hsien station was in ruins, and several of the Chinanfu and Ichowfu buildings had been damaged and looted. Chiningchow, our most distant and, as we had always supposed, our most perilously located station, was not revisited until my arrival with Mr. Laughlin and Dr. Lyon, and we were surprised to find that the reports which had reached us were true—everything was untouched and just as it had been left by the missionaries more than a year before.

It was good to see every man of the two Missions at his post, living in more or less discomfort, particularly at Wei Hsien, under constant guard of Chinese soldiers, except during one or two bold visits to the Christians in the out-stations, but calm, self-reliant, hopeful for the future, and determined to stay, if possible, in order to shepherd the scattered and frightened Christians, and as far as possible to prepare for permanent return with their families in the fall. I had long and helpful conferences with them, inspecting, under their guidance, all the mission property, and meeting as many of the Chinese Christians as could be gathered at each place. In August, all the missionaries returned to the coast for the annual mission meeting at Tsingtau, which had been kindly called for that early date in order to take advantage of my presence. I remained throughout the session, greatly to my profit, and we planned together in delightful fellowship the work of the future.

In all the many cities I visited in China, I freely conferred not only with our own missionaries, but also with those of other Boards, European and American, Protestant and Roman Catholic, as well as with consuls, editors, business men and American, German, English and Chinese civil, naval and military officials. Everywhere I was cordially received, and, as I look at my voluminous note books, I am increasingly grateful to the men of all faiths and nationalities who so generously aided me in my search for information.

## CAUSES OF UPRISING.

As for the causes of the great uprising, a few main considerations stand out amid the chaos of conflicting rumors and opinions.

It is true, but misleading, to say that the Chinese have "no word or written character for patriotism, but 150 ways of writing the characters for good luck and long life." For while the Chinese may have little love for country, they have an intense devotion to their own customs. For nearly 5,000 years, while other empires have risen, flourished and passed away, they have lived apart, sufficient unto themselves, cherishing their own ideals, plodding along their well-worn paths, ignorant of, or indifferent to, the progress of the western world, continuing to mechanically memorize dead classics, despising foreigners as inferiors, and standing still amid the tremendous onrush of modern civilization. But, of course, it was impossible for so vast a nation, especially one representing a fourth part of the human race, to permanently segregate itself. The river of progress cannot be permanently stayed. It will gather force behind an obstacle until it is able to sweep it away. The present commotion is the breaking up of this fossilized conservatism. It is such a tumultuous upheaval as the crusades caused in breaking up the stagnation of mediæval Europe. As France opposed the new ideas, which in England were quietly accepted, only to have them surge over her in the frightful flood of the revolution, so China is undergoing, with the violence always inseparable from resistance, the transition which Japan welcomed with a more open mind.

Three forces were at work on this conservatism of the Chinese, and beyond question the combined influence of those forces was the real cause of the recent uprising.

## THE FIRST FORCE WAS FOREIGN COMMERCE.

The beginnings of China's foreign trade date back to the third century, though it was not until comparatively recent years that it grew to large proportions. Now the leading seaports of China have many great business houses controlled by Europeans and Americans. The most persistent effort is made to extend commerce with the Chinese. That the effort is successful is shown by the fact that the total imports and exports increased from 217,183,960 taels in 1888 to 366,329,983 taels in 1897, while it is probable that the following years show an even more rapid growth.

Our share was larger than one might suppose from the reports issued by the Bureau of Statistics in Washington, as no inconsiderable part of the trade goes to China by way of

England and Hongkong and is credited to the British total instead of to ours. It will, however, serve the purpose of illustration to note that from 1898 to 1900 our exports of flour to China increased from \$89,305 to \$218,645, with the market growing so rapidly that the wheat producers of the Pacific Coast are looking to China for their chief market. Within the same period our exports of oil increased from \$2,865,095 to \$3,500,000, and I found the cans of the Standard Oil Company in the remotest villages of Shantung. We sell more cotton to China than to all the rest of the world combined, our exports within the two years noted having grown from \$5,195,845 to \$9,844,565, and already we are so dependent upon the Chinese market that the cotton growers of the South are alarmed by the present interference with their trade. As for locomotives, we sent to China in the single year 1899 engines to the value of \$722,212. Our direct trade with China in that year aggregated \$33,000,000, which was an increase of 100 per cent. in ten years, and if we add \$10,000,000 as a fair estimate of our trade via Hongkong, we find that we are the third nation in trade relations with China, England and Japan being first and second respectively.

Of course, trade means traders, and the pioneers were, as a rule, pirates and adventurers, who cheated and abused the Chinese most flagrantly. Gorst says that "rapine, murder and a constant appeal to force chiefly characterized the commencement of Europe's commercial intercourse with China." In 1839, the Chinese officials destroyed 22,299 chests of English opium, from motives about as laudable as those which led our revolutionary sires to empty English tea into Boston harbor. England responded by making war, the result of which was to force the drug upon an unwilling people, so that the vice which is to-day doing more to ruin the Chinese than all other vices combined is directly tracable to the conduct of a Christian nation, though the England of to-day is presumably ashamed of this crime of the England of two generations ago.

Now, there are many men of high character engaged in business in the great cities of China. I would not speak any disparaging word of those who are worthy of all respect. But I am not reporting the utterances of missionaries, but giving the consensus of opinion expressed to me by reputable laymen who have traveled widely in the East, when I say in the words of another that "many Americans and Europeans doing business in Asia are living the life of the prodigal son who has not yet come to himself." Profane, intemperate, immoral, not living among the Chinese but segregating themselves in foreign communities in the treaty ports, not speaking the Chinese language, frequently beating and

cursing those who are in their employ, regarding the Chinese with hatred and contempt, it is no wonder that they are hated in return and that their conduct has done much to justify the Chinese distrust of the foreigner.

Most of the criticisms of missionaries which find their way into the daily papers emanate from these men. The missionaries do not gamble or drink whisky, nor will their wives and daughters attend or reciprocate entertainments at which wine, cards and dancing are the chief features. So, of course, the missionaries are "canting hypocrites," and are believed to be doing no good, because the foreigner who has never visited a Chinese Christian church, school or hospital in his life, does not see the evidences of missionary work in his immediate neighborhood. The editor of the Japan daily *Mail*, April 7, 1901, justly says: "We do not suggest that these newspapers which denounce the missionaries so vehemently desire to be unjust or have any suspicion that they are unjust. But we do assert that they have manifestly taken on the color of that section of every Far Eastern community whose units, for some strange reason, entertain an inveterate prejudice against the missionary and his works.

Were it possible for these persons to give an intelligent explanation of the dislike with which the missionary inspires them, their opinions would command more respect. But they have never succeeded in making any logical presentment of their case, and no choice offers except to regard them as the victims of an antipathy which has no basis in reason or reflection. That a man should be anti-Christian and should devote his pen to propagating his views is strictly within his right, and we must not be understood as suggesting that the smallest reproach attaches to such a person. But, on the other hand, it is within the right of the missionary to protest against being arraigned before judges habitually hostile to him, and it is within the right of the public to scrutinize the pronouncements of such judges with much suspicion."

Trade also means steamers, which are running to-day up the great rivers of China, and wherever they run, the Chinese junks are deprived of their patronage, bringing beggary to their owners, who cannot be expected to feel kindly toward such competition, however desirable the steamer may appear to be from the viewpoint of a more disinterested observer.

Trade also means the railroad. The first railroad in China was built in 1876. It ran from Shanghai to Wu Sung, only nine miles. Great was the excitement of the populace, and no sooner was it completed than the government bought it, tore up the road-bed and dumped the engines into the river. That ended railway building for twelve years, and then,



largely through the influence of Wu Ting Fang, now Chinese Minister to the United States, a little line was built from the Kaiping coal mines to Taku. Other concessions gradually and grudgingly followed, until, in 1899, there were not only 566 miles in operation, but 6,000 were projected, and the engineers were surveying rights of way through whole provinces.

Of course, railroads develop the resources of the country. We have had an illustration of this in our own land, where the transcontinental railroads resulted in the amazing development of our Western plains and of the Pacific Coast. The effect of such a development in China can hardly be overestimated. Think of the influence not only upon the Chinese but the whole world, when railroads not only carry the corn of Hunan to the famine sufferers in Shantung, but when they can bring the coal, iron and other products of Chinese soil and industry within reach of steamship lines running to Europe and America.

But it is more to our present purpose to remember that extension of these lines of communication greatly irritated the Chinese. Mob violence attended the introduction of labor-saving machinery in both England and the United States. We need not, therefore, be surprised that it has made trouble in China. Millions of coolies earn a living by carrying merchandise in baskets or wheeling it in barrows at five cents a day. A single railroad train does the work of a thousand coolies, and thus deprives them of their means of support. Myriads of farmers grew the beans and peanuts out of which illuminating oil was made. But since American kerosene was introduced in 1864, its use has become well-nigh universal, and the families who depended upon the bean-oil and peanut-oil market are starving. Cotton clothing is generally worn in China, except by the better classes, and China formerly made her own cotton cloth. Now American manufacturers can sell cotton in China cheaper than the Chinese can make it themselves.

All this is, of course, inevitable. It is indeed for the best interests of the people of China themselves, but it enables us to understand why so many of the Chinese resent the introduction of foreign goods. That much of this business is passing into the hands of the Chinese themselves does not help the matter, for the people know that the goods are foreign, and that the foreigners are responsible for their introduction. Moreover, the Chinese, while not very religious, are very superstitious. They people the earth and air with spirits, who, in their judgment, have baleful power over man. Before these spirits they tremble in terror, and no inconsiderable part of their time and labor is devoted to outwitting

them, for the Chinese do not worship the spirits, except to propitiate and deceive them. They believe that the spirits cannot turn a corner, but must move in a straight line. Accordingly, in China you do not often find one window opposite another window, lest the spirits may pass through. You will seldom find a straight road from one village to another village, but only a distractingly circuitous path, while the roads are not only crooked, but so atrociously bad that it is difficult for the foreign traveler to keep his temper. The Chinese do not count their own inconvenience if they can only baffle their demoniac foes.

When the Chinese die, their bodies are not segregated in cemeteries as with us, but geomancers are called in to find lucky places for burial, which may be by the roadside or in the garden or the field; and as 33,000 Chinese die every day, all China is dotted with graves. The Chinese worship their ancestors and venerate the tombs in which they lie. From a Chinese viewpoint is it an awful thing to desecrate them. Imagine, then, their feelings when they see haughty foreigners run a railroad straight as an arrow from city to city, opening a highway over which the dreaded spirits may run, and ruthlessly tearing through the tombs hallowed by the most sacred of associations. No degree of care can avoid the irritations caused by railway construction. In building the line from Tsingtau to Kiaochow, a distance of forty-six miles, the Germans, as far as practicable, ran around the places most thickly covered with graves. But in spite of this, no less than 3,000 graves had to be removed. It was impossible to settle with the individual owners, as it was difficult in many cases to ascertain who they were, most of the graves being unmarked, and some of the families concerned having died out or moved away. Moreover the Oriental has no idea of time, and dearly loves to haggle, especially with a foreigner whom he feels no compunction in swindling. So the railway company made its negotiations with the local magistrates, showing them the routes, indicating the graves which were in the way, and paying them an average of \$3 (Mexican) for removing each grave, they to find and settle with the owners. This was believed to be fair, for \$3 is a large sum in the interior, where the only coin in common circulation is the copper cash, so small in value that 1,600 equal a dollar, and where a few dozen cash will buy a day's food for an adult. But while some of the Chinese were glad to accept this arrangement, others were not. They wanted more, or they had special affection for the dead, or that particular spot had been carefully selected because it was favored by the spirits. Besides, the magistrates doubtless kept a part of the price as their share.

Chinese officials are underpaid, are expected to "squeeze" commissions, and no funds can pass through their hands without a percentage of loss. Then, as the Asiatic is very deliberate, the company was obliged to specify a date by which all designated graves must be removed. As many of the bodies were not taken up within that time, the company had to remove them.

In these circumstances, we should not be surprised that the most furiously anti-foreign feeling in Shantung was in the villages along the line of that railroad. Why should the hated foreigner force his line through their country when the people did not want it? Of course, it would save time, but, as a Peking official naively said, "We are not in a hurry." So the villagers watched the construction with ill-concealed anger, and today that railroad, as well as all the other railroads in North China, can only be kept open by detachments of foreign soldiers at all the important stations. I saw them at almost every stop—German soldiers from Tsingtau to Kiaochow, British from Tongku to Peking, French from Peking to Paotingfu.

Those who protest that we ought not to force our religion upon the Chinese, do not appear to think that there is anything objectionable in forcing our trade upon them. As a matter of fact, the Chinese do not strenuously object to the missionaries as missionaries. The average missionary, especially in the interior stations, dons Chinese clothing, shaves his head, wears a queue, speaks the Chinese language, lives among the people, tries to get into sympathy with them, teaches the young, heals the sick, distributes relief in time of famine, preaches the gospel of peace and good-will, and, in the opinion of unprejudiced judges, is a pure, sensible, and useful man. Confucianism is virtually an agnostic code of morals with Chinese variations, and the worst foe which the missionary has to encounter is not hostility, but indifference. Wu Ting Fang, Chinese Minister to the United States, frankly declares that "Confucianism is not a religion in the practical sense of the word," and that "Confucius would be called an agnostic in these days." It is the foreign idea that the Chinese dislikes the interference with his cherished customs and traditions. A railroad alarms and angers him more than half a hundred missionaries. A plowshare cuts through more of his superstitions than a mission school. He does not want the implements of our Western civilization, and he resents the attempt to push them upon him.

But trade cannot be checked. It advances by an inherent energy which it is futile to ignore. And it ought to advance. For trade means much that is of value to a people. A locomotive brings both intellectual and physical benefits, the ap-

pliances which mitigate the poverty and barrenness of existence, and increase the ability to provide for the necessities of life. The regret is that such benefits are so far neutralized by the evils which disgrace civilization and which embitter the Chinese against us.

#### THE SECOND FORCE WAS EUROPEAN POLITICS.

The history of the dealings of the Christian powers with China is not altogether pleasant reading. It must be admitted that the provocation has sometimes been great, but the retaliation has been heavy. We sometimes imagine that the Golden Rule is peculiar to Christianity, forgetting that its spirit was recognized by Confucius five centuries before Christ. This form was negative, but it familiarized the Chinese with the principle. They were not, therefore, pleasantly impressed when they found the alleged Christian nations violating that principle. Even Christian America has been no exception. We have Chinese exclusion laws, but we will not allow China to exclude Americans. We sail our gunboats up her rivers, but we would not allow her to sail gunboats into ours. If a Chinese commits a crime in America he is amenable to American law as interpreted by an American court. But if an American commits a crime in China he can be tried only by his consul; not a Chinese court in the empire has jurisdiction over him, and the people naturally understand from this that we have no confidence in their sense of justice or in their administration of it. This law of extra-territoriality is one of the chief sources of irritation against foreigners, for it not only implies contempt, but it makes foreigners a privileged class. When we take into consideration the further fact that the typical Anglo-Saxon the world over acts as if he were a lord of creation, and treats Asiatics with more or less condescension, as if they were his inferiors, we can understand the very natural resentment of the Chinese, who have just as much pride of race as we have, and who, indeed, consider themselves the most highly civilized people in the world. The fact that foreign nations are able to thrash them does not convince the Chinese that those nations are superior, any more than a gentleman's physical defeat at the hands of a pugilist would satisfy him that the pugilist is a better man. Then the Chinese know of the abuses to which their countrymen have been subjected in other lands, how almost universally the Chinese in America, for example, are despised and hated. Many Chinese have suffered from mob violence in San Francisco and Tacoma and other Pacific Coast cities as sorely as our countrymen have suffered from mob violence in China.

Some years ago they were wantonly butchered in Rock Springs, Wyoming, and it was as difficult for the Chinese to get indemnity out of our Government as it is for the Powers to get indemnity out of China for the Boxer outrages. The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* printed a cartoon representing a Chinese reading a daily paper, one of whose columns was headed, "Massacre of Americans in China," while the other column bore the headlines, "Massacre of Chinese in America." Uncle Sam stands at his elbow and ejaculates, "Horrible, isn't it?" To which the celestial blandly inquires, "Which?"

But the political aggressions of foreign powers were probably the immediate cause of the recent trouble. A hundred years ago France began to regard Anam as within her sphere of influence. In 1858, she seized Saigon, and from it as a base began to extend her influence throughout Cochin China. In 1882, she coolly decided to annex Tonking. The Chinese objected, but the war ended in a treaty, signed June 9, 1885, which gave France the coveted territory.

In 1886 England took Upper Burma, which China regarded as one of her dependencies. As far back as 1841 she had taken Hongkong. In 1871 she wrested from China the Kowloon coast line on the mainland, but in 1898, finding that Hongkong was still within the range of modern cannon in Chinese waters seven miles away, England calmly took 400 square miles of additional territory, including Mirs and Deep Bays.

Not content with these aggressions, the press of both Europe and America has, for several years, boldly discussed the dismemberment of China as certain to come, and journalists and magazine writers have disputed as to which should possess the richest parts of the empire, whose impotence to defend itself was taken for granted. Chinese ministers in Europe and America reported these discussions to their superiors in Peking. The English papers in China republished some of the articles and added many virulent ones of their own, so that speedily all the better-informed Chinese came to know that the foreigners regarded China much as vultures regard a carcass.

Nor was all this talk empty boasting. China saw that England and France were absorbing Siam, that Britain was already lord of India and Egypt, that Germany was pressing her claims in Turkey, that Russia was obtaining control of Persia and Korea, that Italy had tried to take Abyssinia and that, with the single exception of Morocco, all the remainder of the entire continent of Africa had been partitioned by the European powers.

And soon the Chinese saw the foreigners descend upon their own shores in such ways as to justify the fear that the

Celestial Empire, too, would be speedily reduced to vassalage. December 1, 1897, two German Roman Catholic priests were murdered in the province of Shantung, and on the 14th of that month Admiral Diedrich landed marines at Kiaochow Bay. Early in the following year Germany, under the forms of an enforced 99-year lease, took the territory bordering on the bay, and at Tsingtau began to demolish the native houses, build docks, erect buildings, open streets, lay sewers, project railways and telegraph lines into the interior and to push her interests so aggressively and ruthlessly that the whole province of Shantung was thrown into the most intense excitement.

March 8, 1898, Russia demanded, and May 27th obtained, similar rights on the peninsula terminating in Port Arthur, including Ta Lien Wan and 800 square miles of adjoining territory. Grim significance was given to Russia's plans by the prompt appearance of 20,000 Russian soldiers and 90,000 coolies, who were set to work developing a great modern fortification under the very eyes, as it were, of the Chinese capital. April 2, England secured the lease of Lin Kung, with all the islands and a strip ten miles wide on the mainland, thus giving the British a strong post at Wei Hai Wei. April 22nd, France peremptorily demanded, and May 2d obtained, the bay of Kwang Chou Wan, while Japan found her share in a concession for Fu Chou, Wu Sung, Fan Ning, Yo Chou and Chung Wan Tao. Ere long, in all China's 3,000 miles of coast line, there was not a harbor in which she could mobilize her own ships without the consent of the hated foreigner. The *New York Sun*, noting these facts, truly says: "It was while Chinese territory was thus virtually being given away that the people became uneasy and riots were started; the people felt that their land had been despoiled."

And shall we pretend any innocent wonder? Suppose that after the murder of the Chinese in Rock Springs, Wyoming, a Chinese fleet had been able to seize New York and Boston harbors, and suppose our Government had been weak enough to acquiesce. Would the people of this country have made any protest? Would the lives of Chinese on our streets have been safe? And was it an entirely base impulse that led the Chinese to violently oppose the forcible seizure of their country by aliens? The Empress Dowager said in her now famous edict: "The various powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavors to be the first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. They fail to understand, however, that there are certain things which this

empire can never consent to, and that, if hard pressed, we have no alternative but to rely upon the justice of our cause, the knowledge of which in our breasts strengthens our resolves and steels us to present a united front against our aggressors." That would probably be called patriotic if it had emanated from the ruler of any other people.

### THE THIRD FORCE WAS CHRISTIANITY.

In his life of Morrison, Townsend reminds us that the Church early realized that it could not ignore so vast a nation, while its very exclusiveness attracted bold spirits. As far back as the sixth century the Nestorian Christians established missions in China. A monument in Hsi An Fu on which is inscribed an outline of the Nestorian effort from the year 630-781 is the only trace that remains of what must have been an interesting and perhaps a thrilling missionary effort. However zealous the Nestorians may have been for a time, it is evident that they were finally submerged in the sea of Chinese superstition.

The Roman Catholic effort began in 1293, when John de Corvino succeeded in reaching Peking. Though he was elevated to an Archbishopric and reinforced by several priests, this effort, too, proved a failure and was abandoned.

Two and a half centuries of silence followed, and then in 1552 Francis Xavier set his face toward China, only to be prostrated by fever on the Islands Sancian. Realizing that he would never be able to set his foot on that mighty and still impenetrable land, he despairingly moaned: "Oh, rock, rock, when wilt thou open!" and gave up the ghost.

But in 1581 another Jesuit, this time the learned and astute Matteo Ricci, entered Canton in the guise of a Buddhist priest. He managed to remain, and twenty years later he went to Peking in the dress of a literary gentleman. In him Roman Catholicism gained a permanent foothold in China, and although it was often fiercely persecuted and reduced at times to feebleness, it never became wholly extinct. Now it has nearly 600 foreign missionaries in China, and enrolls 532,448 native Christians.

It is not to the credit of Protestantism that it was centuries behind the Roman Church in the attempt to Christianize China. It was not till 1807 that the first Protestant missionary sought China. January 31st of that year the Rev. Robert Morrison, then a youth of twenty-five, sailed alone from London, under appointment of the London Missionary Society (Congregational). As the hostile East India Company would not allow a missionary on any of its ships, Morrison had to go to New York in order to secure

passage on an American vessel. As he paid his fare in the New York ship owner's office, the merchant said with a sneer: "And so, Mr. Morrison, you really expect that you will make an impression on the idolatry of the great Chinese Empire?" "No, sir," replied Morrison, "I expect God will." The ship Trident left New York about May 15th and did not reach Canton till September 8th. For two years he had to live and study at Canton and at the Portugese settlement of Macao with the utmost secrecy, lest he might be forced to leave. For a time he never walked the streets by daylight for fear of attracting attention, but exercised by night, and all the time finding his Chinese language teachers insolent and impatient, till February 20, 1809, the date of his marriage to Miss Morton, when his employment as translator by the East India Company gave him for the first time a secure residence, though even then he was forced to secrecy in his missionary work, presenting Christianity behind locked doors to the few Chinese whom he dared to approach. In these circumstances, he naturally gave his energies largely to language study and translation, and in 1810 he had the joy of issuing a thousand copies of a Chinese version of the Book of Acts, the first fruits of the coming harvest.

But the door was not yet open, and the work was done against many obstacles, and chiefly in secret till the treaty of Nanking, in 1842, opened the five ports of Amoy, Canton, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai. Missionaries who had been waiting and watching and praying in the neighboring islands promptly entered these cities. Eagerly they looked to the great populations in the interior, but they were practically confined to the ports named till 1860, when the treaty of Tientsin opened other cities and officially conceded the rights of missionary residence and labor. At that time there were only 1,300 converts in all China, but the number speedily grew, till, at the time of the Boxer outbreak, there were 100,000 communicants, 3,500,000 adherents, 2,500 stations and outstations, 6,697 missionaries and helpers, 1,551 schools, 23 mission presses with an annual output of 107,149,738 pages, 32 mission periodicals, 124 hospitals and dispensaries, treating in a single year 1,700,452 patients; while the asylums for the orphaned and blind and deaf number 32.

It is significant that our Presbyterian work in China was started the very year that the Board was organized. In 1837, the Western Foreign Missionary Society, which had been founded by the Synod of Pittsburg in 1831, was merged into our present Board, and October 31st of that year, the Revs. R. W. Orr and T. R. Mitchell were commissioned for China, though they got no further than Singapore. In 1840, the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie and James C. Hepburn, M. D., were



commissioned, and in 1843 they transferred the mission to Amoy, China, where they were soon reinforced by D. B. Mc Cartee, M. D., and the Rev. Richard Cole.

From that time the work was enlarged as steadily as circumstances permitted, until, at the uprising of the Boxers, we had in the empire 7 missions, 22 principal stations, 309 outstations, 209 foreign missionaries, including those under appointment; 594 native helpers, 92 organized churches, with 11,214 communicants; 217 schools and colleges, 2 printing presses, one of which, that at Shanghai, is the largest mission press in the world, employing 135 workmen, and issuing last year 67,625,660 pages of religious matter; and 16 hospitals and 13 dispensaries, which, together, treated last year 143,491 patients. The maintenance of this extensive work requires an annual expenditure of about \$200,000. The property interests involved were very large, and included churches, chapels, school, college, hospital and press buildings, residences of missionaries, etc. Of our pioneer missionaries to China, Mr. Lowrie was murdered by pirates in 1847; Dr. Mc Cartee, after many years of labor, first in China and afterwards in Japan, died in San Francisco, July 17, 1900, at the ripe age of eighty, while Dr. and Mrs. Hepburn are still living.

It will thus be seen that the work of all the Christian missions in China was being conducted upon a large scale. It would be difficult to overestimate the silent and yet mighty energy represented by such work, steadily continued through a long series of years, and representing the life labor of devoted men and women, and an annual expenditure of many hundreds of thousands of dollars.

True, the number of Christians was small in comparison with the population of the empire, but the Gospel has been aptly compared to a seed, and the seed has indestructible vitality and irresistible transforming power. It is small, but seeds generally are. Lodged in a crevice of a rock a seed will send its spread-like roots into fissures so tiny that they are hardly noticeable. Yet in time they will rend the rock asunder and firmly hold a stately tree. Now the seed of the Gospel has been fairly lodged in the Chinese empire. It has taken root, and a part of the commotion which we have recently witnessed is undoubtedly due to the influence of that growth. It was not without reason that the Gospel was spoken of as a force that "turned the world upside down," since it is one of the avowed objects of the Gospel to reconstruct human society. It is significant that the word translated "power" in Romans i. 16—"The Gospel is the power of God," is in the Greek the word which we have anglicized in common speech by the word dynamite. We might, there-

fore, literally translate Paul's statement: "The Gospel is the dynamite of God." That dynamite was long ago placed under the crust of China's conservatism, and that which we are now witnessing is in part the shattering effect of the mighty explosion.

#### THE REFORM PARTY.

The combined result of all three of these forces was the development of a Reform Party among the Chinese themselves. It was not large, but it included some influential men, though, unfortunately, their zeal was not tempered by discretion. The war with Japan powerfully aided them. True, many of the Chinese do not yet know that there was such a war, for news travels slowly in a land without railway, telegraphic and post-office facilities, and whose average inhabitant has never been twenty miles from the village in which he was born. But some who did know realized that Japan had won by the aid of Western methods. An eagerness to acquire those methods resulted. Missionaries were besieged by Chinese who wished to learn English. Modern books were given a wide circulation. The Emperor bought a Bible. In his private apartments in Peking, I saw scientific works, maps, globes and wind and current charts. Several of his influential advisers became students of Occidental science and political economy. In five years, 1893-1898, the book sales of one society—that for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese—leaped from \$817 to \$18,457, while every mission press was run to its utmost capacity to supply the new demands.

A powerful exponent of the new ideas appeared in the Great Viceroy, Chang Chih-Tung. He wrote a book ridiculing the conservatives, exposing the causes of China's weakness and advocating radical reforms. The book was printed by the Tsung Li Yamen, and by royal command copies were sent to the high officials of the Empire. Big yellow posters advertised it from the walls of leading cities, and in a short time a million copies were sold. An English translation is now on sale under the title "China's Only Hope." He who would understand the present situation should read that book, written, not by a foreigner or by a Christian, or even by a malcontent, but by a Chinese Confucian dignitary, in the Chinese language and for the Chinese people. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that "this book made more history in a shorter time than any other modern piece of literature, that it astonished a kingdom, convulsed an empire and brought on a war."

The Reform Party urged the young Emperor to use the

imperial power for the advancement of his people. He yielded to the pressure, became an eager and diligent student of the Western learning and methods, and with the ardor of a new convert issued the now famous reform edicts, which, if they could have been successfully carried into effect, would have revolutionized China and started her on the high road to national greatness. These memorable decrees have been summarized as follows:

1. Establishing a university at Peking.
2. Sending imperial clansmen to study European and American governments.
3. Encouraging art, science and modern agriculture.
4. Expressing the willingness of the Emperor to hear the objections of the conservatives to progress and reform.
5. Abolishing the literary essay as a prominent part of the government examinations.
6. Censuring those who attempted to delay the establishment of the Peking Imperial University.
7. Directing that the construction of the Lu Han railway be carried on with more vigor.
8. Advising the adoption of Western arms and drill for all the Tartar troops.
9. Ordering the establishment of agricultural schools in the provinces to teach improved methods of agriculture.
10. Ordering the introduction of patent and copyright laws.
11. Ordering the Board of War and the Foreign Office to report on the reform of the military examinations.
12. Offering special rewards to inventors and authors.
13. Ordering officials to encourage trade and assist merchants.
14. Ordering the foundation of school boards in every city in the empire.
15. Establishing a Bureau of Mines and Railroads.
16. Encouraging journalists to write on all political subjects.
17. Establishing naval academies and training ships.
18. Summoning the ministers and provincial authorities to assist the Emperor in his work of reform.
19. Directing that schools be founded in connection with all the Chinese legations in foreign countries for the benefit of the children of Chinese in those countries.
20. Establishing commercial bureaus in Shanghai for the encouragement of trade.
21. Abolishing six useless Boards in Peking.
22. Granting the right to memorialize the Throne by sealed memorials.
23. Dismissing two presidents and four vice-presidents of

the Board of Rites for disobeying the Emperor's orders that memorials should be presented to him unopened.

24. Abolishing the governorships of Hupeh, Kuangtung and Yunnan as a useless expense to the country.

25. Establishing schools for instruction in the preparation of tea and silk.

26. Abolishing the slow courier posts in favor of the Imperial Customs Post.

27. Approving a system of budgets as in Western countries.

But, alas, "You must not try to hustle the East." The Chinese are phlegmatic and will endure much, but this was a little too much. Myriads of scholars and officials who saw their hopes and positions jeopardized by the new tests, protested with all the virulence of the silversmiths of Ephesus, and all the conservatism of China rallied to their support.

#### FLOOD AND FAMINE.

Meantime, the Yellow River, aptly named "China's Sorrow," again overflowed its banks, devastating a region 100 miles long and varying from twenty-five to fifty miles wide. Three hundred villages were swept away, and 1,000,000 people made homeless. Famine and pestilence speedily followed, so that the whole catastrophe assumed appalling proportions. Even American communities are apt to become reckless and riotous in time of calamity, and in China this tendency of human nature was intensified by a superstition which led the people to believe that the disaster was due to the baleful influence of the foreigners, or that it was a punishment for their failure to resist them, while in the farther north a drought led to equally superstitious fury against "the foreign devils."

The now famous Boxers were members of two of the secret societies which have long flourished in China. To the Chinese they are known as League of United Patriots, Great Sword Society, Righteous Harmony Fists' Association and kindred names. Originally, they were hostile to the foreign Manchu dynasty. When Germany made the murder of two Roman Catholic missionaries a pretext for pushing her political ambitions, the Boxers naturally arrayed themselves against them. As the champions of the national spirit against the foreigners, the membership rapidly increased. Supernatural power was claimed. Temples were converted into meeting places, and soon excited men were drilling in every village.

The real ruler of China at this time, as all the world knows, was the Empress Dowager, who has been fitly described as "the only man in China." At any rate, she is a woman of extraordinary force of character. She was astute

enough to encourage the Boxers, and thus turn one of the most troublesome foes of the Manchu throne against the common enemy, the foreigner. Under her influence, the depredations of the Boxers, which were at first confined to the Shantung Province, spread with the swiftness of a prairie fire, until the most important provinces of the empire were ablaze. In the heat of the conflict and under the agonizing strain of anxiety for imperiled loved ones, many hard things were said and written about the officials, who allied themselves with the Boxers. But Sir Robert Hart, who personally knows them, and who suffered as much as any one from their fury, candidly wrote after the siege: "These men were eminent in their own country for their learning and services, were animated by patriotism, were enraged by foreign dictation, and had the courage of their convictions. We must do them the justice of allowing that they were actuated by high motives and love of country," though he adds, "that does not always or necessarily mean political ability or highest wisdom."

And so the irrepressible conflict broke out. It had to come, a conflict between conservatism and progress, between race prejudice and brotherhood, between superstition and Christianity, the tremendous conflict of ages, which every nation has had to fight, and which, in China, is not different in kind, but only on a vaster scale, because there it involved half the human race at once.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF MISSIONARIES.

Shallow critics vociferously tell us that the missionaries are chiefly responsible for the outbreak. True, there is a sense in which the Gospel does revolutionize heathen communities. Christ himself said: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword; for I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." There is always more or less persecution in a heathen land when a man turns away from the old faith and confesses Christ. But opposition of that sort is usually local and sporadic. It affects more or less individuals, but it does not cause such a vast movement of population as that now taking place in China. The missionaries, as missionaries, have not been so bitterly hated by the Chinese. Not only men, but women, have traveled far into the interior, frequently alone, and always unarmed. They have freely gone into the homes of the people, preached in the village streets, slept unprotected in Chinese houses, and have received much personal kindness from all classes.

If no other force had been at work than the foreign missionary, this anti-foreign agitation would never have started.

The animosity of the Chinese has been primarily excited not by the missionary, but by the trader and the politician. It is foolish to say that the missionary is responsible for the prompt appearance of the consul and the gunboat. The missionary goes forth without either consul or gunboat to preach the Gospel, to teach the young, to heal the sick, to comfort the dying, to care for the orphaned. He devotes his life to ameliorating the sad conditions which prevail in heathen communities. His reliance is not upon the arm of flesh, but upon that Christ who promised to be with His disciples always. But as soon as his work begins to tell, the trader appears to buy and sell in the new market. The politician casts covetous eyes on the newly opened territory. Christianity civilizes, and civilization increases wants, stimulates trade and breaks down barriers. The conditions of modern civilization are developed. Then the consul is sent, not because the missionary asks for him, but because the government chooses to send him. Sooner or later some local trouble occurs, and the politician takes advantage of the opportunity to further the territorial or commercial ambitions of his country. What did the Emperor of Germany care for Roman Catholic missionary work in China until two German monks were killed by a mob? But that catastrophe so shocked him that nothing would soothe his wounded religious feelings but the wrenching from China of a seaport in Kiaochow Bay, to serve as a base for his plans of German aggrandizement in the Shantung province. "Missionaries responsible, indeed!" writes Dr. H. H. Jessup. "The diplomats of Europe know better. Had there been no grabbing of seaports and hinterlands, no forcing modern improvements and European goods down the throats of the Chinese, the missionaries would have been let alone now as in the past."

But it is said that the missionaries and Boards will, of course, defend themselves. I have, therefore, been at some pains to collect the testimony of men whose positions are a guarantee of both knowledge and fairness.

The Hon. George F. Seward, former United States Minister to China, declares: "The people at large make too much of missionary work as an occasion for trouble. There are missionaries who are iconoclasts, but this is not their spirit, in great measure. They are men of education and judgment. They depend upon spiritual weapons and good works. For every enemy a missionary makes, he makes fifty friends. The one enemy may arouse an ignorant rabble to attack him. While I was in China I always congratulated myself on the fact that the missionaries were there. There

were good men and able men among the merchants and officials, but it was the missionary who exhibited the foreigner in benevolent work as having other aims than those which may justly be called selfish. The good done by missionaries in the way of education, of medical relief and of other charities cannot be overstated. If in China there were none other than missionary influences, the upbuilding of that great people would go forward securely. I was nearly twenty years in China endeavoring to serve our Government and people. During all that time not an American missionary suffered death from the violence of the Chinese. I am not a religionist, not a church member, but I have the profoundest admiration for the missionary as I have known him in China. He is a power for good and for peace, not for evil."

President James B. Angell, another United States Minister to China, replies as follows to the question, "Are the Chinese averse to the introduction of the Christian religion?": "No, not in that broad sense. They do not seem to fear for the permanency of their own religion. It is not that they object to missionaries and the Christian religion as much as it is that the missionaries are foreigners. A more serious cause of the uprising is the widespread suspicion among the natives, since the Japanese war, that the foreigners are going to partition China. It is not strange that all these conditions cause friction and excitement. The Chinese want to be left to themselves, and the one word 'foreigners' sums up the great cause of the present trouble."

The Hon. Charles Denby, after thirteen years' experience as United States Minister to China, wrote: "No one can controvert the fact that the Chinese are enormously benefited by the labors of the missionaries. Foreign hospitals are a great boon to the sick. In the matter of education, the movement is immense. There are schools and colleges all over China taught by the missionaries. There are also many foreign asylums in various cities which take care of thousands of waifs. The missionaries translate into Chinese many scientific and philosophical works. There are various anti-opium hospitals where the victims of this vice are cured. There are industrial schools and workshops. There are many native Christian churches. The converts seem to be as devout as people of any other race. As far as my knowledge extends, I can and do say that the missionaries in China are self-sacrificing; that their lives are pure; that they are devoted to their work; that their influence is beneficial to the natives; that the arts and sciences and civilization are greatly spread by their efforts; that many useful western books are translated by them into Chinese; that they are the leaders in all charitable work, giving largely themselves and per-

sonally disbursing the funds with which they are intrusted ; that they do make converts, and such converts are mentally benefited by conversion." And more recently he has added: " I do not believe that the uprising in China was due to hatred of the missionaries or of the Christian religion. The Chinese are a philosophic people, and rarely act without reasoning upon the causes and results of their actions. They have seen their land disappearing and becoming the property of foreigners, and it was this that awakened hatred of foreigners and not the actions of the missionaries or the doctrines that they teach."

The present United States Minister, the Hon. E. H. Conger, has repeatedly borne similar testimony, publicly assuring the missionaries of his " personal respect and profound gratitude for their noble conduct."

Ex-Secretary of State John W. Foster, counsel for the Chinese Government in the settlement with Japan, says : " The opinion formed by me after careful inquiry and observation is that the mass of the population of China, particularly the common people, are not specially hostile to the missionaries and their work. Occasional riots have occurred, but they are almost invariably traced to the literati or prospective office holders and the ruling classes. These are often bigoted and conceited to the highest degree, and regard the teachings of the missionaries as tending to overthrow the existing order of government and society, which they look upon as a perfect system, and sanctified by great antiquity."

Wu Ting Fang, Chinese Minister to Washington, while frankly stating that " missionaries are placed in a very delicate situation," and that " we must not be blind to the fact that some, in their excessive zeal, have been indiscreet," nevertheless as frankly says : " It has been commonly supposed that missionaries are the sole cause of anti-foreign feeling in China. This charge is unfair. Missionaries have done a great deal of good in China. They have translated useful works into the Chinese language, published scientific and educational journals and established schools in the country. Medical missionaries especially have been remarkably successful in their philanthropic work."

Ex-President Harrison replied to my inquiry last fall in the terse remark : " If what Lord Salisbury says were true, the reflection would not be upon the missionaries, but upon the premiers."

The Hon. John Barrett, late Minister of the United States to Siam, writes : " Let us be fair in judging the missionaries. Let the complaining merchant, traveler or clubman take the beam from his own eye before he demands that the mote be taken from the missionary's eye. We must remember that



we are a Christian as well as a commercial nation. More, a moral as well as a material power. We cannot think of withdrawing the messengers of Christianity from Asia until we are ready to withdraw the merchants of commerce and the minister of diplomacy. In my diplomatic experience in Siam 150 missionaries gave me less trouble in five years than fifteen merchants gave me in five months."

General James H. Wilson, of the United States Army, late second in command of our force in Peking, adds his testimony: "Our missionaries, after the earlier Jesuits, were almost the first in that wide field (China). They were generally men of great piety and learning, like Morrison, Brown, Martin and Williams, and did all in their power as genuine men of God to show the heathen that the stranger was not necessarily a public enemy, but might be an evangel of a higher and better civilization. These men and their co-laborers have established hospitals, schools and colleges in various cities and provinces of the empire, which are everywhere recognized by intelligent Chinamen as centres of unmitigated blessing to the people. Millions of dollars have been spent in this beneficent work, and the result is slowly but surely spreading the conviction that foreign arts and sciences are superior to 'fung shuey' and native superstition."

Consul-General Goodnow, of Shanghai, emphatically declares: "It is absurd to charge the missionaries with causing the Boxer war. They are simply hated by the Chinese as one part of a great foreign element that threatened to uproot the national institutions."

Governor Yuan Shih Kai wrote to the Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries of the Shantung province this spring: "You, reverend sirs, have been preaching in China for many years, and, without exception, exhort men concerning righteousness. Your church customs are strict and correct, and all your converts may well observe them. In establishing your customs you have been careful to see that Chinese law was observed. How, then, can it be said that there is disloyalty? To meet this sort of calumny, I have instructed that proclamations be put out. I purpose, hereafter, to have lasting peace. Church interests may then prosper, and your idea of preaching righteousness I can promote. The present upheaval is of a most extraordinary character. It forced you, reverend sirs, by land and water to go long journeys, and subjected you to alarm and danger, causing me many qualms of conscience."

A charge which has been so completely demolished by such competent and unprejudiced witnesses can only be renewed at the expense of either intelligence or candor.

Amid all the furious onslaught of criticism upon missionaries in China in connection with the recent troubles, there has not been, so far as I know, a single specific charge against any of our Presbyterian workers, though they have naturally suffered from the reproach which the careless public has indiscriminately cast upon the whole missionary body, Catholic and Protestant, European and American. They have been modestly reluctant to proclaim their own innocence of the charges so freely brought against their fellows. They might have justly expected more considerate treatment in view of their past service and the frightful ordeal through which they have passed. But it is due to them and to their many friends in the Board and the Church that the facts should be known. I have made it a part of my business in China to learn them—not because I suspected our beloved friends—I know them too well for that—but because I wanted to authoritatively answer critics who are not willing to accept the presumptions of character, and to relieve the minds of those in the home churches who have never personally met our missionaries, and who are troubled by the fear that their good name and the interests of a sacred cause may be injured by identification with the acts of others, who, however conscientiously, did things in the heat and stress of an appalling emergency which were not altogether wise. There is nothing which we need to conceal, nothing of which we are ashamed. And first as to

#### LOOTING.

For nearly two months men, women and children had been closely besieged. At the British Legation there were 419 marines, "over 400" other foreigners, including members of legations and missionaries, and 2,650 Chinese Christians; at the Roman Catholic Cathedral were 40 marines, 40 priests and nuns, and 3,400 Chinese Christians—about 7,000 in all. The outbreak of hostilities had found them unprepared, and they had hurriedly taken refuge at the legation and cathedral without opportunity to make adequate provision for their necessities. To protect their helpless charges from the pitiless storm of shells and bullets, sand bags were made out of every available material within the reach of sorties—cotton and silk, velvet and broadcloth, lace and velvet. I saw the little Episcopal chapel, not much larger than a good-sized drawing-room, in which seventy missionaries, including children, ate and slept during the entire siege. I heard Dr. Wherry and Mr. Killie describe the scanty rations of mule meat and stale rice, with which all had to be content. I listened to Bishop Favier as he told me that for the

first month of the siege the food allowance for each of those under his care, and 2,700 of them were women and children, was half a pound a day. The first half of the second month it was four ounces a day, and the second half it was two ounces a day, the hungry people, in their desperation, eating the very roots and bark and leaves of the trees.

When the relief expedition entered the city, all these ragged, famishing hosts were liberated, and the men, of course, and of necessity, sought immediately for supplies of food and clothing for them, as well as houses to which these homeless families could be taken, for the ministers were obliged to ask the missionaries to go elsewhere, and thus relieve the congestion at the British Legation. But nothing could be bought, for the simple reason that there was nothing to sell. Half the population had fled in terror from the city, and that half included nearly all of the official, social and commercial classes. They had left their homes as precipitately as the missionaries had left theirs eight weeks before. On every side were deserted residences filled with rich furniture, abandoned shops containing ample stores of food and clothing. What was to be done? Some sapient critics talk as though those men ought to have compelled their wives and children to starve in the midst of plenty belonging to foes who had been trying to kill them, and let the plenty be carried off by Chinese thieves rather than touch a mouthful of it themselves; to have forced their families to lie down on the broken bricks at the ruins of their former homes rather than enter a single empty house. I confess to a feeling of contemptuous indignation for such supercilious Phariseeism. And why single out the missionaries, as if they were the only ones, when every foreigner, including marine officers and members of legations, adopted the same course? But that is not looting, plundering for personal gain.

I grant, however, that there was looting, the pillaging of homes for furs, silks, silver, jewelry and bric-à-brac, that there was a regular carnival of greed in which many foreigners participated. The soldiers of the relief expedition were particularly prominent in this. In the language of Rev. Dr. Arthur H. Smith, of the American Board: "There came to China numerous foreign troops of many nationalities, and they were not in a happy frame of mind when they reached there. Our Legations had been murderously attacked for two months together, and between 200 and 300 innocent foreigners had been barbarously butchered in the interior of the empire. This certainly does not make a good background for exhibitions of international law in actual operation. That Russian, French and German soldiers committed excesses is

as certain as that these troops came to China. But it is unquestionable that many accounts (such as the oft-quoted tale of Dr. Dillon) are demonstrable falsehoods, told with intent to make a sensation."

I called on Sir Robert Hart, the famous Inspector General of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, and who, as one of the besieged, is conversant with the whole subject, and I asked him whether it was true that the missionaries deserved censure for looting? He kindly gave me the following statement in writing. Note his use of the first personal pronoun, thus identifying himself with his fellow sufferers, both missionary, military and official:

"Looting has evoked much discussion. It has had its uses and abuses. Tar is the right thing when in the right place, and, perhaps, so too is loot. But when the tar-brush is spoken of, it oftener suggests the idea of dirt than of matter in the right place. During the siege, we looted neighboring houses. We thereby got food to live on and materials to make sand-bags with. After the siege we had to find quarters for ourselves, and we had to furnish them. And we had to find food for ourselves and for the Chinese connected with us. If we occupied other people's empty houses, if we collected necessary furniture from other people's deserted houses, if we seized and used food at points where there was nobody in charge to buy it from, it was because necessity forced us to do so, a necessity that grew out of such lawless doings as temporarily swept away all possibility of living according to law. Charitable interpretation will recognize the plight we were in and acknowledge the fitness of the effects produced by such a cause.

"All the same, it is possible that much more was taken than was required; and to whatever extent that was done, to that extent might appropriation be objected to. The question is, of course, complicated by considerations suggestive of ideas of reprisals, prize-money and sacking, and considerable latitude is allowable. The flight of a terror-stricken population may or may not constitute a valid reason for regarding the rights of ownership as ended. For my part, I should have preferred protection for deserted houses, and the restoration of their property intact to returning families. For some days after the relief, license, as inevitable, ruled, and one thing may be safely said—the missionary was, at all events, not worse than his neighbor, the probability is that he was better, and the certainty is that for whatever he did he had better reasons and more justification than others. And yet, just because he is a missionary, criticism was all the more pointed. Whoever pleads necessity and helps himself to other people's goods must first of all show very un-

usual circumstances to be entitled to a hearing; and each appropriation must then be judged of on its own special merits. I have no doubt the missionaries who had thus to help themselves did so with a clear conscience, and their critics could hardly have acted otherwise under the circumstances. Still, there was looting—looting of every kind—justifiable and unavoidable, and also avoidable and unjustifiable—and looting has a bad name, and the reproach of it sticks. Apart from the exhilarating but demoralizing effect it may have had on the Chinese members of their churches, I do not think Chinese sufferers will make any distinction as regards the foreigners concerned. They will simply say “foreigners looted.” But non-Christian Chinese are said to be very wroth over the indignities put on them by the—for the moment triumphant—converts and the losses they attribute to their initiative and their growing greed.”

But whatever may be said of the general conduct of the foreigners as a body, after thorough investigation, I deny point blank that our Presbyterian missionaries took any part in the looting of Peking, further than to aid in obtaining absolutely necessary food and clothing from abandoned shops—supplies without which the women and children under their care would have died. With the exception of a few rusty guns and swords of dead Boxers, picked up on the field of battle, our missionaries took only what those dependent on them required, and gave their names to any Chinese who could be found, with the assurances that full market value would be paid to an owner who could established his claim. Our missionaries, like other foreigners, might easily have enriched themselves, for wealthy Chinese, unlike our rich men at home, often keep their riches in their houses. But though our missionaries lost everything they had in the world, they scrupulously refrained from even the appearance of evil.

Perhaps I ought to mention an instance as an illustration of their conscientious sensitiveness on this point. One of our young ladies found some silver pins. She asked Minister Conger whether she had better keep them. He said certainly, as the owner could not be found and the trinkets were of small value. So she kept them for a time. But it so troubled her, notwithstanding Minister Conger’s knowledge and approval, that she sent them with an explanation and apology to the army officer then in charge of the district in which she had found them. He laughed at her scruples, refused to receive them, said that some soldier would take them if she did not, and told the missionary friend who brought them to take them back to her. But he, knowing her wishes, was obdurate, and when the officer persisted in

declining to accept them, left the pins on the table and walked out.

When the missionaries were notified by the Legations that they must seek quarters elsewhere for themselves and their native Christians, two of them went "house-hunting." They soon found the spacious residence of a wealthy Chinese merchant who was almost frantic over the ruthlessness of soldiers who were daily ransacking his property. Hearing that his present visitors were missionaries seeking a temporary home, he literally implored them to take possession in the hope that their occupation would protect his home from utter ruin. He said that he owned another place nearby to which he could remove his family. So our missionaries moved in, establishing the native Christians under their charge in adjacent deserted buildings. On entering, they found the floors piled deep with an almost incredible amount of silks and furs which the Chinese owner had stored in his house for safe keeping and which the plundering soldiers had scattered about in their search for silver and jewelry. Not a piece of all this did our missionaries touch, but they insisted on the owner himself gathering all of it up and taking it away.

But let the missionaries speak for themselves. The following statement was written by the Rev. Dr. John Wherry, read to, and unanimously approved by, all the other members of the station present in Peking during the conferences with me.

"Although more than 300 of the native Christians (and inquirers) belonging to the Peking station were killed by the Boxers in the summer of 1900, a considerable number—perhaps as many as 120—escaped. Part of these had found refuge in the Legations before they were surrounded by Tung Fu Hsiang's troops. Others had hidden themselves away in unfrequented places, in the fields or on the mountains. All were homeless and destitute. Almost immediately after the raising of the siege notice was given to our missionaries in the English Legation that the room occupied by them and their converts would be required for other purposes. It was necessary, therefore, for missionary and convert to seek immediate shelter elsewhere. A search discovered two residences in close proximity in the quarter under the protection of the United States troops that would answer the requirements. These, with the free consent of the owners, who coveted the protection guaranteed by the residence of American missionaries, and with the full approval of the American Minister, Mr. Conger, were at once taken possession of, and are still held by our mission. Nothing was said as to rent. The owners were too grateful for

protection from pillage to suggest it. The missionaries knew not what minute they might be ordered to leave Peking.

"At the Chinese New Year the mission voluntarily gave each of the landlords a check for 50 taels. At the end of the financial year in April, in the same voluntary way, a check for 200 taels each were added, making the total paid for rent to that date 500 taels. These sums were accepted gratefully and with profuse thanks, and the missionaries were requested to remain as long as their necessities required. Further payments for rent will be made from time to time. It should be remembered, however, that no rent has been asked for by the owners, and that tens of thousands of taels' worth of property has been preserved to them from spoliation by the foreign occupation of these houses.

"Food was as necessary to missionaries and converts as shelter. Our Minister, recognizing the fact, urged, if indeed he did not positively direct, us to secure this at once—by purchase if possible—by taking it from abandoned shops if it could not otherwise be had. Purchase proved quite out of the question. The shop owners had disappeared, and the whole city was given over to pillage, the Chinese themselves taking the leading part. On a visit to the Imperial University, Dr. Martin found in its immediate neighborhood a small shop, entirely abandoned, and all its doors broken down and wide open, containing a considerable supply of wheat, and a small store of rice and beans. He advised our mission to secure this wheat at once, and promised to be personally responsible for its value in case the owner returned. Several of the ordinary small Peking carts were accordingly dispatched, with Dr. Martin as a guide, to the shop, and came back laden with the precious grain. Dr. Martin himself remained, dinnerless, too, for the return of the carts for a second load. During the second visit a Russian officer in charge of the district appeared on the scene, but finding the grain in our carts not such as was required by the Russian army, allowed us to take it away. This grain we had ground into flour and sold it to the native Christians at a low price, until some other sources of supply appeared. We then advised the purchase of grain in the market, and the retention of the wheat until the price of grain advanced, as we felt sure it would. In the meantime, a large supply of American flour and Korean rice, the gift to the American army of the Emperor of Korea, was presented to our mission by General Chaffee for the use of the Christians. This, too, we sold at a low price, except in cases of poverty, where it was freely given away. With the proceeds we bought cheaper grains—millet and old rice—which in turn were also

sold and the proceeds invested as before. In this way we tide'd over the hard winter without great suffering, and without drawing largely on our original stocks of wheat. When the season of 1901 was sufficiently advanced to insure a good harvest, we sold the balance of this wheat at a high price, and put the remainder, nearly \$200, in bank to await the return of the owner. This sum will be increased by the proceeds of sales. As yet this owner has not appeared.

"The shop remained untenanted for nearly a year. Various enquiries failed to elicit the whereabouts of the managers. In the meantime all the movable appurtenances, even the heavy millstones, were carried away by plunderers. About a year after the raising of the siege, I made it a final visit, preparatory to returning to the United States, and learned from neighbors that the day before one of the junior managers had returned from his flight. I arranged for an interview with him the next day. I learned at this interview that the chief owner and head manager of the shop had committed suicide a day or two after the taking of the city by the allied troops, when a general looting of the shops and residences of wealthy citizens had begun, and that the other partners and assistants had all fled to the province of Shantung. After receiving adequate assurances from neighboring shopmen that he was entitled to receive it I turned over to the junior manager a small quantity of rice and beans still undisposed of that had come from his shop, and the proceeds of the sale of wheat mentioned above, to which I added the market value of the wheat, rice and beans sold or given away to our native Christians, amounting in all to nearly three hundred dollars. For this our friend expressed his grateful thanks, and affirmed that he was fully satisfied with our action in the matter. He might well have been so, for without our interference he would have been left penniless, the building which his firm occupied not being their own.

"One small cartload of grain, partly wheat, partly rice, was secured at an abandoned dwelling in another part of the city by permission of the army officer in charge of the district. Except rifles, ammunition, swords, Boxer flags, records, badges, etc., picked up in the streets or found in Boxer camps, no other goods than grain were taken by the missionaries of the Presbyterian Board."

Wide currency has been given to the criticisms on missionaries in the report of Major-General Chaffee to the War Department. In Manila, I asked General Chaffee whether his criticisms applied to any of our Presbyterian missionaries. He promptly replied that so far as he knew they did not, and that he had not had them in mind in discussing the questions at issue. He named one of our Peking mission-



aries as personally known to him as a good man, and his aid, who was present during my interview, added that Mr. ———, one of our Paotingfu missionaries, was the best man he had met in China. After full and frank conference and inquiry on this subject, I am confident and I have pleasure in reporting to the Board that the hands of our Presbyterian missionaries are clean as touching this matter.

#### INDEMNITY.

I am equally willing to publish to the world the course of our missionaries in the adjustment of indemnities. The losses have been heavy. In life, five missionaries, three children and over two hundred Christians; in health, wounds and bruises and shattered nerves; in mind, suspense and grief and agony so prolonged and heart-breaking that some will never recover from its effects; in property, the Board has lost all its valuable plants at the Peking, Paotingfu and Wei Hsien stations; many buildings in other stations, like Ichoufu, were damaged, and heavy expense was incurred in the rescue of missionaries, in bringing some of them home, and in maintaining others at ports where prices of living were greatly increased. The missionaries of all the interior stations in North China lost personal effects, most of the members of the stations mentioned above losing everything they possessed, except the summer clothing they happened to be wearing when the outbreak occurred; while multitudes of the Chinese Christians were reduced to utter destitution.

And yet, after prayerful consideration of all the circumstances, our Board, as far back as September, 1900, unanimously voted that "It would be highly unbecoming in the followers of Christ to manifest a mercenary spirit and make exorbitant demands upon the Chinese, and that when the Government should ask for information as to claims for indemnity, such claims should not include suffering, loss of life, or interruption of work, but only the actual value of destroyed or injured property, and the extraordinary expenses incurred in consequence of the troubles."

The original plan was to have all claims, personal and mission, approved by the mission within whose bounds the losses occurred, and sent to the civil authorities, not by the missionaries, but only through the Board, which should handle them on behalf of the missionaries, as well as of itself, thus relieving the individual missionary of much trouble, and avoiding the embarrassment to the Government which would have been involved if hundreds of widely scattered individuals were to separately push their claims with varying degrees of vigor, and with widely different ideas as to the objects which should be included. In this way, we

thought, the vexed question of indemnity could be handled in an orderly and prudent manner. We could prevent demands which might subject the whole missionary enterprise to criticism, and, at the same time, avoid embittering the Chinese by taking what might be deemed an unfair advantage of them.

With this moderate position our missionaries were in full sympathy. Indeed, the East and West Shantung Mission, in joint meeting, December 15th, 1900, passed a special resolution expressing its appreciation and gratitude. I have not found a Presbyterian missionary in China who feels that any indemnity should be asked or received for punishment, suffering or death, save in clearly exceptional cases, where the impoverishment of Chinese widows and orphans might necessitate some provision for them. The utmost that any have asked, so far as I know, is for reimbursement for actual monetary loss, conservatively estimated. The joint meeting of the Shantung Missions, already referred to, adopted the following :

"The East and West Shantung Missions believe,

"1. That the Board should receive indemnity in full for all property destroyed, and for all extraordinary expenses incurred through the Boxer disturbances.

"2. That individual missionaries should be indemnified in full for all private property destroyed, and for all expenses incurred through the disturbances.

"3. We agree that such indemnities should be secured through the Board, in harmony with the Board's suggestion.

"4. We admit the principle that Chinese Christians should also be reimbursed for direct losses consequent on the Boxer disturbances.

"5. In cases where Chinese who, though not baptized, yet suffered losses through some connection with Christians, or through friendliness toward them, or through previous interest in the truth, that each case be investigated and decided on its merits.

"6. As to the basis for reckoning indemnity, and methods for securing it for Chinese, it is important,

"a. That such indemnity be only sufficient to replace actual losses of property. In cases of wounds or death, it may be permissible under exceptional circumstances to ask for a special indemnity.

"b. That claims be settled under the supervision of the missionaries, privately and harmoniously if possible, through mediators; if not, then through the local magistrate. If this is impossible, the case may finally be taken to the Consul.

"c. When settlement could be secured through some abatement of the claims, the missionaries should urge the

Christians to accept the compromise, rather than continue litigation.

"*d.* If the official, in a spirit of fairness, prefers to deal with the Chinese directly, we should remain in the background, giving him full opportunity to settle the troubles if he can.

"*e.* Too great care cannot be taken to settle in such a way that, so far as possible, future bitterness of feeling be allayed."

In practice, however, the Shantung missionaries were led to place an emphasis on "*c*" and "*e*" which resulted in a considerable modification of their declaration in 1 and 2 that "indemnity in full" should be paid. For many of the local Chinese magistrates were indisposed to wait the conclusion of tedious diplomatic negotiations, and intimated a willingness and, in some cases, an eagerness to settle at once with the individual missionaries.

In the Chihli Province this local settlement did not include the losses of the Board or the missionaries, which, in compliance with the request of the United States Minister in Peking, were filed with the Legation, December 31, 1900. The claims including the losses of the Board and the personal losses of all the missionaries, save for one, who declined to present any claim. In Peking, the original cost of the Board's property was \$47,617, gold. But the prices of labor and materials have so risen since the buildings were erected that the mission estimated that it would cost at least \$53,422 to replace them, and indemnity was, therefore, asked in that sum. The personal losses of the fifteen missionaries of the station call for \$28,323. For Paotingfu, the claims are: for the Board \$11,850; for personal, \$15,530, the latter including the hospital, which was listed as Dr. Atterbury's property. The estimates for the Board's losses include, of course, furniture, etc., as well as buildings. The governing principle was indemnity for the full cost of replacing the destroyed property, this being estimated from the present prices of materials and labor to be about 10 per cent. more than the original cost, though the exact original cost only was asked whenever there was reason to believe that it would replace a given article. Each item of the personal as well as the Board claims was separately examined and approved by the mission, except in the case of two missionaries, who sent their personal lists directly to the Legation when departing for America at the close of the siege.

No losses of Chinese Christians were filed with the Legation, save that, in obedience to a ruling of the Legations, the losses of native employees of the missionaries were sent in a separate list. Afterward, a Chinese Imperial Com-

mission, appointed by the Government, requested that a statement of all claims be sent to it. With the approval of United States Minister Conger, the commission was given a copy of the claim filed with the Legation, with the understanding that it was not thereby withdrawn from the Legation. A schedule of all the claims of Chinese Christians was also handed this commission. The commission, after examination of all these claims, approved them without demur just as they were presented, referred all foreign claims to the general indemnity fund to be settled through the Legation, and promised that the Chinese Government would pay all native claims within three months directly to the Chinese concerned.

Meantime, the magistrate of San Ho Hsien (county), where more than half the losses of our native Christians occurred, began raising money for them without any suggestion from the missionaries, and soon others followed his example; so that now practically all the losses of our native Christians have been paid, except in the city of Peking, where, as indicated above, payment is promised in September. The losses of the Peking Christians have since been paid in full.

The missionaries, however, were by no means content to leave the native Christians to deal directly with the Chinese officials. Human nature is as strong in the Chinese as in the American, and when so many in our own land rate burned household furniture above its market value, and deem it no wrong to charge the government a little more than any one else, we can hardly wonder that some of the Chinese fell into the same temptation, particularly as the money was to be paid by those who had tried to kill them, and who would kill them now if they dared. So the missionaries wisely felt that the good name of the cause of Christ was involved, and that, as the appointed leaders of the Church, it was their duty to see that no one of their flocks took advantage of the situation to obtain more than was justly his due, as well as that the numerous pretended Christians should not smuggle in fraudulent claims under cover of the confusion and the officials' ignorance of individual cases. The mission, therefore, appointed a committee of two missionaries, Mr. Killie and Mr. Cunningham, and two Chinese, and this committee insisted that all claims of native Christians should be itemized and presented to it in writing. Each one was carefully examined, a visit usually being made for this purpose to the village where the claimant lived. The committee was assisted in determining values by a schedule sent out by Viceroy Li Hung Chang, specifying that a brick house with a tiled roof should be

rated at 30 taels for each room; a brick house with straw roof, 25 taels for each room; a mud house with straw roof, 20 taels for each room; the contents of the house in no case to exceed in value the cost of the building, a life to be listed at 70 taels, etc. (A tael is about 70 cents.)

The committee labored hard and conscientiously, rigidly scrutinizing each item presented to it. Not only were claims reduced where definite proof of overvaluation was obtained, but many were cut down where proof could not be had, so anxious were the missionaries that no extortion should be permitted. The Christians were frankly and yet kindly told that it was better that they should suffer some loss for Christ's sake than that their neighbors should have any ground for suspecting that injustice had been done them. Not a claim was endorsed until the committee was satisfied that it was not beyond the actual loss sustained. No collections were made from the people or the village officials, but solely through the hsien (county) magistrates. No visits were made to the villages where the violence had been committed to ask or to accept anything, but only to verify claims. Not a cent was included or received for widows, orphans, fines, punishment, monuments, tablets or chapels, except where a chapel had been destroyed, and then, of course, the cost of replacing it was included.

Under Viceroy Li Hung Chang's schedule the Mission Committee might have collected 21,000 taels for loss of life, but the committee refused to receive a single tael for this purpose. In one outstation, it was found that three families had collected 1,100 taels for several lives, a sum which, by Chinese standards, would have enriched them for life. But the committee required the families to refund every tael to the official. The only exception was the case of a Paotingfu widow whose husband was murdered, and who was left destitute with three little girls, and with no relative to help her. Even then, no demand was made, but Mr. Lowrie simply told the hsien magistrate about the case, and he promptly provided for her necessities.

The hsien magistrates appeared to be not only relieved but delighted by the course adopted by our missionaries. One of them told Mr. Killie that he had expected the claims to be three times as large, and at the close of the negotiations, all the magistrates heartily thanked our missionaries for their moderation and fairness. The Chinese Christians also accepted in a beautiful spirit the judgment of the missionaries in scaling down their claims. This part of the work required no little tact and firmness, and it is a remarkable testimony to the spiritual character of the Chinese Christians, as well as to the wisdom of the missionaries,

that the native brethren yielded to the committee, and accepted such a modest, and, in many instances, partial reimbursement, when so many others were reaping that rich harvest which was in strict accordance with hereditary custom and the universal expectation of the Chinese themselves.

In Shantung, the field conditions, as the missionaries found them on returning to their stations in the spring, led some of them to feel that no indemnity whatever should be received. While they believed that both the Board and the missionaries were entitled to full reimbursement, from the viewpoint of legal right and strict justice, they, nevertheless, held that, from the viewpoint of Christian expediency, it would be unwise to accept it. Further reflection and correspondence, however, brought nearly all of the missionaries to the conclusion that the ends of Christian charity and mission influence would not be imperiled by their acceptance of a reasonable compensation for destroyed property, especially as Governor Yuan Shih Kai showed a disposition to settle all claims, foreign as well as native, "out of court." Indeed, his representative, Tao t'ai T'ang, frankly said that "it was not the Governor's desire that the indemnity should be all remitted, but that should we see fit to withdraw some portion of it, the Governor would be under obligations," though this intimation was not due to any feeling on the part of the Governor that the full amount would have been unreasonable.

The missionaries, however, had already decided, after much thought and prayer, to reduce their claims to the lowest point consistent with reason. The circumstances varied. At Chiningchow, though the station was abandoned for a year, no property, Board or personal, had been touched. This was remarkable, as Chiningchow is not only our most distant and isolated station in North China, but it is in a region which has long been notorious for robbery and violence. Nor did the Chinese Christians seriously suffer. The elders told me that there were many rumors of danger, threats of maltreatment and a few cases of blackmail, but that no Christian was hurt, and no one had his property stolen or destroyed. As Mr. Laughlin arrived with me, he had not had time for full inquiry before I left. But no signs of loss were then apparent.

At Ichowfu the buildings were but slightly injured, but windows were broken; locks, door-knobs and many articles of furniture were carried away; pillows, mattresses, a piano, and in some cases, the plastering, were ripped open in the search for valuables. The looting here was not done by the people, who have always been friendly, but by the Chinese Im-

perial soldiers, on their way from the southern provinces to aid in the attack on the foreigners in Peking. As they were government troops and marching under the command of their officers, the missionaries believed that the government might be fairly expected to make good the loss. However, in order to be on the safe side, and to give no possible ground for complaint, the estimates were cut down below the actual loss, the list handed to the hsien magistrate calling for only \$300, gold, for the Board's losses, and \$4,000, gold, for the personal losses of all seven of the missionaries belonging to the station, though some of them had lost their all, Mr. Chalfant's new house in particular having been stripped even to nails and picture hooks.

The losses of the Chinese Christians were not large in the aggregate, and were handled in the same conservative manner, each claim being rigidly scrutinized, and reduced to a figure whose reasonableness none could challenge. All these claims, foreign and native have now been paid.

At Chinanfu, also, comparatively little damage was done to the mission buildings; but, as in Ichowfu, breakages, thefts and the extraordinary expenses incident to the escape of the missionaries, amounted to over 7,000 taels. The same moderation was observed, and the claim was scaled down to 5,000 taels, including 500 taels for books belonging to the Diffusion Society, which were on deposit with the station. Chinanfu is the residence of the Governor, and so impressed was he by the spirit of fairness manifested by the missionaries that, within two days after the signing of the agreement, the amount agreed upon was paid to the station treasurer.

The Chinese Christians in this station field are scattered over eight counties, and they suffered heavily from black-mail, looting and arson. Only three were murdered, but several other deaths occurred from causes directly traceable to the mental and physical agonies of the outbreak. As in other stations, no effort was spared by the missionaries to keep within the limits, not only of justice, but of charity. No attempts were made to call to account the villages where the losses occurred, but, in company with two Chinese deputies, designated by the Governor, Messrs. Hamilton and Murray adjusted all claims through the county magistrates. Everywhere the conferences were friendly. "We took," writes Mr. Murray, "the position of ministers seeking relief for our suffering people, and in no case of lawyers having a case. We made an occasion to speak of our mission, the Church, the members, their relation and our relation, to the government. We said plainly and repeatedly that we discouraged a spirit of revenge and of undue litigation. In one or two cases we mentioned by name and act

those who were unworthy, and said we could not make a claim for them. In every way possible we sought the welfare of the name of the Church, as well as the property and persons of the members."

The care and conservatism manifested by the missionaries appear in the fact that the claims approved by them averaged only 50 per cent. of the reported losses. Mr. Murray adds: "In some cases of evident deception, or for bad conduct before and after the outbreak, or for a litigious spirit, we either cut out entirely or allowed a low per cent. While we put in on the basis of 50 per cent., yet we held the right to distribute when money is paid to us, according to circumstances. In connection with the helpers and others, the lists are again revised; some got fully 50 per cent.; others having lands and other permanent property will get a little less than 40 per cent.; others, for very doubtful conduct as Christians will get even less. We had to do this, for even on the final count, at the very close, in order to close up the case without too much friction, we still dropped, in some places, from the 50 per cent. In such cases, the worthy persons, especially if poor, got all, while the rich and others bore the cut. When the matter in hand was decided, the official had a written agreement, which we all signed. The money is promised to be paid to us for the Christians through the Foreign Office, at Chinanfu. The time limit of forty and fifty days was agreed upon. In one case, half to be paid in fifty days and half in two months. There was objection to it being paid through the Foreign Office, the reason given being, 'We don't want any public record of it.'" All have now been paid.

The heaviest loss in Shantung was at Wei Hsien, where our large station was virtually destroyed. The compound wall, with the exception of a few breaks, remains intact, and one or two of the smaller buildings are but little injured. But all the larger buildings are in ruins, and the materials that can be saved will not much more than pay the cost of clearing the site for rebuilding. The actual losses on the mission compound, exclusive of the losses of Chinese Christians in the village, are 64,421 taels (\$47,720 gold), of which 33,944.40 taels are for Board property, 1,904.80 taels for special expenses caused by the outbreak and 28,571.80 taels for the personal losses of the twelve missionaries belonging to the station, all their clothing and household effects having been totally destroyed.

But the Wei Hsien missionaries, like their brethren in other stations in North China, were thinking not so much of personal compensation as of the interests of the cause of Christ. As one of them said in my hearing: "We are here



to influence the Chinese; if we are not, we had better go home. The effect of our action upon the Chinese, Christian and heathen, must, therefore, be of prime importance." But in applying this excellent principle certain facts had to be kept in mind. On the one hand, the missionaries knew that the ravaged property must be rebuilt. They were aware that the local officials were directly responsible for this necessity. The mob had come from the city, and when it attacked the station, Mr. Chalfant promptly dispatched a messenger to the magistrate, asking for protection. Meantime, with a courage which in the British army would have won the Victoria Cross, he held the assailants at bay. The magistrate received the message and had time to send relief. But instead of doing so he summoned several of the leading men, and in a conference they deliberately decided not to interfere. In such circumstances the missionaries felt that those who had so wantonly connived at the burning of the hospitals and schools and houses of those who had sought only the welfare of the people, should bear some of the cost of rebuilding.

And yet they saw that both gentry and people were sulen and resentful, and that full indemnity could be exacted only by fear or force. They became convinced that such an exaction would embitter the people and prejudice Christian influence for decades. So they decided to share the loss with the Chinese, though innocent themselves to bear a part of the punishment of the guilty, in the hope that their foes, moved by such an example of Christian love, would be conciliated toward the work of the Master. Accordingly, after having made plain to the Chinese officials that the bona fide loss was 64,421 taels, they voluntarily reduced their claim to 45,000 taels. Nor did they simply saddle this loss on the Board. They assigned to it only 1,953 taels, and divided all the rest among themselves—four families and four single women relinquishing altogether 17,468 taels. None of them could afford such a sacrifice, but they made it for the sake of Christ and of His cause.

Governor Yuan Shih Kai personally told me of his grateful appreciation of the spirit manifested by the missionaries. When the revised list of claims was presented for the approval of his representative, Tao t'ai T'ang, he handed it back without looking at it, politely saying: "This is not a commercial transaction, and it would be discourteous for me to read the list. I accept the word of you gentlemen as to their accuracy. A memorandum of the total will be all I desire." In view of the settlement, the Governor readily agreed,

"1st. That the relinquishment of just claims be not made a precedent prejudicial to the claims of others.

"2nd. That the balance will be assessed upon those most culpable in the immediate neighborhood of the mission compound.

"3rd. That a public statement shall be made at Wie Hsien of the nature of the settlement.

"4th. That adequate provision shall be made for the family of the teacher, Chu Tung Kwang, who was killed in the riot.

"5th. That there shall be relief from exorbitant prices in purchase of land adjacent to mission compound.

"6th. That there shall be security of title in cases where the deeds for church or mission property were destroyed or stolen."

Conditions 4 and 5 were complied with June 1st. The first instalment of the indemnity, 20,000 taels, has already been paid, and the Governor has given a written guaranty, stamped with the official seal of the Foreign Office of the provincial capital, that the balance will be forthcoming before next February. The entire indemnity has now been paid.

The losses of the Chinese Christians in the many outstations of the great Wei Hsien field were adjusted in the same careful way as at the other stations already described.

In the East Shantung Mission no mission property was destroyed, as all three stations, Tengchow, Chefoo and Tsingtau, are on the coast. Tengchow had to be abandoned for a time, and the Chefoo missionaries on Temple Hill, two miles back from the water front, had to move down to the beach in readiness for instant departure on a junk which was kept anchored off shore. But their houses were not molested, and the stations were soon reoccupied. The Chinese Christians in the scattered outstations suffered greatly, in common with their brethren in other places. But in every case the matter was settled by the local officials, the missionaries adopting substantially the same methods of close, detailed investigation, reduction of claims within actual losses, and negotiations solely with officials, so that there was no intimidating of helpless villagers, no collection of money under promise of protection.

"How are the funds for these indemnities to be raised?" I ventured to frankly ask Governor Yuan Shih Kai. "We wish the Chinese to feel," I continued, "that we are their friends, and that we are sharing the loss with them. Many of our American Christians who support this work are comparatively poor. We have many financial burdens and we are straitened for funds. But we would rather bear the en-

tire loss ourselves than to have the indemnity wrung from the innocent, or even to have the guilty impoverished. Our religion teaches us to suffer for others as our Master, Christ, has suffered vicariously for us all, and we do not desire the payment of indemnity to be pressed in any way which will make the people smart under a sense of injustice."

The Governor, who, by the way, impressed me as one of the ablest public men I have ever met, listened with profound attention, and then heartily thanked me for expressing such sentiments, and said that they were quite in accord with the position which has been taken by our missionaries. He stated that the Chinanfu indemnity had been paid out of money which was then lying in the provincial treasury. As for the Wei Hsien indemnity, he had sent a deputy to that city to make a careful investigation as to the responsibility for the outrages, which he deeply deplored. As far as possible, the money would be collected from the guilty parties. Of course, if enough could not be secured from them, the balance would have to be raised by general taxation upon the region which had furnished the mob, but he anticipated no difficulty, because some of the officials and gentry had permitted or encouraged the destruction, and he "proposed to make those who had used their mouths pay as well as those who had used their hands." So the sum would be easily collected.

There is reason to fear, however, that the collections will not be so smoothly effected as the good Governor desires. It could be if our losses were the only ones, or if they could be collected separately, but, the German Railroad Company has filed a claim for a million taels, on account of damage done to its property and interests, while there are additional claims by the German mining and railway engineers who were scattered over the province, and particularly by the Roman Catholics, who are very numerous in Shantung, with three dioceses and much valuable property, including expensive cathedrals, schools, orphanages, etc. Some of the priests never left the interior, but purchased ample supplies of food, rifles and ammunition, armed their Christians, fortified themselves, and fought the trouble through with vigor and success. Now they invite the Chinese to foot the bills, and they do not deem it their duty, either, to scale them down. On the contrary, they propose to make their foes pay up, and pay, too, not only for the actual loss, but with a liberal allowance for the trouble which they have caused. At Yenchowfu I saw a stately cathedral approaching completion, the funds having come from the indemnity paid for the murder of two priests in 1897. This is the German and the Roman Catholic policy—to make the Chinese pay heavily

for every attack, and to show them that a destroyed building means a far larger and costlier one in its place. There is not the slightest doubt that they will adopt the same course in the present instance.

And so it comes to pass that our Presbyterian claims are a mere bagatelle in the grand total which the people of Shantung are expected to pay, while as for the Chili losses, the aggregate for not only all the Protestant and Catholic missions, but for the Legations and foreign business interests, and the political, military and naval damages is so enormous that our modest and conscientious Presbyterian claims sink out of sight. And now, on top of all this, comes an order for a higher assessment, to provide for the increased expenditures of the exiled court, a huge sum in itself.

It will, therefore, be difficult to give our conservative policy its intended moral effect upon the Chinese, except as local communities are convinced by the individual missionaries whom they know and trust. A general tax will be collected; has, indeed already been imposed. That tax, while small per capita in our eyes, will not be small to the thrifty and parsimonious Chinese who are always on the verge of starvation, especially as it will fall upon multitudes who took no part in the uprising. It is urged that the outbreak was so general that the whole community may justly be held accountable, but, on the other hand, I am informed that near Wei Hsien, some people who did not even know till afterward that the station was attacked, are now being ordered to help pay for the damage. Even Americans raise a hue and cry over an increase in taxes, and in China the universal antipathy to such increase is in this instance intensified by the poverty of the people and the knowledge that the money will go to the foreigner.

The motives of the local magistrates in promptly taking up the question of indemnity with the missionaries in their respective districts may be variously interpreted. It would be too much to assume that all these officials have suddenly become friends of the foreigner, and it would be contrary to human nature to suppose that so many men are eager to make restitution from purely conscience-stricken consideration. Some enlightened officials, indeed, sincerely lament the mistaken policy of the Boxers, and at the time did everything in their power to check it, Governor Yuan Shih Kai even going so far in his effort to protect the foreigners in Shantung as to jeopardize his own life. Others, like those in Paotingfu, have come into office since the troubles, and are not, therefore, to blame for them. In many places, like Ichowfu and Chiningchow, the people bore no ill-will toward the missionaries, and were kindly disposed toward them.

Even at Wei Hsien, a heathen muleteer, at the risk of his life, helped Miss Boughton and Miss Hawes to escape. There were many instances of great kindness shown to the missionaries by their non-Christian neighbors, and there are many now who deeply deplore the atrocities of last year, and are glad to do what they can to atone for them.

Nevertheless, the great body of the people of all classes, including presumably the friendly officials, unquestionably feel that China has reason to dislike the foreigner. They wish that the movement to expel him from the country had succeeded, and they would revive it to-morrow if they thought it could accomplish its purpose. But the more sagacious officials now see that the foreigner is here to stay, and they are shrewd enough to see that it would be better to have him stay as a friend than as a formidable enemy. They want him to take away his regiments and warships, so that he will vacate their palaces, and so that their Emperor can return to his capital, and they imagine that he will do this as soon as they settle up. They know that indemnity will have to be paid. Apart from any demands from the foreigner, such payment is in accordance with immemorial Chinese custom, and officials and people alike have not the slightest idea that they can escape it. In such circumstances, it is the inevitable and invariable course in this land to offer a financial compensation for injuries. They know that if this indemnity is paid through the Government in Peking, their share of it will not only be levied upon them, but "two or three fold" more, to cover what the Chinese euphemistically term, "charges for collecting," for the official "squeeze" is accepted as a matter of course in China, and the very thought of the long line of official hands through which an indemnity would have to pass from Wei Hsien via Peking to Berlin, London, St. Petersburg and Washington, frightens the local magistrate, who believes that, in order to get 45,000 taels to the missionaries by such a circuitous route he would probably be mulcted 145,000. The missionaries are in his district. He knows them to be kindly, fair-minded men, and he, therefore, prefers to deal directly with them. Indeed, he is eager to do so. In some instances, he does not wait for the presentation of claims but presses the money upon them, and when they accept it and give him a receipt, he is relieved and delighted at his good fortune in getting off so easily. In the Canton Mission, the local magistrate not only paid the claims with alacrity, but sent presents to the missionary in token of his gratitude. Doubtless, all these motives, with varying degrees of emphasis in different localities, have operated in bringing about the settlement of claims.

Should the missionary accept the indemnity in such cir-

circumstances? Some say, No. Three of our own missionaries in North China declined to file any claims for themselves, though they did so for the Board. Several others asked reimbursement for only half their losses. I am informed that the China Inland Mission, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, have, as Mission Boards, taken the same ground and will ask the home churches to make good their losses and those of the missionaries. One of our missionaries forcefully presents the argument for this view in a way which should interest those who imagine that all missionaries are demanding indemnity.

His views may be summarized as follows:—

1. Though as citizens entitled to such indemnity, yet there is a higher law than legal right.

2. The disciples began and carried on their work, expecting, but neither seeking nor avoiding persecution. Paul's assertion of his Roman citizenship at Philippi and Jerusalem was simply arguing for protection not indemnity.

3. The renunciation of just claims would emphasize to the Chinese government the difference between the Church and the covetous "powers".

4. A forced indemnity will irritate officials and people, while its renunciation will impress them with Christian generosity.

5. Relinquishment will teach the Chinese Church a useful lesson.

6. The sacrifice demanded of the American Church by relinquishment will stimulate spirituality.

While the majority of missionaries in China apparently heartily agree with these arguments in the main, yet they do not feel that his conclusion necessarily follows.

So far as I can judge from what I have learned in China, the majority of the missionaries of all denominations, while heartily agreeing with much that Mr. Davies has so eloquently urged, do not feel that his conclusion necessarily follows. They believe that Christian justice and security for the future demand some payment. An apparently small minority of our missionaries, and a considerable majority of the missionaries of some other Boards, feel that indemnity should be full, and with something over, for moral effect. They insist that it will not do in China any more than in America to allow the vicious to imagine that they can burn and steal and rape and murder—violate all laws, human and divine—and then, without any sign of true repentance, be freely forgiven. That would be casting pearls before swine with a vengeance. Nor will it suffice, they argue, to give the criminals the idea that the payment of enough to rebuild a burned house will atone for everything, while the foreign

occupant endures all the hardship and suffering and the innocent widows and orphans of the slaughtered Chinese Christians are left to starve. The criminals will pay, chuckle in their sleeve at getting off so easily, and burn the house again at the first opportunity. They must be made to understand that such outrages will not be tolerated, and the only way to make them understand is to touch them at the only point where the Chinese are sensitive — the pocket. They will stop pillaging mission property and murdering women and children if they find that such amusements come high. It is to the real interests of the Chinese themselves, we are told, that they should be taught this lesson. There is no hope for China until this lesson is learned, and it will be mistaken kindness if a false sentimentalism prevents us from adopting a stern but eminently just policy at this time.

Influenced by some such considerations as these, some of the missionaries of some of the other Protestant Boards, the Roman Catholics quite generally, and, of course, the business and political foreigners, have exacted not only the full amount of their monetary loss, but an additional sum of varying proportions, as a fine, or for widows and orphans, or for monuments or memorial buildings. I am credibly informed that some non-missionary civilians have included in their claims \$5,000 for wardrobe. In several cases valuable land has been purchased for a merely nominal sum from owners who were too frightened to insist on a fair price, while in one city that I visited the priests were compelling the terrified people to labor without compensation in extensive rebuilding operations. It is not for me to judge the Roman Catholics who have adopted this policy, and whose splendid cathedrals I saw rising in more than one city with the proceeds of a "punitive" indemnity. Nor must I be understood as criticizing my brethren of other Protestant bodies who have seen fit to adopt a modified phase of the same policy. They are highminded, Christian men, who are acting from a lofty sense of duty, whose personal sacrifices for the Chinese are notable, and whose judgment is backed by many years' experience in dealing with Asiatics. The question is not one of essential right or wrong, but of expediency and judgment. Every day, in America, courts award damages for slander and accidental injuries and no one objects. In Indiana, the Christian Governor Mount, with the approval of the press of the whole country, proposed a law assessing heavy damages upon any county in which mob violence occurred. Everybody knew that ninety-nine one-hundredths of the population of such a county would be innocent, but it was deemed just to hold the public accountable for what it tolerated. Why, then, should honorable

Christian men in China be maligned for conscientiously believing that the Chinese must be convinced by just penalty and treaty rights must be respected and human lives held sacred? In a letter to me, which I have permission to publish, Sir Robert Hart writes :

“As regards recent occurrences in China, and more especially in and around Peking, you wish me to say whether there has been anything in the action or attitude of missionaries in respect of indemnity claims, punitive measures and looting, to justify the scolding and abuse which some writers and speakers have indulged in. This opens up a very large question, and you will get a different answer from every man you apply to. So many societies, congregations and individuals are concerned that thorough justice could only be looked for by treating of each one separately. Neither the information at my command, nor my time, will admit of that, however, and I doubt if anything short of that would be convincing or satisfactory.

“The experience we are emerging from has been a trying one, and at every step the progressive nature of consciousness forced one to recognize how principle must permeate circumstance, and how circumstance must interpret principle. Considering the terrible and uncalled-for suffering Chinese action caused people, sufferers are entitled to the fullest indemnification. While this right is beyond all question, there are some who think the positive good likely to follow renunciation would prove a greater blessing than the deterrent effects of a heavy fine. I think it is a matter for the individual conscience to settle. If circumstances guide conscience into demanding the utmost farthing, it is right to demand it. And if the man who teaches the people to pray, ‘forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors,’ prefers to act accordingly and forgive, he need not fear the blessing of Heaven will not follow the object lesson. Some claims, however, are said to be excessive, and if such be the case, to satisfy them will in the end carry its own punishment with it. Missionaries do not lose their civil rights on ordination; on the contrary, and perhaps all the more so, if they in Christian charity are willing to forego them their national authorities ought to see in the renunciation of the individual all the greater reason for enforcing what the community respects as a right. Principle and circumstance are so intertwined that, admirable as it is, even renunciation must cease to be Christian when it ceases to be politic, and therefore the constituted authorities ought to be saddled with the responsibility of decision.”

But while I refuse to join those who so unjustly assail devoted men who have acted from pure motives, my own con-



victions are a mean between the two views outlined above. I would neither renounce everything, on the one hand, nor demand everything, on the other. Perhaps I may define my position as follows:

From the political viewpoint, the missionary is a citizen, and he has the same rights to indemnity for life and property as any other citizen. He cannot yield this point, or permit any one to deprive him of his full status as an American citizen. If it is lawful for a business man to demand an indemnity, it is lawful for a missionary to demand it. He is no more objectionable to the Chinese than the trader. He is under the protection of the same treaties, and our Government has no right to discriminate between its citizens when they are engaged in legitimate undertakings.

But whether he should receive indemnity is a question not of political right but of Christian expediency, to be determined not for him but by him, and by him not from the viewpoint of legal status or commercial transaction, but of the higher law of divine love. He should remember with Paul that "all things are lawful, but all things are not expedient." Most of us have rights which we do not deem it prudent to exercise. Without waiving them, we voluntarily hold them in abeyance, because to insist upon them would "edify not." There are some things that I will give away that I will not sell. The bearing of indemnity upon the cause of Christ should, therefore, be considered from this viewpoint:

I do not believe it to be expedient to ask or to accept indemnity for life. We should place no money value upon the lives of our martyred dead, not because they were worthless, but because they were priceless. There must be no haggling about the cost of blood. We do not wish the Chinese to feel that a missionary's life can be estimated in dollars and cents. Christ plainly warned His followers that "they shall deliver you up to be afflicted and shall kill you, and ye shall be hated of all nations, for My name's sake." The missionary goes forth knowing this, and if, like his Master, he suffers death, it is not for us to send a bill to Cæsar. Nor would I accept indemnity, even if it were offered, for physical or mental suffering. Stripes and imprisonments, tears, and travail, have from the beginning been a part of the risk accepted by the true missionary. The apostles did not sue their persecutors for damages, while the Lord Himself, when invited to reply to His accusers, opened not His mouth.

As to indemnity for property, it may be said that the same principle holds. But Christian expediency is not bound by logic any more than by law. At any rate, on its ground, I recognize a difference between life and property. If I am

charged with inconsistency, I reply that within the limits of my right, I can do as I please, and I please to distinguish blood from bricks.

So I hold that if indemnity for property is conceded by the Chinese, who pay it, to be just and fair, and if it is willingly paid, I would accept it in any sum not exceeding the actual loss sustained. Some of the North China magistrates wanted to settle with the missionary to avoid the otherwise certain extortion of a far larger sum through the Powers, and to have refused would have disappointed and irritated them, as it would simply have forced them into the hands of the corruptionist. But if indemnity must be exacted by force, if it is prompted by fear, if it impoverishes the innocent, if its collection would embitter the people against the cause we love, if there is ground for believing that self-sacrifice would open hearts now closed, if the native Christians show a spirit of greed or revenge and need an example of self-denial for Jesus' sake—in these contingencies, I say, I would remit so much of a just and lawful claim as would suffice to avert such results, even if I had to relinquish all of it.

To the argument that the Chinese do not appreciate magnanimity, that they would interpret it as weakness, and feel that they had license to destroy, I replied :

a. It is safer and better to assume that the heathen is a man who does understand kindness and self-sacrifice, and who will be influenced by it. The human heart is essentially the same the world over.

b. If the Chinese do not understand magnanimity, let us teach it to them, by example as well as by precept. That is what we are there for. That is the way Christ taught us when we were as dull of comprehension as the Chinese.

c. Even if it were true that the Chinese cannot be made to understand charity and self-sacrifice, it does not follow that we should abandon our Christian principles. We should not become bullies because others may know only the argument of brute strength.

Since so much depends upon the local circumstances and the local feeling in a particular district, which may differ widely from those in the adjacent province, the Board should content itself with fixing the general principle of indemnity only in such sums within the actual cost of replacing damaged property and the special expenses caused by the outbreak as the law of Christian expediency may dictate, and the determination of this sum should be left, as far as practicable, to the discretion of the missionaries upon the ground in consultation with and subject to the approval of the mission to which they belong. Any error of an individual will thus be corrected by his colleagues, who are as competent as

he is to judge of tendencies and effects. The missionaries, living as they do among the people, speaking their language, personally knowing them, are properly the ones to intelligently gauge their sentiment.

But if the missionaries recommend remission, either in whole or in part, it should be with the distinct understanding on their part that they are to share in the loss by making a pro rata reduction upon their own claims. The moral effect of reduction will be lost upon both people and native Christians unless the missionaries offer to bear their proportion with them. The Board may endeavor, in its discretion, to relieve the missionary of this personal burden, but it should not guarantee to do so. I believe that ordinarily it will be wiser for the Chinese, the native Christians, the missionaries and the Board, to share the loss, than it will be to force any one party to bear it all. As for the Christian at home who declares that the Board ought not to receive any indemnity whatever, I would invite him to subscribe.

Holding the above views, I am, naturally, very much gratified to find that our Presbyterian missionaries have, for the most part, independently adopted this middle course, and while I respect honored brethren of other Boards who, from motives as pure as ours, followed a different course, I rejoice that our own workers stand squarely upon the ground of Christian expediency as interpreted by the law of charity and self-sacrifice. They would be the last to expect any credit for this above their fellows. Almost every missionary in North China is poorer because of the Boxer outbreak. Some have suffered in money, some in health, some in loved ones. Those who have borne most know that their brethren who have borne less would have cheerfully endured as much if their peculiar circumstances had called for the larger sacrifice. Those of us who were providentially in places of safety can say with one who was at home on furlough:

"In spirit, I have suffered with those whose goods and shelter have been destroyed. I have wandered with the homeless Chinese Christians. I have felt the agony of a strong man overpowered in defense of those dearer than his life. I have stood beside that Christian mother who saw father and children and grandchildren slain before her eyes. The unutterable shame of outraged Christian womanhood has burned into my soul."

I thank God for what my eyes have seen and my ears have heard of the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in this troubled land. So far as hostile criticism is directed against them, I am prepared to meet it. The home church has no cause to be ashamed of its representatives in China.

I question, however, whether some of them are not bearing more than their share of financial loss. They have assumed the burden of their own accord, and when I have intimated my feeling that the church at home ought to help some of them, they have replied that this would prejudice their influence over both Chinese officials and native Christians, who suppose that the missionaries are suffering with them. They say that, after using their own example to induce the Christians to acquiesce in only partial indemnity for Christ's sake, they would be placed in an embarrassing position if all their own losses were made good from America. I grant the force of this objection, and I believe, as I have already indicated, that the missionary who advises others to reduce their claims should reduce his own in the same ratio. Nevertheless, I cannot but feel that the missionaries who have relinquished a half or more are going farther than can reasonably be expected. Their willingness is worthy of all praise, but I hope that the Board can obtain some special gifts which will make the distribution of losses more equitable. An equitable adjustment has since been made by the Board.

What attitude the Board should take toward its proportion of the national indemnity of 450,000,000 taels, to be paid in 4 per cent. bonds to each power according to its claim, may, it seems to me, be determined by the principles already enunciated, if they commend themselves to the judgment of the Board. That, is if our part of that indemnity is recognized by the Chinese as reasonable, if it is not for life or for hardship, but only for expenditure, and if it will not bitter the Chinese against us, I see no reason why we should not receive it if it is offered. But if it has to be exacted by military power, I would not touch it. After having talked not only with many foreigners, but scores of Chinese officials, on this subject, I believe that the course of our national administration is in harmony with the conditions which I have enumerated. It is plain to every one here that China feels that America has been her best friend in the recent trials. She knows that America tried to reduce the indemnity to the lowest practicable sum, and there is no part of that indemnity which the Chinese will pay more ungrudgingly than the part which goes to the United States. The details of payment are not settled yet, but as they will be known to the Board by telegraph before this report can reach New York, I need not enter the subject here further than to state that the bonds are likely to run for thirty years, and that, as the customs receipts are already mortgaged, and as a joint guarantee by the Powers appears at this writing to be improbable, the market value of the bonds will be

chiefly determined by the disposition of each Power to guarantee its own. If our Government does this, the indemnity will probably become available in about a year and a half, and the whole should be realized within three years. At least, this is the opinion of a gentleman in Peking whose knowledge of the situation and whose relation to the Chinese Government entitle his judgment to great weight.

#### RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO THE CIVIL POWER.

The relation of the foreign missionary to the consular and diplomatic representatives of his own government is another topic of special interest at this time. In answer to an inquiry by the Rev. Paul D. Bergen, seventy-three missionaries, of from five to thirty years' experience, and representing many of the Protestant Boards, reported a total of only fifty-two applications, through Consul or minister, on behalf of native Christians, though the inquiry did not cover applications on their own behalf, which were presumably few. On this subject, also, I find that our missionaries take conservative ground. Indeed, a few would adopt the policy of wholly abrogating appeals to the civil power. One of them frankly writes;

"Probably no missionary to China doubts that almost all Chinese officials believe the missionaries to be political agents. Dr. D. Z. Sheffield recently said: 'Missionaries are feared and hated not because of their religious teachings but because they are thought to be political emissaries.' While in China I was repeatedly asked my rank as 'an American official,' whether I 'report in person to my emperor on my return to my native land,' 'how much salary my government allows me,' and many other questions the import of which is manifest. During the late reform period (1895), I was assiduously cultivated by an expectant official who had been unsuccessful in obtaining office, in the hope that I would induce the Governor to give him a place. He offered, through our Chinese medical helper, to contribute 1,000 taels (\$750) or more a year to the Church in return for our aid, provided he secured office. This seems very strange, and yet there are, doubtless, many things, which interpreted from the standpoint of the Chinese official, would appear to warrant such a view. Their sentiments were voiced long ago by Wen Hsiang, who said, in 1868: 'Take away your extra-territorial clause, and merchant and missionary may settle anywhere and everywhere, but retain it and we must do our best to confine you and our trouble to the treaty ports.' The spirit of dependence on the political influence of the foreigner is an acknowledged weakness of the Chinese church to-day, and example is better than precept."

Doubtless many diplomats would be glad to have the missionaries expatriate themselves. But, while we cannot limit the liberty of the individual to renounce his claim to the protection of American citizenship, I am of the opinion that such renunciation is neither necessary nor expedient. There is not the slightest probability that our Government will require it, and if it should, the public sentiment of America would not tolerate it for a week. No self-respecting nation can expatriate its citizens who go abroad to preach Christ.

Nor would I go so far as the China Indian Mission in forbidding missionaries to appeal to their government officials without special permission from headquarters. But I think it might be well to make the approval of the station necessary, and, wherever practicable, of the mission. Nine-tenths of the missionaries do not and will not unnecessarily write or telegraph for the intervention of Minister or Consul. But the tenth man may be benefited by the counsel of his colleagues who know or who may be easily acquainted with the facts. This is in harmony with the policy of the Board, which, in a formal action, has expressed the judgment that "appeals to the secular arm should always and everywhere be as few as possible." It is not in the civil or military power of our country to give missionary success. In the crude and half-chaotic condition of heathen society, and the hostility of those who "take council together against the Lord," the temptation is sometimes strong to appeal for aid to "the secular arm" of the United States Government. Occasions may possibly arise in which it will be necessary to insist upon them. Nevertheless, as a rule, it will be wise to remember that "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal but mighty through God," and that "the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men." The argument of the sword is Mohammedan, not Christian. Our Prince is a Prince of Peace, and "His banner over us is love." The veteran Rev. J. Hudson Taylor holds that in the long run appeals to home government do nothing but harm. He says he has known of many riots that had never been reported and of much suffering endured in silence which have "fallen out rather to the furtherance of the Gospel," and that "if we leave God to vindicate our cause the issue is sure to prove marvelous in spirituality."

The critics are now vociferously charging that the missionaries are manifesting a bloodthirsty and revengeful spirit. It may indeed be true that among the thousands of Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries in China some have temporarily lost their self-control and given way to anger under the awful provocation of ruined work, burned homes, outraged women and butchered Chinese Christians. How many at home would or could remain calm in such circum-

stances? But it is grossly unjust to treat such excited utterances as representative of the great body of missionary opinion, particularly among Presbyterians. Our missionaries, as a rule, are men and women of the highest Christian character. They have gone to China, and they propose to stay there, because they love and believe in the Chinese, and it is very far from their thought to demand their punishment. They sensibly expected a certain amount of opposition from tradition, heathenism, superstition and corruption, and they are not disposed to unmanly or unchristian measures when that trouble falls upon them which fell in even greater measure on their Master Himself. They know, too, that the uprising in China was not so much anti-Christian as anti-foreign, that it was superinduced chiefly by foreign politics and commerce, and by a native revolutionary party whose zeal was not tempered by discretion.

Critics, however, may be reminded that missionaries are American citizens; that when distillers' agents and beer-sellers and gamblers in China claim the rights of American citizenship, the missionary does not forfeit his rights by a residence in China for the purpose of teaching the young, healing the sick, distributing the Bible and preaching the Gospel of Christ, particularly when treaties guarantee him protection in the exercise of these very privileges.

It is true that many of the missionaries feel that the ring-leaders of the Boxers, including those in high official position who more or less secretly incited them to violence, should be punished, yet not in the interest of revenge, but of the welfare of China, the restoration to power of the best element among the Chinese, and the reasonable security of Chinese Christians and of the foreigners who have treaty rights. Many missionaries feel that there is no hope for China save in the predominance of the reform party, and that if the reactionaries are to remain in control the outlook is dark indeed, not so much for the foreigner as for China itself. The men who are guilty of the atrocities perpetrated last summer violated every law, human and divine, and some of the missionaries are demanding their punishment only in the same spirit as the ministers and Christian people of the United States with united voice demanded the punishment of four young men in Paterson, N. J., who have been systematically outraging young girls.

Nevertheless, as to the whole subject of the policy which should be adopted by our Government in China, I believe that it would be wise for both the missionaries and the Board to be cautious in expressing advice, and to leave the responsibility for action with the lawfully constituted civil authorities upon whom the people have placed it. They have bet-

ter facilities for acquiring accurate information as to political questions than we have. They can ask our views if they want them. They can see the bearings of movements more clearly than we can. They know elements in the situation which we do not and they must bear the blame or praise for consequences. Moreover generations of protest against priestly domination have developed in both Europe and America a disposition to resent clerical interference in political questions for which we ministers are ourselves largely responsible. This is particularly true in Asia, where the political situation is so delicate. The opinions publicly expressed by the missionaries as to the policy, which, in their judgment should be adopted by our Government and by the European Powers have included not only many published articles of individual missionaries in various newspapers and magazines, but formal communications of bodies or committees of missionaries, as, for example, the protests of missionaries assembled in Chefoo and Shanghai against the decision of the Government to withdraw troops from Peking, to recognize the Empress Dowager, to omit certain officials from the list of those who were to be executed or banished, and, in particular, the letter addressed by "the undersigned British and American missionaries representative of societies and organizations that have wide interests in China" "to their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the United States accredited to the Chinese Government."

These actions were taken by men whose character, ability, and knowledge of the Chinese entitle them to great weight, and who were personally affected in the security of their lives and property and in the interests of their life work by the policy adopted by their respective governments. All are citizens who did not abdicate their citizenship in becoming missionaries, and whose status and rights in China, as such, have been specifically recognized by treaty. All, moreover, expressed their views with clearness, dignity and force. From the viewpoint of right and privilege, and, indeed, political duty as citizens, they were abundantly justified in expressing their opinions.

On the other hand, there are some friends of missions and missionaries who, from the viewpoint of Christian expediency, doubt whether formal declarations of judgment on political and military questions "as missionaries" were accorded much influence by diplomacy, whether they did not increase the popular criticism of missionaries to an extent which more than counterbalanced any good that they accomplished, whether they did not identify the missionary cause with "the consul and gunboat" policy which Lord Salisbury charged upon it, and whether they did not prejudice their own



future influence over the Chinese and strengthen the impression that the missionaries are "political emissaries." As Sir Robert Hart gently puts it: "Some people seem to feel it would have been wiser for ministers of the Gospel to have left to 'governors' the 'punishment of evildoers.'" And yet we must all add, with him: "For my part, I cannot blame them." Perhaps the whole of his balanced statement to me on this subject should be quoted:

"As for punitive measures, etc., I have really no personal knowledge of the action taken by American missionaries, and hearsay is not a good foundation for opinion. It is said that vindictive feeling rather than tender mercy has been noticed. But even if so, it cannot be wondered at, so cruel were the Chinese assailants when they had the upper hand. The occasion has been altogether anomalous, and it is only at the parting of the ways the difference of view comes in. That what was done merited almost wholesale punishment is a view most will agree in—eyes turned to the past—but when discussion tries to argue out what will be the best for the future, some will vote for striking terror, and others for trusting more to the more slowly working but longer lasting effect of mercy. I do not believe any missionary has brought anybody to punishment who did not richly deserve it. But some people seem to feel it would have been wiser for ministers of the Gospel to have left to 'governors' the 'punishment of evildoers.' For my part, I cannot blame them, for without their assistance much that is known would not have been known, and, although numbers of possibly innocent, inoffensive and non-hostile people may have been overwhelmed in this last year's avalanche of disaster, there are still at large a lot of men whose punishment would probably have been a good thing for the future. One can only hope that their good luck in escaping may lead them to take a new departure, and with their heads in the right direction."

Wisely or unwisely—the former, as I venture to think—our Board at home and the interdenominational conference of all the Boards in America having work in China, declined to make representations to our Government on questions of policy. We necessarily had much correspondence with Washington regarding the safety of beloved missionaries during the siege, but when I inquired of the Secretary of State as to the accuracy of the later newspaper charges that mission boards were urging the Government to retaliatory measures, he promptly replied:

"No communications of this nature have been received from the great mission boards or from their authorized representatives."

But let us hear the missionaries themselves on this sub-

ject. A committee, headed by the Rev. Dr. Calvin Mateer, and representing all the leading English-speaking missionary bodies in China, has prepared a reply to this criticism, a reply which has been circulated throughout China, and has received the assent of so large a number of missionaries of all churches and nationalities that it may be taken as representing the views of fully nine-tenths of the whole body of Protestant missionaries in the Empire. This letter should be given the the widest possible currency, as expressing the views of men who are the peers of any equal number of Christian workers in the world. It is dated May 24, 1901, and, after discussing the question of the responsibility for the uprising, the letter continues :

"With reference to the second point—that we have manifested an unchristian spirit in suggesting the punishment of those who were guilty of the massacre of foreigners and native Christians—we understand that the criticism applies chiefly to the message sent by the public meeting held in Shanghai in September last.

"1. It should, in the first place, be borne in mind that the resolutions passed at that meeting were called for by the proposal of the Allies to evacuate Peking immediately after the relief of the Legations. It was felt, not only by missionaries but by the whole of the foreign residents in China, that such a course would be fraught with the greatest disaster, inasmuch as it would give sanction to further lawlessness.

"2. Further it must be remembered that while suggesting that a satisfactory settlement 'should include the adequate punishment of all who were guilty of the recent murders of foreigners and native Christian,' it was left to the Powers to decide what that 'adequate punishment' should be. Moreover, when taking such measures as were necessary, they were urged to 'make every effort to avoid all needless and indiscriminate slaughter of Chinese and destruction of their property.'

"3. By a strange misunderstanding we find that this suggestion has been interpreted as though it were animated by an unchristian spirit of revenge. With the loss of scores of friends and colleagues still fresh upon us, and with stories of cruel massacres reaching us day by day, it would not have been surprising had we been betrayed into intemperate expressions, but we entirely repudiate the idea which has been read into our words. If governments are the ministers of God's righteousness, then surely it is the duty of every Christian government not only to uphold the right but to put down the wrong, and equally the duty of all Christian subjects to support them in so doing. For China, as for Western

nations, anarchy is the only alternative to law. Both justice and mercy require the judicial punishment of the wrong-doers in the recent outrages. For the good of the people themselves, for the upholding of that standard of righteousness which they acknowledge and respect, for the strengthening and encouragement of those officials whose sympathies have been throughout on the side of law and order, and for the protection of our own helpless women and children and the equally helpless sons and daughters of the Church, we think that such violations of treaty obligations, and such heartless and unprovoked massacres as have been carried out by official authority or sanction, should not be allowed to pass unpunished. It is not of our personal wrongs that we think, but of the maintenance of law and order, and of the future safety of all foreigners residing in the interior of China, who, it must be remembered, are not under the jurisdiction of Chinese law, but, according to the treaties, are immediately responsible to, and under the protection of, their respective governments."

The reply rather pathetically concludes :

"It is unhappily the lot of missionaries to be misunderstood and spoken against, and we are aware that in any explanation we now offer we add to the risk of further misunderstanding, but we cast ourselves on the forbearance of our friends, and beg them to refrain from hasty and ill-formed judgments. If, on our part, there have been extreme statements, if individual missionaries have used intemperate words or have made demands out of harmony with the spirit of our Divine Lord, is it too much to ask that the anguish and peril through which so many of our number have gone during the last six months should be remembered, and that the whole body should not be made responsible for the hasty utterances of the few?"

#### WHEN SHOULD MISSIONARIES RETURN TO THE INTERIOR?

On the one hand, it is urgently desirable that the work should be permanently resumed as soon as possible, that men now living temporarily and without homes in the interior, and wives living inconveniently and at increased expense at the ports should be reunited, and that, in particular, both native Christians and Chinese communities should see the rebuilding of the destroyed stations and the return of the fugitive families, not only for safeguarding the present interests of the work, but for the moral effect upon the Chinese. As we are going on with our work, the shorter the demoralizing interregnum the better. On the other hand, we must not recklessly disregard local conditions, or unwisely expose devoted missionaries to unreasonable risks.

Of course, we first ask: What is the advice of experienced men who are not engaged in missionary work, especially the Ministers and Consuls of the various Powers? It may be urged that, from their position, they are more apt to be disinterested, and, therefore, to be wiser on this subject than missionaries, who are naturally eager to return to their homes and work. Moreover, we are undoubtedly under strong moral obligations to attach great weight to their judgment. If missionaries receive the benefits of their citizenship, and if by their acts they may involve their governments, they should recognize the right of the authorized representatives of those governments to counsel them. The presumption should be in favor of obedience to that counsel, and it should not be disregarded without clear and strong reasons.

But we cannot ignore the fact that, whatever may be the personal sympathies of individual ministers or consuls, diplomacy as such values only the secondary results of missions and not the primary ones. Government officials, speaking on missionary work, almost invariably dwell on its material and civilizing rather than its spiritual aspects. They do not, in their official capacity, feel that the salvation of men from sin and the command of Christ to evangelize all nations are within their sphere. Moreover, diplomacy is proverbially and necessarily cautious. Its business is to avoid risks, and, of course, to advise others to avoid them. The political situation, too, is undeniably uncertain and delicate. The future is big with possibility of peril. In such circumstances we must expect diplomacy to be anxious, and to deprecate resumption of missionary work which events may show to be premature. Diplomacy, therefore, will probably look at the whole question solely from the prudential viewpoint.

But the missionary, like the soldier, must take some risks. From Paul down, missionaries have not hesitated to face them. Christ did not condition His great command upon the approval of Cæsar. It never has been and it is not likely to be for a generation to come, perfectly safe for foreigners to reside in the interior of China. But the work must go on. Devoted men and women have accepted the risk in the past, and they will accept it in the future. We recognize the importance of worldly wisdom. We must exercise common sense. And yet this enterprise is unworldly as well as worldly, and when the soldier of his country boldly faces every physical peril, when the men of the world unflinchingly jeopardize life and limb in the pursuit of gold—a mining engineer and his wife are now living alone in an interior village of Shantung—when the Roman Catholic priests are in their remotest stations and propose to stay there, shall the

Protestant soldier of the Cross be held back? He is willing to go. Our men hurried to the front as soon as they could. Several of the wives would have gone with them if they had not been dissuaded by their consuls and friends. Now, save in a few cases where small children are involved, the women also are planning to return to their stations in the fall. Missionaries of the English Baptist, American Baptist South, Canadian Presbyterian, China Inland, American Board, London and American Methodist Missions inform me that they are making similar plans. Consul Fowler, of Chefoo, told me that he saw no present reason for discouraging the return of the Shantung missionaries, though he naturally reserved the right to alter this judgment if later developments should justify him in doing so. Sir Robert Hart writes me:

"You ask me if missionary families may safely return to their stations inland. There is still unrest all around, and, as there is nothing to be gained by unnecessary haste, I think it would be better to avoid risks. It seems safe enough now in Shantung, but were anything to happen to the Governor, Yuan Shih Kai, the position of the men who have resumed work might be less secure. The personality of a Governor or Viceroy has much to do with the attitude of both officials and people, and, therefore, the decision to reoccupy places inland ought to be determined at this juncture, not by the accident of the presence of a friendly Governor, but by the known conditions of the locality. There is more or less disturbance everywhere, and I think it would not only be prudent to wait till things settle, but also unjust to missionaries to decide otherwise."

Minister Conger was in America on furlough when I was in Peking, so that I could not learn his views. The missionaries justly respect him and trust his judgment. Thus far, therefore, there is no official opposition to the return of our missionaries this fall. If there should be, it must not be lightly disregarded. If, after careful deliberation and prayer for Divine guidance, the missionaries feel that they ought to go, they should consult the Board, and if the Board sustains them, all concerned should accept responsibility for the risks involved. If we do not allow diplomacy to control our missionary movements, we must not be too exacting in our demands on them when trouble comes. The editor of the *New York Evangelist* once said: "A foreign missionary is one who goes to a strange country to preach the Gospel of our salvation. That is his errand and his defense. The civil authorities are not presumed to be on his side. If he offends the sensibilities of the people to whom he preaches, he is supposed to face the consequences. If he cannot win

men by the Word and his own love for their souls, he cannot call on the civil or military powers to convert them. Nor is the missionary a merchant, in the sense that he must have ready recourse to the courts for a recouping of losses or the recovery of damages. Commercial treaties cannot cover all our missionary enterprise. Confusion of ideas here has confounded a good many fine plans and zealous men. It is a tremendous begging of the whole question, to insist on the nation's protection of the men who are to subvert the national faith. Property rights and preaching rights get closely entwined, and it is difficult to untangle them at times, but the distinction is definite and the difference often fundamental. By confusing them we weaken the claims of both. And when our Christian preachers get behind a mere property right in order to defend their right to preach a new religion, they dishonor themselves and defame the faith they profess. To get behind diplomatic guaranties in order to evangelize the nations is to mistake the sword of the spirit, to rely on the arm of flesh and put aside the help of the Almighty."

That is, in my judgment, stating the case very strongly, but it is the counsel of a friend, and it is deserving of our thoughtful consideration.

While the situation may radically change by the time this report is laid before the Board, yet from present indications I agree with Consul Fowler and the missionaries, that we should plan the full reoccupation of every one of our stations this fall, and I believe that every able-bodied China missionary in America whose furlough has expired should hasten to the field. Now is the time for the missionary ministry of reconciliation in China. To leave the field to the politician, the soldier and the trader would be to dishonor Christ, to fail to utilize an unprecedented opportunity, to abandon the helpless native Christians in their hour of sore need and to prejudice missionary influence at home and abroad for a generation.

I am astonished by the occasional remark that a missionary can do so little in China at present that it would be wise to anticipate or prolong furloughs home. True, it may not be practicable to reopen a school or a hospital, or to make long itinerating tours. But is missionary work simply institutionalism? Can a missionary do nothing because he cannot superintend something? There was never more urgent need than there is to-day for loving personal work, and the opportunity is ample. If one cannot return to his own station let him help some sister station of his own or another Board, as the Canadian Presbyterians of Hunan have offered to help us in Shantung. Even if the whole interior should be

closed by a new outbreak, there are enough Chinese who have never heard the Gospel within the zone of military occupation of foreign armies to keep all the Protestant missionaries in China busy for a year, and still the proportion of Christian workers to the population would be less than in New York and Chicago. Why not take advantage of the opportunity to evangelize the great cities of Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Canton and a score of other populous coast towns, which exert such a mighty influence in this empire? Dr. Lillie E. V. Saville, of the London Mission, who reopened her dispensary in Peking in January, now says: I have never had such rich opportunities for sowing the seed, and I am sure in many hearts the ground has been prepared during the past months of disorder and suffering." Other missionaries give similar testimony. This is not the time for the messenger of Christ to hold his peace, but to preach with new zeal and fidelity.

#### INTERFERENCE IN NATIVE LAWSUITS.

Most vehement of the criticisms upon missionaries in China is that they interfere on behalf of their converts in the lawsuits which are so common among the Chinese. Jealousy and dislike of the native who attaches himself to the foreigner, or who espouses "the foreigner's religion," frequently hale him into court on trumped-up charges and the notorious prejudice and corruption of the average magistrate often result in grievous persecution. The terrified Christian naturally implores the missionary to save him. It is hard to resist such an appeal. But the defendant is not always so innocent as he appears to be, and, whether innocent or guilty, the interference of the foreigner irritates both magistrate and prosecutor, while it not infrequently arouses the resentment of the whole community by giving the idea that the Christians are a privileged class who are not answerable to the ordinary laws of the land. When, as sometimes happens, the Christians themselves get that impression and presume upon it, the situation becomes acute.

It is well known that the Roman Catholic priests quite generally adopt this policy of interference. Through the Minister of France to Peking they have obtained an Imperial Edict granting them official status, so that the local priest is on a footing of equality with the local magistrate, and has the right to full access to him at any time. Whether or not intended by the Roman Catholic Church, the impression is almost universal in China among native and foreigners alike that, if a Chinese becomes a Catholic, the Church will stand by him through thick and thin, in time and in eternity. This is one secret of Rome's great and rapidly growing power in China, and un-

questionably, too, it is one of the causes of China's hostility to missions. In my many interviews with Chinese officials it was my custom to lead the conversation toward the motives of those who had attacked foreigners last year, and without exception the officials mentioned, among other causes, the interference of the Roman Catholic priests with the administration of the law in cases affecting their converts. In several places in the interior this was the only reason assigned. The politeness of an Oriental host to a guest is not always limited by strict veracity, and it is possible that to Roman Catholics the officials may blame the Protestants. But it is worth recording here that when I asked the magistrate of Paotingfu why the people had killed such kindly and helpful neighbors as our missionaries, he replied: "The people were angered by the interference of the Catholics in their lawsuits. They felt that they could not obtain justice against them, and in their frenzy they did not distinguish between Catholics and Protestants." The Roman Catholic Mission in the prefecture of Paotingfu, it should be remembered, is about two centuries old, and the Catholic population is about twelve thousand, so that the few hundred Protestants who have been gathered in the recent work of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians are exceedingly small in comparison, while the splendid cathedral of the Roman Church, the spectacular character of its services and the official status and aggressiveness of its priests intensify the disproportion. The term Christian, therefore, to the average man of Paotingfu is more apt to mean a Catholic than a Protestant.

It is customary for the friends of Protestant missionaries to answer the critic's charge of interference in native lawsuits by stating that it does not justly lie against them, but against the Roman Catholics, the rule of the Protestant missionaries being to avoid such interference save in the most rare and extreme cases. Alexander Michie, however, in a recent address, declares that Protestant missionaries are not entitled to such exemption, and that, while they may not interfere so frequently as the Catholics, they, nevertheless, interfere often enough to bring them under the same condemnation.

I asked Sir Robert Hart what he thought upon this question and what he would advise, illustrating my meaning by describing a case in which a native Christian was falsely charged by his heathen neighbors, and who, by perjury and the connivance of anti-foreign magistrate, had been deprived of his property and thrown into prison. In such circumstances, I inquired, should the missionary seek to obtain justice for the persecuted man, or should he remain silent? Sir Rob-



ert, on this point also, very kindly wrote out his views as follows:

“The missionary question is likely to remain a debated one for years to come, but in the meantime what we shall continue to see is this: Christian countries will subscribe funds, Christian communities will supply volunteers, and devoted men and women will take their lives in their hands and carry the Gospel everywhere. In China missionaries will seek to do good according to their light, and in doing so they will be followed by the defects of their qualities. Their labor will benefit many, but will probably offend more and, China being what it is, I think it would be well if their future marching orders could in some way suggest to them what they are not to do, not in the faulty form of a list of details but in the handy and convenient shape of a principle. The active benevolence of the Golden Rule, ‘Do unto others’ ought to go hand in hand with the restraining common sense of its counterpart, ‘Do not.’ Missionaries are grown-up people, and must be very much left to themselves to decide what duty requires at each step in their career. They carry with them the Master’s orders, ‘Preach the Gospel to every creature;’ that is their divine commission; but they are also the agents of the societies which send them forth and support them, and every such society has indubitably the right to indicate the policy its envoys are to adopt and practice as men among men, and the ‘do not’ axiom ought to be as liberally interpreted and as zealously followed as its mate ‘do.’ If converts experience that change of heart which is the essential of our religion, all other virtues will gradually group themselves around that vivifying center and suitable non-essentials will increase and multiply. But the teacher himself—that is, the missionary—will do well to take a leaf from the pages of the past. Local customs need not be banned, popular prejudices need not be tilted against, a neighborhood’s feelings in respect of site and style of buildings ought not to be hurt, and intervention in matters litigated ought to be absolutely eschewed. Let the missionary content himself with making his disciples good men and good citizens, and let him leave it to the duly authorized officials to interpret and apply the law and administer their affairs in their own way. Individual Christianity has as many shades and degrees as men’s faces. There are converts and converts, but even the most godly of them may give his neighbor just reason to take offense, and the most saintly among them may get involved in the meshes of the law. In such cases let the missionary stand aloof. There is, too, such a thing as hypocrisy; much better let the schemer get his deserts than hurt the church’s character by following sentiment into interference. You ask what is to be done

when there is persecution to be dealt with? First of all, I would advise the individual or the community to live it down, and, as a last resort, report the fact with appropriate detail and proof to the Legation in Peking for the assistance and advice of the Minister. 'Watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry.'"

After having freely talked with our Presbyterian missionaries on this matter, I do not believe it is necessary at present for the Board to attempt to make an inflexible rule. While there may be exceptional cases of imprudence, yet our missionaries, as a whole, are keenly alive to the dangers of such interference, they are increasingly careful in their conduct, and they are developing a wholesome mission sentiment on the subject. As an illustration of the strength of this feeling among some of them, I append an extract from a pamphlet written by the Rev. L. J. Davies.

"By the extra-territorial treaty clauses the foreigner in China is governed by the laws of his own nation. If accused of grave crime the Chinese officials can do no more than arrest and convey him to his consul. The missionary is in close touch with consul and foreign minister. These facts give him a peculiar advantage in dealing with the local Chinese officials. The policy of the Chinese Government during the past few years has been to avoid trouble by letting the foreigner have his own way whenever possible. Reports, the accuracy of which I cannot doubt, have reached me more than once within the past four or five years of cases in which the Chinese official has said in substance to non-Christian litigants: 'You are right and your Christian accusers are wrong; but if I decide in your favor the foreigner will appeal the case to the Governor or to the Peking foreign office and I shall suffer. Such things are charged, justly or unjustly, to the account of both Protestant and Romanist. With scarcely an exception the missionaries agree that there are cases of persecution in which to refuse aid would be utterly unjust. The opinion is equally unanimous that a disposition to take advantage of the influence of the foreigner incases into which no persecution enters is very widely diffused in the Chinese church. This is particularly true of inquirers and those whose knowledge of the Christian truth is slight, but it is by no means confined to them. I yield to no one in esteem for the type of Christian character developed in China, and I do not consider it reasonable to blame unsparingly either the Chinese convert or foreign missionary. The situation is extremely complicated and delicate, and is unquestionably one of the most difficult with which the missionary is compelled to deal. This question of stopping by

legal methods alleged persecution is the *bête noire* of the average missionary's life. He is distraught by two fears: First, that he may not do what he should for a man genuinely persecuted for righteousness' sake, and, secondly, that he may use his power as a foreigner in supporting unjust causes, and so not only do injustice but injure the church. That the Chinese officials feel this state of affairs to be very troublesome is known to every one who comes into contact with them."

The Rev. Paul D. Bergen, of our East Shantung Mission, has sent to over two hundred missionaries, representing all Protestant denominations, a series of questions as to their practice and convictions regarding this subject. Seventy-three missionaries answered, and Mr. Bergen has tabulated their replies in an interesting and valuable paper. Only two "would decline under any circumstances to ask for yamen intervention." While, as was to be expected, wide differences of opinion appear, a study of the letters led Mr. Bergen to make the following generalizations:

"Missionaries are willing to intercede in the yamen for the Christians with the following qualifications: First, that persecution must be genuine and somewhat serious; second, a thorough private investigation of the facts should first be made; third, the matter should be made a subject of earnest prayer, privately and with the Christian concerned; fourth, the Christian should be warned as to the dangers and abuses likely to come from official aid, and be urged to maintain a quiet and patient demeanor; fifth, but finally, when the above conditions have been met, aid should be asked for without hesitation, and with a clear conscience, according to the circumstances of the case.

"A great majority of the seventy-three missionaries would endorse what we might call a friendly, temperate presentation of the facts to the official as a beginning. Some would stop here. The majority would however, proceed to sterner measures, if necessary, to secure justice. Some would work directly with the official, others through the consul."

As to the results of the one hundred and seventy-five concrete cases of intervention cited, "fifty-three are reported to have been of benefit to the church, twenty-six are characterized as doubtful, four as mixed and sixty-seven as bad." This leaves the remaining cases, "suspended in the air," and Mr. Bergen conjectures that "perhaps the missionary felt in such a confused mental state at their conclusion that he was quite unable to work out the complicated equation of their results.

"But surely the result that only fifty-three cases are reported to have been of unmistakable benefit, while sixty-seven are set down as resulting in evil, ought to give us thought. In short, in the yamen intercession in behalf of

prosecuted Christians, it is the deliberate opinion of seventy-three missionaries that, as a matter of personal experience, sixty-seven cases have wrought only evil, while only fifty-three have been productive of good. The balance is on the wrong side. We must decide, in view of these replies, that there exists in general rather a pessimistic opinion as to the advantages of applying to the yamen in behalf of Christians."

In reply to another question, "nearly one-third of the correspondents noted that Christians, under their care or in their neighborhood, have been guilty of prosecuting lawsuits for private gain, using the name of the Church, and have taken thereby unfair advantage of their unbelieving neighbors, who feared the power of the foreigner." Two-thirds, however, reply that they have had no such experience.

"Summing up briefly the results of this inquiry, we note the following points, which will embody the views of a very large majority of the Protestant missionaries of experience in this Empire :

"First—That it is highly desirable to keep church troubles out of the yamen, but that there are times when we cannot do so without violating our sense of justice and our sense of duty toward an injured brother.

"Second—Official assistance is to be sought in such troubles only when all other means of relief have been tried in vain. Always seek to settle these difficulties out of court.

"Third—When official assistance is requested, our bearing should be friendly and courteous in the spirit, at least in the first instance, of asking a favor of the official, rather than demanding a right. If the official seems quite insensible to such a spirit, a severer attitude may become necessary. Nevertheless, we should be extremely careful about trying to bring pressure to bear on an official.

"Fourth—In the presence of the native Christian, and especially of those chiefly concerned, as well as in our own closets, we should cherish a deep sense of our absolute dependence on heavenly rather than on earthly protection, and remind the Christians that, as Dr. Taylor has so tersely put it, their duty is 'to do good, suffer for it and take it patiently.'

"Fifth—Only in grave cases should matters be pushed to the point of controversy or formal appeal.

"Sixth—Christians and evangelists should be solemnly warned against betraying an arrogant spirit upon the successful termination of any trouble.

"Seventh—Previous to the carrying of a case before the official, let the missionary be sure of his facts. Each case should be patiently, thoroughly and firmly examined. Receive individual testimony with judicious reserve. Be not easily blinded by appeals to the emotions. Be especially

ready to receive any one from the opposition, and give his words due weight. Do not be too exclusively influenced by the judgment of any one man, however trusted.

"Eighth—In the course of negotiation beware of insisting on monetary compensation for the injured Christian. In greatly aggravated cases this may occasionally be unavoidable. But should it be made a condition of settlement, see to it that the damages are under, rather than over, what might have been demanded. It is almost sure to cause subsequent trouble, both within and without, if a Christian receives money under such circumstances.

"Ninth—When unhappily involved in a persecution case with the official, we should remember that we are not lawyers, and therefore make no stand on legal technicalities, nor allow ourselves to take a threatening attitude, although we may be subjected to provocation; we should be patient, dignified and strong in the truth, making it clear to the official that this is all that we seek in order that the ends of justice may be satisfied.

"Tenth—It would be well on every fitting occasion to exhort those under our care to avoid frequenting yamens or cultivating intimacy with their inhabitants, unless, indeed, we feel assured that their motive is the same as that animating our Lord when He mingled with publicans and sinners.

"Eleventh—The higher and more vivid the religious conceptions of our people, the less fascinating will that which is purely secular become. If we can succeed by the Holy Spirit in filling them with spiritual power they will care less for the petty influence and notoriety that comes from the great gate of the yamen."

The Interdenominational Committee of Protestant Missionaries in China already referred to makes the following statement on this subject: "To the charge that missionaries have excited hostility by interfering in native litigation in the interests of their converts in courts of justice, we need only say that even by the Chinese officials themselves this charge is rarely preferred against the Protestant section of the missionary body. In flagrant cases of persecution missionaries have felt it their duty to support members of their churches, and it cannot be denied that occasionally natives have secured the influence of the foreigner in an unworthy cause. But interference in native litigation as such receives no support from the principles and practice of the general body."

This was doubtless all the space that could be devoted to the subject within the limits of a general statement on the crisis in China. But, in view of the gravity of the charge, the widespread anxiety of many friends of missions regarding it, and in view also of the desirability of correcting any

unfortunate impression created by individual exceptions and of guiding new missionaries by placing at their command the accumulated experience of the older ones, would it not be well for our missions in China to give fuller and more formal expression to their policy on this subject? Such expression need not be primarily defensive, but a clear, adequate and positive statement of the convictions and practice of the missionaries as to this very important particular.

#### THE CONDUCT OF THE CHINESE CHRISTIANS.

The behavior of the native converts under the baptism of blood and fire to which they have been subjected, is a source of joy to the missionaries, not unmingled, however, with grief. That some should have fallen away was to have been expected. Not every Christian, even in the United States, can "endure hardness." Let one hundred men anywhere be told that if they continue to hold a given faith their homes will be burned, their business ruined, their wives ravished, their children brained, and they themselves scourged and beheaded, and a proportion of them will flinch.

It was to have been expected, too, that when, after the uprising, the Christians found their side in the ascendent, triumphing over a prostrate foe, some of them should unduly exult and take advantage of their opportunity to punish their enemies or to collect money from them as the price of protection. The spirit of retaliation is strong in human nature in China as well as in America. When the armies of the Allies, led by educated and experienced officers, and controlled by diplomats from old-established Christian countries, gave way under the provocation of the time to the most vindictive cruelty, it is not surprising that some of the Chinese Christians, only just emerged from heathenism, should betray a revengeful spirit toward men who had destroyed their property, slaughtered their wives and children, and hunted the survivors with the ferocity of wolves. In some places the missionaries have had a hard task in restraining this spirit. It was inevitable, also, that in the confusion which followed the victory of the foreigners, some wolves should put on "sheep's clothing," and, under the pretense of being Christians, extort money from the terror-stricken villagers, or try to deceive the foreigner with false claims for indemnity.

But, as I have visited the scenes of disaster, heard the stories of Christians and missionaries, and learned more of the awful ordeal through which they passed, I have marveled, not that some yielded to the temptations of the hour, but that more did not yield. Multitudes of those Christians withstood a persecution as frightful as that of the early disciples in the gardens and arenas of Nero. Edicts were post-

ed commanding them to recant, and promising protection to those who obeyed. If they were hypocrites, "rice Christians," why did they not return to their old faith? As Dr. Babcock truly said, "One-tenth of the hypocrisy with which they were charged would have saved them from martyrdom." But thousands of them died rather than abjure their faith, and thousands more "had trial of mockings and scourgings; yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment; they were starved, they were tempted; being destitute, afflicted, tormented; wandering in deserts and mountains and caves and the holes of the earth," "of whom," in very truth, "the world was not worthy."

One of the most trying experiences of the missionaries has been the dealing with those who did recant. Some of the cases are pitiful. Poor, ignorant men confess their sin with streaming eyes, saying that they did not mean to deny their Lord, but that they could not see their wives outraged and their babies' heads crushed against stone walls. Others admit that, though they stood firm while one hundred blows were rained upon their bare, bleeding backs, after that they became confused and were only dimly conscious of what they said to escape further agony than flesh and blood could endure. Still others made a distinction, unfamiliar to us, but quite in harmony with Oriental hereditary notions, between the convictions of the heart and the profession of the lips, so that they externally and temporarily bowed their heads to the storm without feeling that they were thereby renouncing their faith. One of the best Chinese ministers in Shantung, after two hundred lashes, which pounded his back into a pulp, feebly replied in the affirmative to the question: "Will you leave the devils' church?" But he explained afterwards that, while he promised to leave "the devils' church," he did not promise to leave Christ's church. The deception was not as apparent to him as it is to us, whose moral perceptions have been sharpened by centuries of Christian nurture which have been denied to the Chinese.

When the proclamation ordering the extermination of all foreigners and Christians was posted on the walls of Ching Chou Fu, a friendly official hinted that if the Chinese pastors would sign a document to the effect that they would "no longer practice the foreign religion," he would accept it as sufficient on behalf of all their flocks, and not enforce the order. Warrants for the arrest of every Christian were already written. Ruffians were hurrying in from distant villages to join in the riot of plunder and lust. Two women had already been killed. What were the pastors to do? There was no missionary to guide them, for long before the consuls had ordered all foreigners out of the interior. The

agonized pastors, after much prayer, determined to sacrifice themselves for their innocent people, to go through the form of giving up the "foreign" religion. That word foreign must be emphasized to understand their temptation, for "our brethren do not recognize the faith they profess as foreign, but as from God for all peoples." Moreover, the "pastors were made to understand that it was simply a legal fiction, not affecting the religion of their hearts, and only a temporary expedient, that the magistrate might have a pretext for giving his protection to the Christians. They were not to engage in any idolatrous rite; they were not to make any public apostasy, but simply to sign the document with the one sentence, 'No longer to practice the foreign religion.' 'So far from recanting,' it was urged upon them, 'you are preventing recanting.'"

Their decision may be best given in the words of Pastor Wu Chien Ch'eng: "When I thought of these people," he said, his emotion being so great the tears were running down his face, "in most cases with children and aged parents dependent upon them, and thought of all that was involved for them if I refused to sign the paper—well, I couldn't help it. I decided to take on myself the shame and the sin."

Though these pastors were not Presbyterians, I have described their case because it is so thoroughly illustrative of many of the recantations in all denominations. As the Rev. J. P. Bruce truly says:

"Who could listen to such a narrative—so sad and painful, and yet not without much that was noble—without sympathy and tears? One could not look into their faces without pain. Instead of the usual bright, affectionate and frank expression, they seemed to be almost cowed, and yet with a half-wistful, half-challenging look, as if to say: 'Were we not right to do wrong for such a cause?' But with the pain there was one thought that gave comfort. Though our brethren had failed in the hour of trial, they had taken this step, not to save themselves, but for the sake of others. And better than all else, they had not ceased to love their Master, even though they had outwardly denied Him. If only they could realize how much they had wounded Him, there would not be wanting such penitence as should turn this failure into rich blessing."

In this spirit of tenderness, so marked in the Lord's dealings with sinful Peter, the missionaries are dealing with the recanting Christians.

With the impostors, indeed, they have justly had less mercy. Mr. Mateer secured the arrest of two scapegraces who, under pretense of being Christians, had blackmailed innocent villagers, one having forged a letter in Mr. Chalfant's



name, and collected considerable sums on his alleged behalf. Very plainly, too, did the missionaries deal with Christians, who, like some good people in the United States after a fire, placed an extravagant valuation upon what they had lost. Mr. Chalfant had to publicly denounce one outstation leader who insisted on collecting exorbitant sums from the Boxer participants in the anti-foreign riots in his village.

But these were exceptional cases. Loving and prayerful conference was the course followed wherever practicable. Witness the following resolutions adopted by the East and West Shantung Missions, in joint session, December 1, 1900, "in reference to those Christians, who through stress of persecution have denied their faith":

"We first desire to express our joy and gratitude to God that so many of our native brethren, though placed for a time in imminent peril or subjected to actual distress, have remained steadfast and immovable, witnessing a good profession. But we record with sorrow that others have fallen away, though in their behalf we must maintain that, as a rule, they recanted, first, because of the suddenness and imminence of the peril; second, because of the enforced absence of their natural spiritual advisers, and the impossibility of obtaining relief through them; third, because of lamentations, reproaches or threats of their heathen relatives, friends or neighbors, who regarded their own safety or interests as jeopardized; fourth, because of a lack of definite conception as to the serious character of such a step as recantation, which they regarded in most cases as a more or less justifiable expedient to escape destruction. In short, there was not present in the minds of the Christians the idea of abandoning their faith, but only in their weakness and defenselessness of bending before the storm.

"We recognize, however, the fact that the gravity of the sin was of different degrees in different cases. Therefore, resolved,

"1. That there be a careful investigation of each case, if at all possible, on the spot, by the missionary or pastor in charge.

"2. That the Christians be dealt with in a spirit of tenderness rather than severity, remembering ourselves lest we also be tempted.

"3. It is recommended that where the Christians have signed recantations under official pressure they be exhorted to formally withdraw such recantation before readmission to fellowship in the Church. The means of accomplishing this to be left to the discretion of the missionaries of each station, but it is recommended that after the facts have been ascertained a communication be prepared for the official of each

Hsien, giving a list of the names of those who recanted under fear, but who now desire to withdraw such recantation, at the same time expressing their loyalty as Chinese subjects.

"4. It is recommended that, should there be those who give no evidence of having been truly attached to the truth, or those who manifest a disposition to remain outside the Church, abiding by their recantation with no sign of repentance, they should be disciplined, after having been heard, first by suspension, and finally, by excommunication.

"5. A large measure of discretion must be allowed each missionary in his own field in the application of cases coming before him.

"6. That special attention be paid to the instruction of the Chinese as to the nature of recantation, the necessity of repentance, and the justice of the discipline to be administered."

Will not the Board and the Church at home continue in intercessory prayer for our fellow Christians in China who have been called upon to suffer so much for Christ? Purified and chastened by the fearful holocaust through which they have passed, they are smaller numerically but stronger spiritually than ever before. May we not confidently expect that, like the apostles after Pentecost, they will go forth to give "with great power their witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus," and that "great grace 'may be' upon them all"?

Prominent among the problems of reconstruction which now confront us is,

#### SHALL WE WITHDRAW THE PEKING MISSION?

In the *Missionary Review of the World*, for October, 1900, Hon. Charles Denby, then United States Minister to Peking, wrote:

"With all due deference to the great missionary societies who have these matters in charge, my judgment is that missionary work in China has been overdone. \* \* \* Take Peking as an example. As given in this *Review*, in its issue of September, 1900, there were located at Peking the following Protestant missions: American Board, American Presbyterian (North), American Methodist (North), Christian and Missionary Alliance, International Young Men's Christian Association, London Missionary Society, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, International Institute, Mission for Chinese Blind, Scotch Bible Society, and the Society for Diffusion of Christian Knowledge. To these must be added the Church of England Mission, and English Baptist Mission and the Swedish Mission. The above list shows that of American societies alone there were seven in Peking, not

counting the Peking University, and that all Western Powers taken collectively, were represented by about twenty Missions. \* \* \* A careful study of the situation would seem to suggest that no two American societies should occupy the same district."

The East and West Shantung Missions in joint meeting December, 1900, endorsed this view and expressed the opinion, that advantage should be taken of the destruction of our property to discontinue Peking as a station of our Board on account of "the greater need elsewhere in Chihli, in view of the devastation of Paotingfu and contemplated new work in that province."

The Peking Mission itself sent a communication to the North China Mission of the American Board proposing "an exchange of all work and fields of our Presbyterian Church in the Province of Chihli in return for the work and fields of the American Board Mission in the Province of Shantung, subject to the approval of our respective Boards." The Mission added: "It means no little sacrifice to sever attachments made in long years of service in fields and among a people whom God has enabled us to lead to Christ, but we feel that a high spirit of loyalty to Christ and his cause, inspiring all concerned, will lead us to set aside personal preferences and attachments, if thereby the greater interests of his Church in China can be conserved."

I was at pains to talk over the question with many missionaries of various denominations. With the Peking Mission in particular I frankly conferred, stating that, as the question had been raised, and as the total destruction of all our mission property gave us opportunity for reconsidering our position in Peking, we should go thoroughly into the subject, and either transfer the missionaries and money to Shantung, or else have a reason for rebuilding which would satisfy our own judgments and those of our brethren elsewhere. With a single desire to know what was best, and to be guided by the spirit of God, we spent whole days traversing the entire ground. Not content with this, we called a meeting of all the missionaries of other Boards represented in Peking. Such men as the Rev. Drs. Sheffield, of the American Board, Owen, of the London Mission and Lowry and Headland of the Methodist Society, were among the many who kindly responded. I candidly sought their counsel, telling them that we should take it for granted that their personal wishes would be for us to remain, but urging the importance of an impartial consideration of the question raised by Mr. Denby and others as to whether there is not a disproportionate "congestion of mission enterprises" in Peking, and whether, considering the great needs elsewhere,

we ought not to take advantage of the present opportunity to make any readjustments which would promote efficiency and economy, and I quoted the action of our Board which was unanimously approved by the General Assembly of 1900 that, "the time has come for a larger union and cooperation in mission work and where church union cannot be attained, the Board and the missions will seek such divisions of territory as will leave as large districts as possible to the exclusive care and development of separate agencies." I added that we did not desire this action to be considered merely a glittering generality on paper, but as our definite working policy, to be given practical effect in every proper way. In subsequent interviews at Tientsin and elsewhere, I obtained the views of the Rev. Dr. Arthur H. Smith and others.

The result of all these conferences was the unanimous and emphatic judgment of the missionaries of other Boards as well as of our own Board that there is not "a congestion of missionary societies in Peking," and that Presbyterians cannot be spared without serious injury to the cause.

The reasons for retaining our Peking Mission are:

1. The reply of the North China Mission of the American Board to the proposal of our Mission as follows:

"PEKING, May 3, 1901.

*"To the American Presbyterian Mission, Peking:*

*"Dear Brethren—*We have received with great interest the communication brought to us by two of your number, and having listened to its reading, have deliberated upon its subject matter. We fully appreciate the cordial tone manifested, and heartily reciprocate the earnest desire that our missions may be guided to take whatever steps may be necessary for the best advancement of the kingdom of God in the territory within which we work, wherever that may lie. After considering the matter in all its bearings we are constrained to say, first, that we contemplate with regret any plan which looks to the withdrawal of the Presbyterian Mission from the field which they have so long occupied in Northern Chihli, since, however explained, this would look like a retrograde step for the mission and a confession of at least partial failure which, more than ever before, is at the present time undesirable. We think that instead of illustrating comity this would appear as if comity was not to be attained without a violent dislocation from long-established foundations, and that in this particular there would be a definite loss all around. We also regret the suggestion that the Presbyterian Mission withdraw from fields which have now been reconsecrated by the death of their martyrs; and we cannot but think that this action, especially in the

case of Paotingfu, would have a chilling effect upon the churches at home which are now being roused to fresh activity to repair the serious losses and the martyrdom of the past year. The abrupt removal from that city would also sacrifice for your mission the hardly bought and priceless good-will which the work of Mr. Lowrie has earned for you during the past many months, an advantage not lightly to be resigned, and which will be of permanent value in the future. We further deprecate the proposed step because there is now an excellent opportunity for the adoption of actual measures of co-operation between our respective missions. We already have a field sufficiently large, and it can be indefinitely expanded in some directions without involving the removal of an entire mission to another province.

"With regard to the infelicities of the boundaries of the areas which we have hitherto worked, we are ready to readjust these boundaries in such a way as to remedy the waste of effort in the crossing of one another's territory, and this, we hope, will not be found to be a difficult matter. \* \* \* \*

"We are confident that the ultimate outcome could not fail to be a greater benefit than the sudden rupture of long-existing relations for the sake of mere geographical contiguity of the work of missions like yours and ours, each keeping its own district, careful not to encroach upon the other. In the higher unity here suggested we should expect to realize larger results in the promotion of comity not only, but also in the best interests of that kingdom of God for which we are each laboring.

"In the prayer that we may be divinely guided in this and in all other decisions, we remain on behalf of the American Board of Mission,

"(Signed)

ARTHUR H. SMITH,  
D. Z. SHEFFIELD,

"Committee."

This letter, like the one from our Mission to which it is a reply, breathes a delightful spirit of comity. While the P'ang Ch'uang and Lin Ch'ing stations of the American Board in Shantung would add largely to the strength and influence of our work in that Province, and while they are within such distance of our stations that we could effectively work them, yet we can appreciate the reluctance of our Congregational brethren to leave fields with which they have been associated for more than a score of years, especially as their work at P'ang Ch'uang is among the very best and most promising they have in all North China.

2. The ties formed with the China Christians and people in thirty-eight years of continuous missionary work, during which our missionaries have become widely known and have

acquired large influence—an influence which cannot be transferred without serious loss.

3. Several of the agencies enumerated by the Hon. Charles Denby, such as the Y. M. C. A., the International Institute, the Mission to the Blind, the various Bible Societies, the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge, etc., are not competing missionary agencies at all, but are doing a special work along such separate lines that it is unfair to take them into consideration. As a matter of fact, with the exception of a comparatively small work by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the real missionary work is being done by only four Boards—the American, Methodist, London, and Presbyterian. This is not a disproportionate number, considering the fact that Peking is one of the great cities of the world, and the capital of an Empire of four hundred millions of people, and considering also that the work of these Boards is not merely local, but that it includes a vast surrounding region.

In the Paotingfu station our Board and the American Board are the only agencies represented, the China Inland Mission having simply a forwarding agent for its extensive work in the Shan-si Province, Paotingfu being the point where the transfer is made from the river and railroad to overland carts and shenzas. The China Inland missionaries inform me that they have no local work at Paotingfu, and do not expect to have any.

4. It is not true that the population of Chihli is small compared with that of Shantung. Colquhoun says, in his volume on "China in Transformation," that whereas the Shantung Province has an area of fifty-five thousand square miles, and a population of thirty millions, the Chihli province has an area of fifty-seven thousand square miles and a population of thirty-six millions. This is probably an under estimate for Shantung, which I was told has about thirty-five millions, but even at this figure Chihli is the larger. For this enormous field the missionary agencies now at work are really few. Hundreds of American cities of half a million inhabitants have a greater number of ordained workers than this entire province, with a population half as large as that of the United States.

5. Our Mission occupies a large and distinct geographical field in this Province. By common consent, all that portion of the city and suburbs of Peking north of the line of the Forbidden City, with a population of about two hundred thousand, is Presbyterian territory. No other Mission Board is located in that part of Peking. Our missionaries and their work are known there and have the good-will of the people. In the country, the counties of San Ho, Huai Jou, Pao Ti, to

north and east of Peking, are also understood to be dis-  
sively Presbyterian ground. San Ho County alone is  
to have twelve hundred villages, while the others are  
very populous. No other Protestant denomination is  
ing in any of these counties. We also have some work  
the counties of Chi Chou and Ch'ang P'ing Chou. At  
Paotingfu, the American Board and our Board have made a  
division of the field, the former taking everything south of a  
line drawn through the centre of the city and our mission-  
aries taking everything north of that line. The field thus as-  
signed to us includes not only half the city of Paotingfu, but  
one and a half counties, with a population of about half  
a million. There are no other Protestant workers in this  
field. The charge I once heard that we entered Pao-  
tingfu against the judgment of the North China Mission and  
the American Board who, it was said, considered it their field,  
was emphatically denied by Dr. Sheffield for the Mission and  
by Dr. Judson Smith for the Board, the latter saying to me  
before I left New York, "The Presbyterians established a  
mission at Paotingfu with our understanding and approval."

Extensive and densely inhabited areas of the Province  
are not being worked by any Board. Dr. Wherry, who has  
worked for a generation in the Chihli Province, says that there  
are a hundred times as many people in the Peking field as  
are now being reached, and that there are twenty millions in  
the Province who have never yet heard of Christ; so that  
there is room for an almost indefinite extension of the work.  
The missionaries of the three other Boards with which  
we really divide the field—namely, the American Board, the  
North China Mission and the Methodist Board—plainly state that,  
in the event of our withdrawal, they would not be able to  
carry on for the work which we would leave. They say that they  
are not able adequately to sustain the work they already  
carry on, and that there is not the slightest reason to hope that  
the home Boards would find it possible to give them the  
reinforcements in men and money which would be required  
if their present responsibilities were to be added to theirs.  
I strongly urge that, if we withdraw, the large districts  
which we occupy in both the Peking and Paotingfu fields  
should simply be vacated, and that the influence for Christ  
developed by our faithful missionaries through long years of  
work and at heavy expense would be lost.

The question whether we have any moral right to de-  
velop the work which we have developed in Chihli. The num-  
ber of Christians surviving is now known to be far greater  
—as at first supposed. Immediately after the siege we  
were told that of the four hundred and sixty Christians on  
the roll of our Mission, only sixty were known to be living.

Since then, however, they have been coming out of their hiding places, and have been collected, until now there are known to be two hundred and fifty still alive. In quality they are second to no other Christians in China. They have been purified as with fire. They have stood the test of a persecution so awful as to leave no doubt as to the genuineness of their faith. There will, indeed, come a time when it will be the duty of the missionary to leave the native Church to itself. But is this the time to go, when the native Church, instead of being strong and able to care for itself, is torn and bleeding after frightful persecution? Would not our departure now expose us to Christ's rebuke of the hireling who "careth not for the sheep"? These Christians look to our missionaries as to their spiritual fathers for guidance for the future. They feel with us that the time has come for a new consecration to the task of evangelizing all their people. As directed by our missionaries, they may become a great influence for the conversion of their countrymen. Ought we to leave them when other missionaries expressly tell us that they cannot care for them?

9. The importance of exerting a strong Christian influence in the capital of the Empire. If there is any place in all China where this influence ought to be intensified, it is Peking. The Shanghai Conference of 1890 voted that a city of prefectural rank should not be considered the exclusive territory of any one Board; that different agencies should not be multiplied in small places, but that in cities of such rank more than one society might wisely be located. Not only is Paotingfu a prefectural city, but Peking is the capital of the whole Empire. It is granted that Christian work is difficult on this account, that it is harder to convert a man there than in a country village. But, on the other hand, he is more influential when he is converted. Peking is the heart of China. Alone of all its cities, it is visited sooner or later by every ambitious scholar and prominent official. The examinations for the higher degrees bring to it myriads of the brightest young men of the empire. The moral effect of a strong Christian Church in Peking will be felt in every province. If Christianity is to be a positive force in China, and is ever to regenerate it, it cannot afford to weaken its hold in the very citadel of China's power.

10. The helpfulness of the field. The missionaries insist that, considering the small missionary force that has been available for itinerating and direct evangelistic work, the field has been reasonably productive. For years there was only one man who could do country work, and his freedom of movement was limited by the ill-health of his wife. The missionaries declare that the work in the San Ho County



is as prosperous as that in any county in Shantung, and that there is no more promising opening in all China than Shunte fu, where the mission desires to open a station as soon as practicable. The missionaries of all denominations hope and believe that there is to be a great spiritual awakening in North China, as a result of the recent troubles, and urge that it is a time for strengthening our forces instead of weakening them. There is profound significance in the fact that since last December twenty new members have been baptized in the Paotingfu field.

11. The extraordinary influence acquired by our missionaries in connection with the adjustment of recent troubles. In Paotingfu, Mr. Lowrie's tact and wisdom and kindness have softened the hearts of all classes. When I was in Paotingfu, evidences were abundant that he had won the hearts of the people as perhaps no other missionary in China has ever won them before. Alike in the yamens and on the streets, he was treated not merely with respect, but with affection. When he spoke to the district magistrate about the possibility of purchasing a larger and better-located tract of land for the mission compound and asked permission to buy it, the magistrate gave him an evasive answer, and no sooner had he departed than the magistrate laid the case before a number of the prominent and wealthy people of the city, and they immediately subscribed the necessary sum to donate the entire tract of sixteen English acres to the Board. It would be folly to sacrifice the opportunity for exerting Christian influence which has been thus acquired in this powerful city of Paotingfu, and in the populous region which surrounds it. Nor are such feelings of the Chinese confined to Paotingfu. In the Peking station field as well, Chinese who are not Christians have freely expressed their gratitude to our missionaries for the way in which they befriended them after the siege. There have been many remarkable expressions of this from nobles, merchants and people. At a time when so many atrocities have been committed by foreign soldiers, and when the people have been the prey of the political ambitions of European Powers, many of the natives feel that our Presbyterian missionaries have shown themselves to be true friends. This is a substantial reinforcement of our work which would be lost if we were to withdraw.

12. The call which comes to us from the blood of the martyred dead. One hundred and ninety-one of our Chinese Christians in the Chihli Province laid down their lives for Christ, besides about one hundred and sixty inquirers. Of these, thirty-four were killed in the Paotingfu field, though some of them had come from Peking, which station, there-

fore, bore by far the heavier proportion of the loss in Chinese Christians. But in Paotingfu, five of our beloved missionaries met death for Jesus' sake. The soil of Chihli has been forever consecrated by these martyrdoms. Can we leave a place made sacred to us by such associations?

13. Nor should we be unmindful of the effect of withdrawal upon the home churches. God has ordained that missionary work shall be maintained by his people. Their attitude toward the missionary enterprise, therefore, is one of the elements which we cannot ignore. If our Government is amenable to public opinion, much more must the Board heed the prevailing sentiment of the Church, if we are to command its confidence and receive its co-operation. The catastrophe in China has centered the attention of the whole Presbyterian body upon China. It has impressed anew upon God's people the divine character of the missionary obligation, has softened hearts and deepened consecration. There is encouraging reason to believe that multitudes at home have formed a high and holy resolve to press the work of world-evangelization on a larger scale than ever before. Out of the ashes of ruined buildings and the blood of beloved martyrs and the tumult of furious men, a new and sacred resolve has been formed to win China for Christ. While missionary work everywhere will receive the benefit of this, and particularly the work in all parts of China, is it not true that this feeling in the Church centers in the Peking Mission, not because that was the most important of our fields, but because it was the place where the memorable siege occurred, where all our martyred missionaries and nearly all our Chinese Christians fell. To leave that field of all others, just now, would be to sacrifice that moral effect which every general recognizes as so important in warfare. However we might explain the matter to ourselves and our immediate friends, the withdrawal would be interpreted by the general public as an acknowledgment of defeat, a confession that we had been driven from a strategic position. It might even appear to some that our devoted missionaries had died in vain, and expose us to the charge of having maintained them at the cost of their lives at an unnecessary point. For men might say: "If you ought to withdraw from Peking at all, you ought to have done so before this trouble occurred. No new element has been introduced but the destruction of a few thousand dollars' worth of property, which can be easily replaced. All the vital reasons that ever existed for sending missionaries to the Chihli Province exist today in undiminished force." We might persuade ourselves that these arguments were unsound, but it would not be so easy to persuade the Church. I believe that the moral effect of withdrawal, in

such circumstances, would be disastrous. Rather is it the feeling of the Church that like Lincoln at Gettysburg: "We should be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain."

It may be said that this is a purely sentimental consideration. But so may love for country, for liberty, for wife and children, aye, for Christ Himself, be called a sentiment. God forbid that the time should ever come when men will not be influenced by sentiment. The intuitions of the heart are as apt to be correct as the dictates of the head. I candidly admit, that as I stood amid the ruins of our mission buildings in Peking, as I faced the surviving Christians in that city and in Paotingfu, and remembered what they had suffered for Christ, the property they had lost, the husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, brothers, sisters and children they had seen murdered, the wounds and privations they had received—as I saw the tears in their eyes while I spoke to them of the sympathy of God's people at home, and the light that came into their faces when I assured them of our fellowship with them in love and service, as I stood with uncovered head on the spot where the sainted Taylor and Mr. and Mrs. Simcox and Dr. and Mrs. Hodge had perished—I confess, I say, to the rising of a deeper consecration in my heart to the work of evangelizing not only China, but this particular part of it—a holier resolve to give myself anew to the Christ whom they served. And I am not willing to admit that the spiritual experience which has come to me as a result of my visitation of these places is a mere matter of sentiment. It means something very vital to me, and I believe it does to the whole Church.

Therefore, unless the American Board is prepared to overrule the adverse judgment of its North China Mission, give us its P'ang Chuang and Lin Ch'ing Stations in Shantung, and assume such responsibility for our Chihli Christians and fields as will enable us to feel that they will be adequately cared for, and will acquit us before our own consciences and before the Chinese churches and the Christian world of the charge of desertion in a time of supreme need, I recommend that we retain our Peking Mission.

The next question to be considered is the

#### READJUSTMENT OF STATIONS.

1. Shuntefu.—When the Boxer outbreak occurred, the Board, in compliance with the urgent request of the mission,

had authorized the opening of a station at this point. It is an important prefectural city about half way between Paotingfu and Chinanfu and on the line of the Peking and Hankow Railway, which already runs some distance beyond Paotingfu, and is being rapidly pushed southward. The city will, therefore, form a connecting link between our Peking and Shantung missions. The population of the adjacent region is estimated at 6,000,000, and includes many walled cities in which no regular work is being done by any Protestant body, except the China Inland Mission. Several members of that Mission have told me that their mission has never had more than two men in Shuntufu; that, so far as they know, there is no expectation of increasing the number; that they have no medical or educational work there, and that the special reason of their being there at all is that the place is, like Paotingfu, a forwarding point for their extensive work in Shan-si. The soil is fertile, the people relatively prosperous and the location comparatively healthful. Mr. Lowrie, who personally explored the district in 1898, informs me that he regards it as an exceptionally inviting field, and this is the unanimous judgment of the mission. Before, however, the plans for the opening of the station could be carried into effect, the outbreak occurred, so that we have not actually begun our work there. The mission is very desirous that the station should be opened as soon as practicable, and I share their desire. I feel, nevertheless, that the proper equipment of our existing stations, not only at Peking and Paotingfu, but in the West Shantung Mission, should come first. But as soon as these stations can be brought up to their normal strength, I think Shuntufu should be opened. To that end we should keep the station in mind, and the Paotingfu missionaries should make such occasional tours to that district as they may find practicable.

2. Paotingfu.—I have already referred to the new compound which has been obtained free of cost. The old compound lies about a mile north of the North Gate of the city. While adequate for the work in operation at the time of the outbreak, it was not large enough for any extension. Moreover, it was fully two miles from the dispensary, street chapel and day school in the city—a fatiguing daily journey, especially for ladies, in a place of rough roads and rougher crowds. The new compound is not only in itself more beautiful and healthful, but it is within five minutes' walk of the West Gate, and within an equally short distance of the railway station. It will be far more convenient to the city work, and yet it is outside the wall in the open country, with natural drainage, shade trees, grape arbors and several wells, while it is ample in size for any plant we may ever desire to

put upon it. The Board should therefore approve the Mission's unanimous desire that the station be rebuilt on the new compound.

A Chinese firm in Paotingfu has leased the old compound for ten years for nursery purposes, agreeing at the expiration of that time to return it to us with all the trees and shrubbery that may then be upon it. This will enable us to keep and beautify, without expense, a place which has been made sacred to us by the blood of martyrs. If we wish to sell, we can probably do so at the expiration of the lease to far better advantage than now, in view of the improvements which are promised and which will then be ours. That portion of the tract upon which the martyrdoms occurred should be set aside as a cemetery. This would include the site of the houses occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Simcox and Mr. and Mrs. Lowrie, Dr. and Mrs. Hodge having been in the former house and Dr. Taylor in the latter when the attack was made. A neat wall should be placed about this enclosure and a suitable monument erected. It is true that the new station will be the real memorial of the martyrs, and there should be some tablet to that effect, either at the entrance or in the chapel. But surely we ought also to have something on the very spot where the massacre occurred. Our Duck Lane property in Peking was originally a Buddhist temple, and when we bought it we came into possession not only of the temple and a miscellaneous assortment of gods, but of three beautiful and massive monumental tablets erected about three hundred years ago. In size and shape and quality of stone they are as fine as anything we could secure, and as they belong to us there would be no expense involved except railway freight to Paotingfu, the erasure of the present inscriptions and the necessary reinscribing. It would cost \$1000 or more to get any monument from America or Scotland which would be as good as one of these. I, therefore, recommend that the Peking Mission be authorized to have one of these monuments erected on the spot where our friends died, and to have a suitable stone or brick enclosing wall put around such an adjacent portion of the compound as they may deem expedient for the needs of a small foreign cemetery.

Hitherto Peking has been our larger station, but now there are some weighty reasons for transferring the balance to Paotingfu:

1. It is nearer the geographical center of our Peking Mission field, especially in view of our prospective development toward the South rather than toward the North.
2. It would be a better location for our boarding-schools than a great city like Peking. The boys and girls would be less likely to be educated out of sympathy with the village

life from which they come. Buildings are less expensive in Paotingfu than in the capital, living is cheaper and the whole scale of life more modest. It is quite generally agreed in America that a country town is a better place for an educational institution than a great metropolis, and the same considerations apply in China.

3. There is a larger constituency in the Paotingfu field, our district there including eleven and a half counties, against three in the Peking field, to say nothing of the large work which we hope to develop later at Shun te fu.

4. There are no competing plants, such as the Congregationalists and Methodists have in and near Peking. The North China College of the American Board at Tung Chou and the Peking University of the Methodist Church in Peking, together with the Congregational Bridgman School for Girls, as well as the various institutions maintained by other Boards, more nearly cover the Peking field educationally. We cannot now compete with the institutions they have developed, nor is it expedient that we should do so, even if we could. But in Paotingfu we have a comparatively clear field, and if the arrangement with the Congregationalists, to which I shall refer later, can be made, we shall have a territory exclusively our own.

I therefore recommend that we transfer the emphasis of our educational work in this mission to Paotingfu and develop there our leading boarding schools for both boys and girls, and also that the station be so reinforced, by transfers as far as practicable, that it will have a force adequate to the care of these institutions and to a larger evangelistic work. This readjustment will place us to far better advantage for the effective working of our field while at the same time leaving us proper representation at Peking.

In medical work the American Board has a women's hospital about two and a half miles from An Ting, treating 4,000 patients annually and a large general hospital at Tung Chou, twelve miles distant, with about 15,000 patients. The Methodists are building a large general hospital three and a half miles from the An Ting, where they have one physician, and they have long had an extensive and well-equipped women's hospital on the same compound, employing one physician and controlled by the Women's Board. The London Missionary Society has a general hospital three miles from ours, a women's hospital and the West City Women's Hospital, the staff for all consisting of three physicians. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has no regular hospital but it has a women's medical work under the care of a lady physician, assisted by the physician of the British Legation, while a German dispensary is conducted by an attachè of the German Legation.

For so great a city, this is not a large number of hospitals. Indeed it is very small if we remember that these institutions represent almost the entire surgical profession of the city; that the equipments of all combined would not equal that of a single hospital in Chicago, and that each hospital represents a large county work—drawing its patients from and sending its influence to thousands of outlying villages.

Of course, the An Ting Hospital must be immediately rebuilt. For a time, the opinion prevailed that it would be wise to remove our Women's Hospital to Paotingfu, for while there are already two general hospitals there, our own on a scale of 13,000 patients a year and the American Boards' on a scale of 18,000, there is no Women's Hospital in all that region and as urgent a need as anywhere in China. Moreover we have ample room for a women's hospital on the new compound and a well qualified lady physician to superintend it. Medical missionaries whom I met told me that, as a rule, Chinese women who will go to a hospital at all do not object to being treated by a man except for diseases and injuries peculiar to women. But that exception gives a field for the woman medical missionary of vast and painful extent. There are no sorer agonies than those which are endured by the women of heathen lands. I therefore favor the Mission's earnestly expressed desire for a Women's Hospital at Paotingfu. This, however, need not prevent the rebuilding of the Women's Hospital in Peking, if the funds can be secured either from the indemnity or from the special memorial fund being raised in the United States, so that the resources available for other work will not be diminished.

In Peking we have hitherto occupied two compounds about a mile and a half apart. This arrangement has proved unsatisfactory and inconvenient, and the Mission wisely feels that in the future the station should be concentrated on one compound. Neither of the present compounds is ideally located, nor is either large enough for the work formerly carried on at both compounds. I looked at several proposed new sites, but the only desirable one would be quite expensive. It is so doubtful whether the old ones could be sold that we shall probably have to keep them for some years anyway. Of the two, the Second street compound is, all things considered, better adapted to our purpose than the one in Duck Lane. It is larger, pleasanter for residence, in a healthier locality, is two and a half miles from the nearest compound of any other Board, has more of our native Christian families near it, and as the former site of the An Ting Hospital it is the section of the city where our work has made the stronger local impression. The advantage of a new lo-

cation does not appear to be imperative enough to justify us in sacrificing such a place and incurring the heavy expense of a new tract.

I, therefore, recommend that the Mission be authorized to sell the Duck Lane compound if a good opportunity offers, and that the station buildings be erected on the Second street compound. A lot across the street already owned by the Board can be utilized for helpers or a day school, but additional land will be required and should be obtained as soon as practicable. Our work will be too cramped unless the present compound is enlarged by the purchase of adjacent lots.

#### CO-OPERATION.

At the conference of representatives of foreign mission boards of the United States and Canada having work in China, September 21, 1900, the following resolution was unanimously adopted, and was afterward cordially approved by our Board: "It is the judgment of this Conference that the resumption of mission work in those parts of China where it has been interrupted would afford a favorable opportunity for putting into practice some of the principles of mission comity which have been approved by a general consensus of opinion among missionaries and boards, especially in regard to the overlapping of fields and such work as printing and publishing, higher education and hospital work, and the conference would commend the subject to the favorable consideration and action of the various boards and their missionaries."

Christian America, which ought to set the example of comity, is distractingly divided. But can we not learn something from our experience at home, and, as far as possible, organize our work abroad in such a way as not to perpetuate unnecessary divisions? With institutions in existence it would be difficult to bring about changes; but now that, in the providence of God, everything in these two stations has been blotted out, shall we not, before rebuilding, at least carefully consider whether a limited force cannot be used to better advantage for China and for Christ? Accordingly, December 3d, 1900, I corresponded with the American Board and the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, regarding possible joint action in rebuilding the hospitals and boarding-schools which have been destroyed in Peking and Paotingfu. I made it plain that we were not committing ourselves to any definite plans, but simply to a willingness to confer as to whether it would be better to have a few adequately equipped institutions under joint control, than to have a larger number of smaller ones under separate man-



agement, and whether one large hospital would develop all the evangelistic opportunities that the missionaries of the combined Boards could well utilize.

Pursuant to my invitation, the Rev. Dr. Judson Smith, secretary of the American Board, and the Rev. Dr. A. B. Leonard, secretary of the Methodist Society, met in my office, December 27th, and, after prayer for divine guidance, we spent several hours in delightful and profitable conference. Dr. Leonard, while expressing a cordial willingness to bring the matter before the Methodist Board and missionaries, if desired, nevertheless expressed the opinion that consolidation would not be practicable so far as the Methodists were concerned, on account of the interdependence of their various institutions which are concentrated upon a large compound of seven acres. As the Methodists have no work in Paotingfu, our range of inquiry was therefore narrowed to the question as to whether there should be any joint action between Congregationalists and Presbyterians.

Accordingly, Dr. Smith and I agreed to recommend to our respective Boards that the judgment of the Congregational North China Mission and of the Presbyterian Peking Mission should be sought on certain specific questions relating to co-operation in medical and educational work. These questions were approved by our Board January 7th, 1901, and later by the American Board.

In Paotingfu, as in Peking, the large and totally distinct fields of the two Boards, the distance between the compounds, and especially the vital relation of the medical work of each Board to its country evangelistic work, led the missionaries to feel that each Board may wisely conduct its own hospital, and that consolidation is not demanded by the interests of the cause, no competition being involved.

In educational work, more appears to be practicable. In Peking, besides our boys' boarding school and girls' boarding school, the American Board had, in the Bridgeman School for Girls, the leading Congregational girls' school in North China, with three missionaries, eighty pupils and a good equipment, and a recently opened boys' boarding school, with one missionary. At Tungchow, it had a theological seminary and a preparatory school, and, in particular, the North China College. The Methodists had the Peking University, a boys' boarding school on the same compound, with one missionary, and a girls' boarding school, also on the same compound, but, like the hospital, under the control of the Women's Boards.

In Paotingfu, the American Board had a girls' boarding school, with one missionary, the school being conducted as

an auxiliary to the Bridgeman School in Peking, and the Presbyterians a very small school, opened in December, 1899.

It was at first suggested that it would not be expedient to press the question of consolidation in educational work, as the chief object of such work is to train up a native ministry, and each mission can best educate its own helpers. It is true that the plan of joint control of the Meiji Gakuin in Tokio, Japan, by the American and Reformed Boards, works satisfactorily, but in Japan but one native church is involved, so that the cases are not parallel. Moreover, in a large school there would not be as good an opportunity for that close personal contact between missionary and pupil which would be desirable.

These difficulties, however, are believed by many of the missionaries to be more theoretical than practical, or, at any rate, not sufficiently formidable to prevent some more effective co-operation than we now have. No plan will be free from all objections, so that we should not abandon a good effort because they are found to confront us, but rather consider whether they are not materially less than the grave defects inherent in the present systems.

In the higher education of young men, we have no institution competing with the North China College, and we do not intend to develop one in the Chihli Province. The Congregational and Methodist institutions represent both types of Christian colleges, the North China College having for its primary object the training of helpers and ministers, while the "certificate of incorporation" of the Peking University declares its "object shall be to aid the youth of the Chinese Empire and of other countries in obtaining a literary, scientific or professional education," and the eleventh annual report adds, "to qualify young men for responsible positions in Church and State, in commercial life or any honorable vocation in the new China."

This distinction should not be pressed too literally. The North China College does not confine its course to students for the ministry, and the Peking University educates the men for Methodist churches. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, the former is a training college for Christian workers, and the latter a general college more nearly on our home models. Neither wishes to be considered denominational. The Peking University, indeed, is not under the immediate control of the missionary society, but has a separate board of trustees, all of whom, however, are Methodists, while the university receives annual grants of money from the missionary society. But the local board of managers is composed of men of various evangelical churches. Both President Sheffield and President Lowry cordially urged upon me the

plan of having us join them in the support, control and faculty of their respective institutions.

Since, however, we have no college of our own in that field, such identification with either institution would compel us to increase our missionary force by the appointment of one or more professors, and to increase our expenditure by our share of the expenses. Our work in the Chihli Province is not large enough yet to warrant us in making such expenditures for college work, it would not be fair to us to accept an equal share of financial responsibility, nor fair to the others to accept less, unless we were content to have no voice in control, an alternative which, however unobjectionable as long as the present men are living, might involve us in future embarrassments. Besides, we must remember that, while we have no college of our own in Chihli, we have one in Shantung, and that it has been our desire to make it our institution of higher training for all three of our North China Missions. Before this College can be removed from Tengchow to Wei Hsien, the railroad will be running into that city. I am told that within two years this east and west line will form a junction at Chinanfu with the north and south Tientsin and Chinkiang line, while the Peking & Hankow Railroad, which is already beyond Paoingfu, is being so rapidly pushed southward that it is expected to reach the Yellow River in about the same period. By the time we get our College fairly established at Wei Hsien, therefore, there is likely to be all-rail connection with it from both the stations of our Peking Mission, and one could travel from Paoingfu to Wei Hsien in as short a time as from Ichowfu to Wei Hsien—five days. The greater expensiveness of such travel as well as the difference in dialect, will always be a difficulty which will be insuperable to many students unless their traveling expenses are paid. But the fact remains that we have never been able to properly support our own College. It has had to stagger along in a way which has been a shame to us. We are now trying to secure an endowment for it, but thus far without success. It is plain that all the money and teaching force which we have any reasonable hope of obtaining will be required for the equipment of our Shantung College, and that it would be quite out of the question for us to undertake, in addition to its support, a proportionate share of the support of another college in Peking.

It, therefore, appears wiser to me for us to leave the Chihli Province college field to the Congregationalists and Methodists, and to concentrate our college efforts on our own institution in Shantung. Our Peking missionaries can continue, as heretofore, to work in fullest harmony with the North China College and the Peking University, being free

to send students to both institutions according to the circumstances in particular cases. There will always be many young men who must be educated near their homes. But I believe that our College at Wei Hsien should be recognized as our higher intitution for North China.

As for a Theological Seminary, we must in time have something of the kind, if we are to have an adequate supply of ministers for our churches. Of course, our great Shantung field cannot send all its theological students to Peking, nor if it could would it be desirable to train our village pastors amid the comparative splendors of the capital. As other denominations already have larger interests in collegiate grades, I sympathize with the pending proposal that we might accept the theological work in a co-operative scheme for higher education.

As for the boarding schools, I have already expressed the judgment that it would be unwise for us to rebuild in Peking on a scale which would be necessary to enable us to hold our own in competition with the large plants of other Boards, while our central station at Paotingfu has practically nothing. I fully agree with the Congregational Committee that "it certainly seems unnecessary that our two missions should maintain distinct high schools looking toward a college grade side by side, when the whole number of pupils in both could be instructed more economically and perhaps more efficiently in one institution."

The Congregational Committee suggests one way by which the desired end could be attained—namely, union schools, supported jointly by the two Boards. Is there not, however, another way? Can we not give the control of the boarding-school field in Peking to the American Board, and can they not give it to us in Paotingfu? This would certainly be fair, as it would leave to each Board the station at which it wishes to develop its largest interests and local influence. It would secure the ends of comity, economy and efficiency by avoiding competition, reducing the number of boarding-schools from four to two and giving to each school a united local support, while it would prevent the embarrassments which are almost inseparable from joint control. Where the teachers are members of and responsible to two different missions and Boards, with possibly differing ideas and policies as to aim, self-support, scale of expenditure, etc., the best interests of the institution are not so apt to be subserved, even if complications do not arise. I am convinced that it would be wiser, wherever practicable, as it appears to be in Chihli, to give each Board complete control of a school. Comity should be practical if it is to accomplish anything. It is not necessary that two families live in the same house

to show that they love one another. I believe that this plan will be in accord with comity, and result in increased efficiency and economy, while at the same time being entirely feasible, and avoiding dangers which experience has shown to be not far in the back-ground of union institutions.

I therefore recommend a proposal to the American Board that we co-operate in boys' and girls' boarding-schools in the Chihli Province by having one school for each sex in Peking under Congregational control and one for each sex in Paoting-fu under Presbyterian control; that the American Board be informed that we do not contemplate schools of college grade in Chihli, either for boys or girls, but only institutions of high-school grade, and that, if the American Board wishes to develop its Bridgeman School for Girls into a women's college, we shall be glad to advise any of our Paotingfu graduates who may desire a further course to attend the American Board college in Peking.

#### UNION OF CHURCHES.

The intimation that there might be "no inherent difficulty in uniting the membership of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches in Chihli in one common body" is an excellent one. A similar question is being informally and individually discussed by our missionaries and those of the English Baptist Mission in Shantung. The fellowship between the two bodies there, as between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Chihli, is ideally delightful. I am in strong sympathy with the view of our Board's Committee on Policy and Methods that "the object of the foreign missionary enterprise is not to perpetuate on the mission field the denominational distinctions of Christendom, but to build up on Scriptural lines and according to Scriptural principles and methods the Kingdom of Our Lord Jesus Christ." (Report March 6, 1899), and with the Board's action of May 15, 1900, which was specifically approved by the General Assembly of that year, that "we encourage as far as practicable the formation of union churches in which the results of the mission work of all allied evangelical churches should be gathered, and that they (the missions) observe everywhere the most generous principles of missionary comity." I have, therefore, no question as to the desirability of forming union churches on the mission field, nor any unwillingness to vote for any reasonable concession which may be necessary to secure it.

The local difficulties do not appear to be serious. Indeed, an English Baptist missionary frankly stated, in an open conference of missionaries of various Boards, that his mission, with the full knowledge of the home Society, took the posi-

tion that the Chinese Christians are not yet fit for Congregational government, being, as a rule, comparatively ignorant farmers just out of heathenism; that it had been found necessary to select the best men in a local church and give them powers which, for all practical purposes, constitute them a session, and that the native church as a whole was being more and more directed by a body consisting of representatives from such sessions. An American Board missionary told me about the same thing regarding their work. We should not infer too much from such admissions. Both Baptists and Congregationalists are loyally attached to their independent policy as we are to our representative one. Both referred, of course, to the temporary adaptations necessary in the present stage of mission work. Indeed, our own Board's Committee on Policy and Methods reported (March 6, 1899) that "it is inexpedient to give formal organization to churches and Presbyteries after American models unless there is manifest need therefor, and such forms are shown to be best adapted to the people and circumstances." "In general," the Committee continues, "the ends of the work will best be attained by simple and flexible organizations adapted to the characteristic and real needs of the people and designed to develop and utilize spiritual power rather than merely or primarily to secure proper ecclesiastical procedure."

As a matter of fact, neither the representative nor the independent forms of church government are yet in unmodified operation on any mission fields, except perhaps Japan, for the simple and sufficient reason that the typical foreign missionary has thus far necessarily exercised the functions of a superintendent or bishop of the native churches. Undoubtedly, however, the native churches are being educated to expect self-government as soon as they are competent to exercise it, though there are wise men who question whether the Japanese Christians are not getting it too soon for their own good.

As for doctrine, the denominations in question are so nearly alike already that no difficulty is to be anticipated there, except, possibly, on the subject of baptism. But the English Baptists believe and practice "open communion," and their missionaries in China freely and lovingly unite with ours at the Lord's table. All that would be necessary in a union church, therefore, would be to explicitly recognize the liberty of the individual pastor and believer to adopt either mode of baptism he preferred. Doubtless isolated cases of embarrassment might occur as to mode or the baptism of infants. But they would be insignificant in comparison with the embarrassments inherent in the present sectarian divisions and disputes. Denominational uniformity is bought at bitter cost

when it separates the people of God into rival camps. Unity in essentials and liberty in non-essentials are far better than a slavery to non-essentials which destroys that oneness of believers for which our Lord prayed. No Presbyterian can consistently object to such liberty, for the very essence of our position on baptism is that the form and the quantity of water are relatively unimportant, the vital thing being the inward washing of which the application of water is but an external symbol. Our historical contention is for freedom as against the bondage of method. It is well known that many Presbyterian pastors in America immerse in individual cases where strong conscientious scruples are involved. Why should a Presbyterian minister in Shantung, who has unquestionable right to sprinkle adults and infants, and who need not immerse unless he wishes to—why should he, I say, deny the right of a brother minister to follow the Baptist customs if they are more in accord with his convictions? So I see no insuperable difficulty in the proposed union of native churches in Chihli and Shantung.

A question may fairly be raised, however, as to the relation of such a united church to the pending movement to unite the native churches of all the Presbyterian and reformed Boards at work in China. There are no less than eight of these bodies—namely, the American Reformed, with 18 missionaries; Canadian Presbyterian, with 22; Church of Scotland, 6; English Presbyterian, 77; Irish Presbyterian, 24; Southern Presbyterian, 68; United Presbyterian of Scotland, 37, and our own church, with 222 missionaries, a total of 8 boards and 474 missionaries. These boards represent about a seventh of all the Protestant missionaries and one-third of all the native Christians in China, while the English Baptists have only 48 missionaries and the American Congregationalists 111.

Manifestly, a union of the native Christians of the Presbyterian and Reformed Boards in China would result in a magnificent Church—a Church which would be by far the most powerful and influential factor in the spiritual regeneration of China, while it would permit such economies in the use of men and money that a given force and expenditure would be vastly more effective than at present. Such a union is in successful operation in Japan, and it is being formed in India. Let us join the missionaries who have long been hoping and praying and working for it in China. A Pan-Presbyterian Alliance has already been constituted, and held a conference in Shanghai, October 2 to 4 of this year. I profoundly regret that my imperative engagements in the Philippine Islands did not permit me to accept the urgent invitation of the committee to be present.

Now, would a local union with the American Congregationalists in Chihli, and the English Baptists in Shantung, cut off our churches in those provinces from the larger union of the great Pan-Presbyterian Church which is slowly forming throughout the empire? If it would, I am inclined to think that such local unions in the north would not be expedient. The question, it will be seen, is not at all one of comity and co-operation, since we are cordially willing to unite with our brethren of other denominations. But shall we unite with the larger or smaller body—with seven other other boards, to form one splendid church, or with two other boards to form two separate and comparatively small churches, one in Chihli and the other in Shantung?

This objection might, however, be obviated by broadening the scope of the Pan-Presbyterian movement so as to include the Congregationalists and English Baptists, if they are willing to come into it. The Church of Christ in Japan, which is composed of all the Presbyterian and Reformed native churches there, was originally intended to include the churches of the American Board, and many missionaries lamented to me when I was in Japan that opposition from home overruled the Congregational missionaries and pastors who desired to join the Church of Christ. All felt that a mistake had been made, but that it is now too late to correct it, as the native churches have since then drifted apart.

There might be similar difficulties encountered in China. The larger the number of denominations involved the greater the probability of opposition from well-meaning brethren of "high church proclivities," who conscientiously feel that the historic witness of their particular denomination to some specific truth would be impaired by a union with other denominations, and that the advantages of union would not compensate for the loss in such impairment. Moreover, consolidations of churches are difficult to bring about, anyway, and if the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance in China attempts too much it may not succeed in accomplishing anything. The home boards and churches must also be reckoned with. A prominent Methodist told me recently that he doubted the wisdom of a union of the Methodist bodies in Japan, as he feared that such a union would weaken the sense of responsibility of his home denomination for the support of its work. Better, he argued, to lay the whole weight of a smaller foreign work on the home Church than a part of the weight of a larger work. Are we, then, to force our American sectarianism upon the rising churches of Asia? Must the unity of the foreign Church be sacrificed to the divisions of home Church? I fear that there is some ground for anticipating such objections from home, though I do not believe they would emanate



from our Church. At any rate, I will never admit that such objections are valid. If they are found to exist, we should not stop seeking union in Asia, but we should begin preaching juster views in America.

The way does not appear to be clear now to make positive recommendations as to the details of so general a union. In so momentous and yet so delicate a matter we must move prudently. The Pan-Presbyterian Alliance is being wisely guided by the missionaries themselves. It is enough for the present to let them know that we sympathize with them, that we are prepared to co-operate in every practicable way, and that we heartily favor a union with the American Board churches in Chihli and with the English Baptists in Shantung, provided it is understood that such united churches are to become a part of a Church of Christ in China, if one shall be formed. I therefore recommend that our Board notify the American Board that we heartily reciprocate the desire of the missionaries of the North China Mission of the American Board for the union of the Congregational and Presbyterian native churches in the Chihli Province, and thus avoid the perpetuation of unnecessary denominational divisions, but that, in view of the pending movement to unite in one organic body the large number of Christians connected with the work of the various Presbyterian and Reformed Boards in China, we hesitate to take any action which might possibly cut off our Chihli work from participation in such a movement, and that we should be glad to have our brethren of the American Board indicate more specifically the policy which they have in mind for the proposed united Church in Chihli in order that we may see how it would be related to the larger union if one should ultimately be formed.

In the great Province of Shantung, some important questions press for early decision. Prominent among them is

#### THE REMOVAL OF TENGCHOW COLLEGE.

When the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Calvin W. Mateer opened the college with six students, in September, 1864, there was little choice as to location, for Tengchow was then the influential port of Shantung. All our mission work was in the immediate neighborhood, and our only other station in the province was Chefoo, at that time a far less important place than Tengchow. But with the opening of Chefoo as a port and the development of our mission work in the interior, Chinanfu being opened as a station in 1872, the influence of Tengchow declined and it is now a relatively unimportant and decaying city. The Minutes of the Shantung Mission for 1878 show that at that time the question of removing the College was discussed. The opening of Wei Hsien Station

in 1882, of Ichowfu Station in 1891, and of Chiningchow Station in 1892, emphasized the objections by throwing Tengchow farther on one side than ever. In the mission meeting of 1894, there was a long debate on the advisability of removing the College to a more central point, and much dissatisfaction with the location was expressed. The final touch was added by the founding of Tsingtau by the Germans in 1897, its selection as the terminus of the railway and telegraph lines, and the evident fact that it was to be the port of arrival and departure for all future travel and commerce with the interior, leaving Tengchow away off in a remote corner, with no regular lines of communication with the rest of the province. Comparatively few students come to it from the Chinanfu, Chiningchow and Ichowfu Stations, and those who do come must have help in paying their traveling expenses. The adjacent population is comparatively poor, sparse and inferior in type to that of the rest of the Province, and with a dialect which, though not essentially different from that of Central and Western Shantung, is, nevertheless, different enough to be distinctly noticeable. Then our Christian constituency there is quite small, while the field is divided with the American Southern Baptists, whose convictions will not permit them to fellowship with us, save, of course, in personal social intercourse. Moreover, the great bulk of the population of the province, the center of its influence and the overwhelming majority of our missionaries and native Christians are farther west, while all indications point to the great future development of our work in that region. It is plain that our College is too far from its constituency, and that we must either move it or found another institution in the west—a wholly impracticable alternative.

This is the opinion of both Missions. A joint committee which included two of the college professors, has drawn up a statement which presents the following reasons unfavorable to Tengchow :

"First. It is geographically isolated, being located on the Shantung Promontory on the extremity of a cape that projects at an obtuse angle into the sea, so that the direction from which it is possible for students to come is from one side only.

"Second. This landward side is mountainous. Roads are exceedingly poor, and the place is difficult of access. Carts and wheel-barrow are not practicable, and the communication with the interior is confined to pack trains, litters and saddle animals. The land is poor, and the price of grain higher than in the interior. Coal must come from Chefoo by junk, after having come across the sea from Japan or Taku by steamer. All of these things enter as a factor into the

cost of living, and cheapness of living is of immense importance to students the world over, and nowhere so much so as in China. It will easily be seen that this has a distinct bearing on self-support.

"Third. Tengchow is exceedingly eccentric to the constituency. Within fifty miles of Tengchow there are not more than 250 Protestant Christians; and within seventy-five miles there are not more than 600. The poor mountain farmers can never support a thick population such as is found in the west. Moreover, a college located in a place not easy of access and eccentric to the constituency would operate against self-support. The English Baptists at Ching Chou Fu will be developing their school into a college in the near future, in case our College is not moved. Such an institution on the railroad would be easy and cheap of access. With our College difficult and costly of access, the only way it could maintain a hold on our constituency in the western region would be to offer such financial advantages as would balance the difference in expense. The hindrance it would be to the pushing of self-support is easily seen. It would be a never-ending handicap on the college."

There is now absolutely no reason for leaving our College at such an out-of-the-way place, except the fact that our limited plant there cannot be disposed of without some loss; though Dr. Mateer thinks that some of the materials could be transported to Wei Hsien and used in rebuilding. But the accident of a few thousand dollars' worth of property is a poor reason for maintaining a college in a location which seriously cripples its usefulness.

Wei Hsien, however, appears to meet all the conditions desired.

"First. It is central to the constituency. Within a radius of fifty miles of Wei Hsien there are at least 4,000 Christians, and within a radius of 100 miles there are probably 8,000 Christians, 4,000 of whom are Presbyterians. A considerable portion of the Chefoo and Tengchow fields, and the whole of the Tsingtau field, lie nearer to Wei Hsien than to Tengchow. From Chinanfu and Ichowfu to Wei Hsien the distance is about half that from the former two places to Tengchow, while Wei Hsien would be quite within reach of Chiningchow, even were there no prospect of a railroad to shorten the distance. Further, between two-thirds and three-fourths of the present college students are from the Wei Hsien field; and if we include those from Tengchow, Chefoo and Tsingtau fields, who are as near or nearer to Wei Hsien than Tengchow, it would constitute probably eighty per cent of the whole number. There is a distinct gain to the religious atmosphere of the College by having it located in the midst of

a large body of Christians. With active and successful evangelistic work going on all about them, the students are more apt to be imbued with an earnest evangelistic spirit, and their thoughts turned to the service of the ministry.

"Second. Wei Hsien is geographically a central location, independent of the present Christian constituency. A large and thickly settled population lies in all directions, so that future growth will but emphasize the advantages we now believe it to possess.

"Third. A railroad is rapidly being pushed from the port of Tsingtau via Wei Hsien to Chinanfu. This will bring Wei Hsien into closer touch with all the main portions of the Shantung field. Moreover, it is contemplated to extend this railroad into Honan Province on the west, and another main line north and south will connect with the regions worked by the Southern Presbyterians. If in the future a theological school were opened at Wei Hsien in connection with the College, the railroad would render it possible for us to co-operate in theological instruction with the Southern Presbyterians, with the Canadian Presbyterians in Honan, and with our own northern mission. The valid argument made against Wei Hsien six years ago, that an inland station would involve increased outlay for freight on college and other supplies, is now removed by the building of the railroad.

"Fourth. Wei Hsien is in the midst of rich farming lands, and possesses the largest market between Chefoo and Chinanfu. The roads reaching out in all directions are (for China) good ones. For these reasons, food stuffs are not a little cheaper than in the eastern part of the province. Coal mines are close at hand.

"Safety of property. The united action of the two Missions was taken in the face of the fact that a mob had laid the Wei Hsien property in ruins. The feeling of all was that it was an accident of time rather than of place. Railroad riots and the political explosion coincided. It was agreed that no special danger attaches to the location, and with the development of the railroad, the mines and the commerce about Wei Hsien, it is likely to become as secure a place for residence as there is in the province."

For these reasons, the joint meeting of the two Missions last year asked the Board to sanction the removal of the college to Wei Hsien. I have carefully traversed the subject with the members of every station of the North China Missions, and I find that the vote for Wei Hsien is unanimous. In Tengchow itself, the chairman of the station meeting said to me, in open session, and there was no dissent: "There is no use in further discussing the removal to Wei Hsien, as that is settled so far as we are concerned."

The final reason is the announcement by Governor Yuan Shih Kai of the establishment of a great Provincial College at Chinanfu, and the acceptance of its presidency by the Rev. Dr. W. M. Hayes, the honored president of our own College, who has already relinquished his position at Tengchow, and removed to Chinanfu under salary from the Governor. While all deplore the departure of Dr. Hayes as a heavy if not an irreparable loss to mission education, yet it is generally agreed that it is wise for him to accept the high post offered him. It would be a calamity to have such an influential institution controlled by a non-Christian man, as it is an inestimable advantage to have the new and progressive system of provincial education organized by one in such close sympathy with Christian ideals. Let us be thankful that the mission cause could furnish the leader needed, and accept the compliment implied to Dr. Hayes and to Christian missions. But the new Provincial College has not yet received that Imperial endorsement which is necessary to guarantee its permanence, especially as Governor Yuan Shih Kai has now been transferred to the viceroyalty of Chihli. Moreover, the official order for Confucian worship may create conditions which a Christian president would find intolerable. If for these or other reasons, Dr. Hayes should prefer to return to mission work, he will be heartily welcomed. The Board has not accepted his resignation, so that his status is that of a missionary on detached duty. He is a very valuable man.

This new enterprise does not lessen the necessity for a well-equipped college of our own. State universities in America, even under the presidency of the most eminent Christian men, have signally failed to produce adequate supplies of ministers. How much more signal is likely to be the failure of a state institution in China, which has absolutely no Christian affiliations except the personal faith of the individual who for the time presides over it. Dr. Hayes will carry his faith into anything he undertakes. Indeed, he has already begun chapel preaching in Chinanfu; but it would be unfair to expect him to turn out preachers from a university which is not designed to be Christian, much less a training school for Christian workers.

"For our purposes," writes an experienced missionary, "we regard it preferable to spend a little more money in raising up from the middle and lower classes strong and virtuous men, than to relax our standard and modify our curriculum so as to bring in the rich and official classes, who would pay liberally but whose character and habits we could not control. A few such we might assimilate, but a larger number would speedily demoralize the school. The rich and official classes in China are so strongly addicted to opium

smoking, wine drinking, feasting, etc., that they would, as we know from a little experience, be restive under discipline, take ethical studies only under compulsion, and, in fact, by influence and example become a strong disintegrating agency."

Moreover, most of our Christian boys could not enter the university even if they wanted to. This is not only because of the distance of Chinanfu from their homes, for it must be borne in mind that marriage in China is at an earlier age than in America, so that many college students have families, but because the students of the Provincial University are to be two from each of the one hundred and eight counties of the Province, and to be nominated by the county magistrates. None of these magistrates are Christians, and they will naturally give the preference to the sons of the wealthy and official classes, especially as candidates must have completed their native classics about as far as the first degree. So we must have our own college.

But plainly we should not build it under the shadow of such a great and necessarily secular institution as the Provincial University. We cannot compete with its ampler plant and equipment, nor with the prestige of an institution backed by all the power of the State. We can educate our pastors and helpers to better advantage at a station which we can dominate. Therefore I recommend that the Board approve the removal of the College from Tengchow to Wei Hsien.

Additional land there will, of course, be required, and on the authority of the Board's action of February 4th, the station has already purchased an adjoining tract of about 170x600 feet for \$1,496 (Mexican). I think the campus should be still further enlarged as opportunity opens and funds become available.

The aim of the College, it seems to me, should emphasize the training of Christian pastors, evangelists, teachers and laymen. And yet I would not too rigidly narrow the scope of the institution. Students who do not have Christian work in mind, and who are not even Christians, will, of course, be admitted. Some of the best material for the churches will often be developed in the course of study. Undoubtedly, too, many graduates will not and should not enter Christian work. We must give a sound education to the young men of Shantung and fit them for leadership as laymen as well as clergymen. We need educated Christian men not only in the pulpit, but in the community. Dr. Hayes forcibly says: "Every able, efficient man graduated, whether preacher, teacher, physician, engineer or other professional man, is so much clear gain to the nation. At present China is helpless, for her leading men from the country district magistrate up

to the Grand Council, if not morally untrustworthy, are, through lack of proper training, incompetent; so we find the Customs, the Imperial Postal Department, etc., in the hands of foreigners, and every source of national revenue not in charge of foreigners is a place for extortion and speculation. In her railroads, steamship lines, arsenals, etc., she is compelled to use foreigners; no native has the skill and training. Her legal advisers are foreigners, and while all these may be efficient, honorable men, yet no country can maintain its rights unless self-dependent." If we are to retain our Christian leadership in Shantung and rightly discharge our responsibilities, we cannot ignore this phase of the educational question. But the governing principle should distinctly be "For Christ and the Church." The Provincial University will meet the demand for a purely secular education, under the influence of a Christian president. Our chief business as a mission agency and with mission money is to train men for the leadership of the native church. To this end, the College should not only be a part of our mission compound, but its plant and equipment should be in harmony with mission ideals. An early effort should be made to secure special gifts for the necessary buildings and apparatus. It may be easier to get them by asking individuals to erect or furnish particular buildings than to find persons who will give large sums for a general endowment, though, of course, such persons should be sought if practicable. The running expenses might wisely be the income of an endowment for that purpose, if it can be secured, and if it is to include the professors' salaries, the amount authorized by the Board November 6th and 20th, 1899—\$250,000—would not be too large. But until that can be secured, as liberal a provision as possible should be made in the regular appropriations. The College should not be held down to the almost beggarly and constantly fluctuating grant it has hitherto received. Shantung is one of the clearest and most vital fields for educational work that we have anywhere in the world, and our College there ought to have a proportionate support.

The question has been raised whether such a College should be under the control of an independent board of trustees. But the advantages of that plan are not apparent. The members of the Board of Foreign Missions are selected with great care from the very best available Presbyterian ministers and laymen among the five million people living within a radius of twenty miles of 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. There are no wiser ministers in our denomination, no more sagacious and consecrated business men in our national metropolis. It is a well-organized body. It meets regularly every two weeks. It has a permanent Committee on China

and another permanent Committee on Finance. Their members take a personal interest in the problems committed to them. The China and Finance Committees know about the College and are in sympathy with its objects. The Board has a secretary for North China who forms an easy and regular channel of communication between the College and the Board. There is not the slightest reason for believing that it would be possible to constitute another board of better men than are already found on the Foreign Board. There is no guarantee for the wisdom or the continued interest of an independent board except the personal character of the men who compose it. That character may change with years. But the Presbyterian Church is a stable body, and there is guarantee for wisdom in a Board which the Church itself appoints, and which it can and does hold to strict accountability. Moreover, experience has shown that an independent board cannot as efficiently and harmoniously co-operate with an institution thousands of miles away as our Foreign Board can. Several institutions in other parts of the foreign field have such independent boards of directors in America. Some of the officers and members of our Board are members of them. The consensus of opinion is that, with possibly one or two exceptions, this plan does not work so satisfactorily as the other. The members of such a board, having only this bond of union, do not meet often enough, and cannot come into sufficiently close contact with the college. The professors in some of these institutions have repeatedly lamented that the independent board is unworkable. In one instance, at least, they are contemplating the expediency of asking the trustees to turn over all their functions to the Board of Foreign Missions and then go out of existence. Experience has also shown that the relations of the independent board and the Board of Foreign Missions are apt to become confused. For example, in some cases the foreign professors are appointed by the Board of Foreign Missions, and, therefore, have the rights and privileges incident to that appointment, but they are also under the authority of a separate Board of Trustees. They are, therefore, in a sense, under the control of two distinct bodies. Each body acts separately, and the rights and privileges accorded by the Board have sometimes conflicted with the rules formulated by the trustees. Embarrassment has thus developed as to the question of furloughs, traveling expenses, etc. If the professors are not missionaries, these embarrassments are avoided, but graver ones are incurred; that is, if the aim of the college is missionary.

Surely we ought to learn something from experience, and the experience of many years, during which both plans have



been carefully watched, has led to the conclusion that, whatever functions ought to be discharged by a board in the United States, can be discharged with greater efficiency and economy, and with less confusion and friction, by the Board of Foreign Missions, which has been appointed by the Presbyterian Church for the express purpose of exercising such a relationship on behalf of the givers to the work and workers on the field. In this great enterprise of missions, the home Christians and the foreign missionaries must work in partnership. Neither can get along without the other. The home church must be depended upon to provide the money, to train the men, to send them forth, and, so far as human resources are concerned, to maintain the whole enterprise by their sympathies and gifts and prayers. Now the Presbyterian Church has itself constituted the Board of Foreign Missions as the agency through which these influences shall flow to the foreign field. The Board reports to it not only in the religious press, in pamphlets, leaflets, letters, in innumerable addresses, in churches, Presbyteries, Synods and ministers' meetings, but particularly to the General Assembly itself, where the whole work is reviewed and set in proper relations before the entire Church. In these circumstances, why should any particular institution on the foreign field be cut off from direct relations with the Presbyterian Church by being placed under some separate agency, and thus deprived of the right to be heard as a part of the missionary enterprise for which the whole Church is responsible, for which the prayers of the whole Church are offered, a part of the enterprise, too, which may be presented before the great judicatories of the Church?

My beloved colleague, the Rev. Dr. F. F. Ellinwood, who has had more than thirty years' experience as a secretary, and who is himself a member of the Boards of Trustees of two institutions which are separately organized, makes the following statement:

"I have been familiar with the history of Robert College in Constantinople, the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, the Meiji Gakuin in Japan, the Doshisha of the American Board at Kyoto, our Christian College at Canton and the Protestant College of Sao Paulo, Brazil. The resultant conclusion which I have been compelled to reach is, that it is better for a missionary college itself, and for all the missionary interests which it is designed to subservise, that it should be and should continue to be closely identified with the mission and some missionary board. This arrangement better suits the Church at large, and increases that confidence which is necessary for the support of such an institution. The churches know little of the Christian college as a separate organization, but they know the Presbyterian Board. They know

little of the Christian College at Canton, or the College at Sao Paulo, Brazil, but they feel safe with respect to their gifts so long as they are controlled by the Board, which is itself the servant of the General Assembly and is amenable to it. It is better for the college itself, as shown by the judgment of those who are not connected with our Church. In the case of the College at Canton, the two subscribers who had given two of the three largest amounts for its endowment—namely, Mr. Martin, of Cincinnati, and Mr. David Torrens, of this city—both united in a special request that the constitution drawn up by Dr. Happer should be so changed as to make the trustees eligible by the Board of Foreign Missions. The reason for this request was, that they had given this money as a missionary gift for missionary purposes, and they feared the possible effect upon the College of an outside and irresponsible trusteeship. The constitution was changed accordingly, much against the wish of Dr. Happer. The subsequent course of Dr. Happer in regard to the institution, his long continued effort to remove it from Canton and to make it more definitely a secular institution, etc., was believed to justify the wisdom of the request and the action of the Board in regard to it. The most recent history of that institution, and the action of its local directory, has convinced the trustees of the wisdom of an appellate power here in New York. A similar experience occurred in the action of the legal directory of Beirut College, some years ago. It was a result of having a mixed and composite board of directors on the field. The trustees in New York became alarmed lest the institution might drift away from the original purpose for which it was founded, and become less and less a Christian college. There are two Christian colleges now connected with the Board—namely, at Canton and at Sao Paulo—both of which are under the direction of a trusteeship. Of the former, I do not hesitate to say that I would be glad if it were wholly under the direction of the Board, or were more closely connected than it is. The management would be simplified, and, I think, greater efficiency would be secured. With respect to Sao Paulo, I may say the same thing, but it so happens that the conditions under which these institutions have received large endowments forbid this direct connection, although in the case of Sao Paulo, the Board pays several thousands of dollars toward the salaries of president and professors. The trustees, although they are supposed to raise more or less money, really raise very little. Three of them are members of our Board, and a close and harmonious relationship is kept up, but the machinery is awkward, and the directory in Brazil is virtually a dead letter.”

I believe not only that the professors should be appointed

with reference to their missionary as well as their educational qualifications, but that they should be members of the West Shantung Mission, on precisely the same plane as other missionaries. I am aware that this is a disputed point. Some feel that, with a fixed endowment income exempt from a cut, the college men should have no voice over a cut on other work. But there is no endowment yet, and it may be some time before there will be one so ample as to give the College all it asks. Moreover, the regular appropriations now maintain the existing work of the whole Mission without a cut, and we hope that they will continue to do so. Even if they should not, and the College should have its full endowment, it would not follow that there would be any injustice to the evangelistic and medical work in giving votes to the college men. A cut is not determined by a mission, but by the failure of the home churches to give enough money. The mission and station task, from the nature of the case, is confined to distributing it. The fact that the special work of a few individuals may not be affected is not an adequate reason for disfranchising them, and cutting them off from all organic relation with the missionaries among whom they live and work. Presumably, the common work is dear enough to them to make their judgment upon it of some value, especially as a mission can, if it chooses, refer the adjustment of a cut to a committee composed of those most directly concerned.

On the other hand, it is urged that an educator should not be compelled to submit his plans to the votes of men who are engaged in evangelistic and medical work; that they do not have the proper technical qualifications for intelligently passing upon such matters, and that the college men should be emancipated from mission control. On the contrary, I affirm that they are, of all missionaries, the very ones who should not be so emancipated, and who should be expected and required to submit their plans for the approval of their brethren. If this argument for separation proves anything, it proves too much, for it would immediately segregate the hospitals, which require far more technical knowledge than a college, while the boarding school teachers could set up another plea, and the evangelists themselves could with justice assert that they know as much about education as professional educators know about evangelistic work, and so a principle would be established which would split a mission into a number of diverse cliques. I believe that the men who are in charge of the evangelistic work should have a voice in deciding the policy of the institution which must be the main dependence for supplying the pastors, evangelists, helpers, elders, deacons and Sunday-school superintendents for the

churches. It is essential to the interests of both college and mission that they should be vitally connected with one another. The college men should keep in touch with the general work by Sunday preaching, by occasional itineration and by visitation of the out-station schools. The college is dependent upon the co-operation of the mission, and if the co-operation is to be effective, it should be organic.

Painful experience on several fields has shown that when an institution is divorced from mission control it rapidly develops a centrifugal movement. This is not because of any deliberate intention on the part of its faculty, but because the inherent tendency of the ambitious teacher is to press his work out of proportion to other mission enterprises, to make it more and more professional and technical and highly specialized. While this may be proper and even desirable in America, yet amid the partially developed conditions of the foreign field, it ultimately throws the college out of vital relation to the mission needs, producing men who will not enter the ministry, who have been educated out of sympathy with their countrymen, whose scientific equipment can find no sphere among their own people, and whose financial requirements can only be satisfied by permanent foreign employment.

Let us heed the lesson of experience, and keep our College and Mission together. There may be slight embarrassment at times, growing out of the fact that the College is not a station but a mission institution. But it will be insignificant in comparison with the historical dangers of the other policy, and it can be minimized, as already indicated, by insisting upon the college men taking some part in the local work. Four professors ought to give enough of such help to be the equivalent of one additional ordained man in the general Wei Hsien work.

Fortunately, the present college men are of this stamp. They are missionaries as well as professors—men who love evangelistic work and who are accustomed to make itinerating tours. In my conference with them in Tengchow, they, with Dr. Mateer, unaminously expressed the opinion that the relation of college professors to the Mission should be the same as that of the other missionaries—viz., regular members. As for Wei Hsien, the Rev. Frank Chalfant wrote to the Board last year: "It is the unanimous opinion of the Wei Hsien Station that the College should form part of the present compound or mission plant, and not constitute a separate community. The complications that would be sure to grow out of a double Wei Hsien station, or even a doubled mission plant under the same station name and control, are plain to those who have had experience in such things."

A field board of directors appears to be advisable, espec-

ially as two and possibly more missions are to co-operate in the support of the College. Their support can be more effectively given through a small number of men selected with reference to their qualifications for such work than by the comparatively large bodies meeting only once a year. On this point there is no difference of opinion. A plan for such a local directorate was presented to the Board by a Shantung missionary in 1899, and, with slight modifications, was incorporated in the report of the China Committee and Executive Council, tentatively approved November 6 and 20 of that year. That report proposed nine directors, representing each of the five Presbyterian boards working in Shantung, Chihli, Honan and Manchuria.

Some brethren, however, whose ability and experience entitle their judgment to great weight, have expressed the opinion that the Assembly's Board and the Missions should surrender to this field board a considerable part of their powers, so that the directors, when elected, would be independent of the control of the Missions, and would be amenable to the New York Board only on the written appeal of three members. They, therefore, recommend changes in the report of the China Committee and the Executive Council, which one of them summarizes as—

"First, enlarging the powers of the field board of directors, and second, safeguarding the interests of the College as endowed, and consequently the use of the fund against possible inimical changes in the personnel of the Board of Foreign Missions itself."

Commenting on these proposed changes, this brother writes:

"The first is done not in any spirit of jealousy toward the Board in New York, but in order to secure a hearty interest in the College among the missions on the field. Unless this is secured the endowment, however carefully guarded, will be guarded to but little purpose. To gain this interest and active support, we must make their able and influential men feel that it is a part of their work, something for the success or failure of which they will be held responsible. The only way to do this is to lay responsibility, guarded if you will, but still real and heavy, upon them.

"In regard to the second main criticism made on the plan sent us, we do not wish to be understood as impugning the good faith of the Board. Nothing is farther from our intentions. At the same time it must be remembered that, in the order of events, the membership of the Board changes. New men often bring in new ideas, and unless the interests of the fund are carefully guarded here also, not only is the College jeopardized, but we doubt if an endowment could be

raised. We have also thrown out the word 'cut,' as its use implies that these funds after all are part of the Board of Missions' assets, their proceeds being exempted from cut by promise only. As this money is supposed to be given for the cause of Christian higher education in China, we wish to secure this money from ever being diverted to any other purpose."

It seems to me, however, that the changes thus proposed:

First. Unduly weaken the responsibility of the Assembly's Board in order to unduly strengthen the responsibility of the field board.

Second. Assume that a field board elected by six different Missions of five different denominations and four different countries (United States, Canada, Ireland and Scotland), Missions in which many changes annually occur by death, resignation and new appointment, a board independent, when once elected, of their control, and responsible to no other body, unless three members make a written appeal to New York from a decision of the majority—assume, I say, that such a board would be more attractive to donors of an endowment, a safer and more stable custodian of funds and a surer guarantee against unwise changes in policy than the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, which is an incorporated body, amenable in its use of trust funds to the laws of the State of New York, which is appointed by and is subject to the review and control of the General Assembly, the highest responsible body in the Presbyterian Church, which is personally known to and is under the easy observation of the givers from whom any endowment is to be sought, and which has a record of sixty-four years of stability and trustworthiness in handling the funds entrusted to it.

Third. Involve the very separation from mission control and the very dangers of centrifugal development which I have already presented, and which I find that the majority of the missionaries wish to avoid. One of the signers above mentioned frankly said to me—I quote from my notes made at the time: "The field board of directors should not be amenable to the Missions. They can, of course, instruct their representatives in the board, and they can affect the policy of the board by not re-electing a director if they do not approve his attitude. But when the field board votes, its decision should be final, unless appeal is taken to New York." But another missionary objected that this would simply throw the entire control of the College into the hands of the president, unchecked even by such control as resides in the board of trustees of an American college, for a field board in China, scattered all over the vast region occupied by the

missions named, and separated by weary weeks of travel in cart or shendza, could seldom meet, and the functions of the average member would inevitably degenerate into simply signing circular letters prepared and sent around by the president.

Another reason strongly urged by some for such a field board of directors is that "experience has shown that the station and Mission either will not or cannot control the college. Many of the members of the Mission do not take sufficient interest in the work of the College, but leave the faculty to itself. The few who are interested hesitate to oppose anything that the president and professors advocate, so that matters have drifted into an unfortunate condition. The present field board feels that it is but a figure-head. The need is for a field board which will take an active interest and exercise real management."

If this be true, and I have been freely told that it is, the recourse plainly is not to create a new board, which will be still more widely scattered than the old one, but for the Mission to take a deeper interest and exercise its undoubted rights of control. I fail to see why a field board which can meet but once or twice a year will be any more efficient than a Mission composed of men living near the College. The trouble is not with the present system, but with the failure to work it. I am not willing to admit that our method of mission control is so fatally defective as this argument would imply. As in our home Presbyteries which do not exercise proper authority over their churches, the remedy is not to organize another body for that purpose, but for the one already constituted to do the work for which it exists. The Board gives the Missions all requisite power for this purpose. Why acquiesce in their abdication of it, or assume that it will be any more efficiently wielded by a board consisting of men of various denominations and nationalities distributed all over North China? Our Board is sometimes criticized for not giving the missions power enough. But here are missionaries confessing their inability to use the powers they already have, and a secretary, as is frequently the case, urging them to magnify their office.

I am, therefore, of the opinion that the plan outlined in the Report of the China Committee and the Executive Committee, November 6 and 20, 1899, is to be preferred, though I would change "third" by confining the membership of the field board to representatives of our own Missions—namely, three from East Shantung, three or four from West Shantung, one or two from Peking and the president of the College *ex officio*. It is the judgment of nearly all our North China missionaries that any more widely distributed field

board would be practically unworkable, and that, while association with missions of other denominations is a hope of the future, it is not yet feasible in Shantung and will not be until railway facilities are better than they are now.

The English Baptists, however, may possibly call for an exception, as their chief work is near Wei Hsien and as the relations between the two bodies of missionaries are remarkably close and cordial. A committee of the English Baptist Mission is now conferring with similar committees of our Shantung Missions. But the Baptist committee is not yet sure of the co-operation of the educational leaders of its own Mission, nor of the Board in England. It simply represents the informal but cordial and unanimous desire of the comparatively few men who are now on the field. The project was not definite enough when I left China to justify me in doing more than to assure both the Baptist committee and our own Missions, in answer to questions, that our Board is on record as heartily favoring co-operation in educational work wherever practicable, and that, while I could not commit it to any decision on this particular case until we know more fully what our Baptist brethren desire, yet that I was disposed to encourage the committees to confer and report on the subject.

Until their desire shall take some authoritative form which our Missions and Board can approve, I believe it will be wiser, considering the character and aim of our College, that it should be under the immediate jurisdiction of our own Missions, within whose bounds it is to be located. It is the wise policy of the Board to dignify the mission, to recognize its authority within its legitimate sphere, and to leave to it all practicable discretion in the supervision of the details of the work. This is our system. This is Presbyterianism as we practice it in our foreign mission work. I see no valid reason for making the College an exception to the other institutions and work of the Missions. These Missions are composed of wise, strong and experienced missionaries. They live and work in the immediate field of the College. They appreciate its importance. They know its needs. They understand the work which the College ought to do, and they are competent to superintend the local activities of the institution. Without their support the College cannot possibly succeed, and no independent board should be interposed between them and the College to deaden their sense of responsibility for it. For the practical details of operation they can vest in their representatives in the field board of directors as much of their own power as they choose, subject to their review and control in annual meeting. If the necessities of some future great endowment or of union with



Other denominations render necessary modifications in the constitution and duties of the field board of directors, they can be made when the necessities appear. But as the case stands now, I am convinced that both Missions and Board will be wise in keeping the College in their own hands and in refraining from cumbering the machinery of our missionary organization by adding another agency which, once formed, will be beyond our control.

It is a well-known and eminently just principle that the mover of a proposition is not to be held responsible for all the consequences, which another man imagines will flow from it. It should not be supposed, therefore, that I for a moment charge upon the brethren who desire a highly organized and authoritative field board of directors the results which I have anticipated, much less that I believe them to be actuated by distrust of either the Missions or the Board. But we are considering neither men nor motives, but a proposition to which we sustain responsible relations before the givers, the missions, and the Church, and as it has been formally placed before us, we have no alternative but to frankly discuss what appear to us to be its inherent character and tendency.

I close this part of my report by quoting the words of a beloved brother who urges the formation of a field board of directors, "with enlarged powers": "If the Board of Foreign Missions waits until it can obtain absolute unanimity on the mission field before taking action in regard to these points, it will probably wait until doomsday."

But whatever the Board may see fit to do as to these questions of organization, I earnestly hope that both Board and missionaries will unite in inaugurating for the College a new era. Under the leadership, first of Dr. and Mrs. Calvin W. Mateer and then of Dr. W. M. Hayes, it has exerted a splendid influence. The lines on which it is working are more nearly in accord with the true ideals of higher Christian education on the foreign field than those of any other college of which I have knowledge. Its instruction is thorough, the course covering six years and including the branches most necessary to adequate equipment for a life work. It is Chinese, not giving the young men a knowledge of English, which seals up their training in a language which must always be foreign to them, and encourages them to run off to the United States, or to seek employment in treaty ports, but communicating truth in their native tongue and thus turning their faces toward their own people, among whom they must live and work, and to whom they can easily transmit that which they have learned from the missionary. Not one of the graduates of the College has left his native land.

Of how many other colleges on the mission field can that be said? And the instruction is Christian. There is no compromise on this point; no concession to ambitious Chinese who wish to get a secular education in a mission institution. Christianity pervades every part of the College. The President of St. John's College at Shanghai, American Protestant Episcopal, publishes in his official prospectus the statement that "very seldom is a convert made from the ranks of the heathen boys; they come to us heathen, and when they leave us they are still nominally heathen, though I emphasize the word nominally, for I firmly believe that all our Christian training has not been without effect." But it is a significant fact that every one of the one hundred and twenty-four graduates of our Tengchow college has been a Christian, and that none of them since has gone back to heathenism.

To-day the graduates of this institution are to be found throughout all North China as pastors, evangelists, teachers, physicians and Christian business men. They are in demand for positions of influence. Every high school north of the Yangtse River includes one or more of the Tengchow graduates. The new university at Peking had six of them on its faculty, while the new Imperial University at Nanking has three and wants more. Thus the College is one of the mightiest of influences for the Christian development of China.

This success has been obtained rather by the splendid ability and fidelity of the foreign missionaries who have had immediate charge of the College than by the financial support of the home churches. Drs. Mateer and Hayes have spared neither their strength nor their money. The Board has appropriated a full proportionate share of its general funds, but the amount which could thus be given has been necessarily subject to the fluctuations of our treasury, while it has always been painfully inadequate to the needs. The sum available for all the expenses of the College the last year before the Boxer outbreak, exclusive of the foreign missionaries' salaries, was less than \$1,800, while the apparatus has been either made or secured by Dr. Mateer himself. We should not allow this condition of affairs to continue, particularly at this time, when China is undergoing a transformation which affords imperial opportunities, not only for missionary work in general, but for higher Christian education in particular. In this College the Presbyterian Church now has a position of educational leadership which ought to be maintained.

In the eloquent language of Dr. Hayes:

"For the sake of the Presbyterian Church in China we need a college fairly well endowed. At present in North China there are five Presbyterian missionary bodies at work.

The Presbyterian Church (North) has its strongest missions in Shantung, with churches scattered almost all over the Province. It has also a mission in Chihli, another in Kiangsu, with work projected in Anhwei. The Scottish and Irish Presbyterians have strong missions in Manchuria, to our north. On the southwest the Canadians have a mission in Honan. To all the above missions we supply helpers to a greater or less extent. On the south, the Southern Presbyterians have mission work along the Grand Canal. What Washington and Jefferson colleges were to the early Presbyterian churches west of the Alleghenies a strong college here might be to those bodies in China, and through them to the future Presbyterian Church in this empire. At the same time, just as at present, and as in every other similar institution in America, its influence would in no way be limited to any denomination or belief. That the Christian people of China will become influential and mould to any great extent the general character of the nation without first becoming more intelligent and capable than the mass by which it is surrounded, is not to be expected. Those lands, like Scotland, Holland and New England, which early provided good schools and colleges, with strong moral influences surrounding them, still reap the reward of this foresight in the general character of the inhabitants. It is not necessary to refer to nations which pursued the opposite course."

Nor are we alone in this high estimate of its importance to the cause of Christ in China. President W. A. P. Martin, of the Imperial Chinese University, writes: "The Tengchow College is, in my opinion, second to no institution in China, in the thoroughness of the scientific training which it imparts. In respect of moral and religious education, it stands equally high in my estimation. No enterprise in China is more deserving of Christian aid and sympathy than that of providing a permanent supply of oil for this great lighthouse of Shantung. If Christians at home only knew what a determined effort is being made to exclude Christian teachers and Christian text-books from Chinese Government schools, from the Imperial University down, they would exert themselves to give a Christian education to the youth of China."

The Rev. Dr. Henry M. Woods, of the Southern Presbyterian Mission, writes: "The writer can bear testimony to the high standing which the Tengchow College has taken, and to the efficiency and zeal of its president and teachers. In the mental and moral training which it gives, the College is believed to be second to none in China. Its graduates occupy positions of usefulness in various parts of the country, and there is a constant demand made upon it to supply teachers for other schools and colleges. The prospects of

usefulness in the future are increasingly bright. As Western science and civilization win their way more and more in China, the sphere of influence of such institutions will be far-reaching. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of well-conducted Christian colleges as agencies which are contributing to the mental and spiritual regeneration of China, in moulding the character of those who will be leaders of thought and action in coming years. Thoroughness of teaching, economy of administration, and an earnest Christian influence—these features of Tengchow College will surely commend it to the benevolence of those who appreciate Christian education, and who desire to expend their funds where the best return will be secured."

The Rev. Dr. Hunter Corbett, of Chefoo, says: "I have watched with the deepest interest the growth of your College from its very beginning, and rejoice in the splendid and thorough work done in the College. After every yearly visit I make to Tengchow, my constant and growing wonder is how you are able, with such limited means, to give men such a solid and practical education. Not only the Presbyterian Mission, but many of the missions of other denominations in China, can never fully estimate the value of the able preachers and teachers you have trained."

From the Rev. Dr. Chauncey Goodrich, then acting president of the North China College (Congregational), near Peking, comes this strong testimony: "Nearly half a century ago I picked up an educational pamphlet in Vermont, and at the top of the cover read: 'We build schoolhouses and raise men.' This is the motto of which Vermont is proud. Precisely this work you are doing at Tengchow. During my stay of three months last year with you, I was much impressed with the excellent work you are doing in making, not scholars alone, but men. I knew before what an education you were giving, but I did not know so well the moral and spiritual forces of the college, which I was specially delighted to witness. Taking everything into account, including the training in the classics and the natural sciences, I know no college in China which will match your College. Now is the time in China to prepare for a great advance. How little most men understand what relation a Christian college in the heart of China bears to the uplifting of a continent and the regeneration of a quarter of the world."

Many similar testimonies could be cited. The general opinion of men of all denominations who are familiar with educational work in China, is expressed by Dr. A. P. Parker, of Shanghai, when he writes: "There is no educational institution in China that is more worthy of support than your College. I have no hesitation in saying that yours is by all

odds the best of all the schools and colleges in China, whether belonging to the government or under missionary control. By patient, persevering labor, according to a well-conceived and definite plan, Dr. and Mrs. Mateer, and later, Dr. Hayes, have built up an institution of high grade, where Chinese youth are receiving a real college education, and the demand for your trained men is to-day much greater than the supply."

March 21, 1898, the Board voted that while it "sees no reason for changing its former deliverances on this subject, so far as to authorize any general canvass for this purpose, yet in the case of some exceptional institutions it would not be unprepared to receive large gifts for the purpose of endowments." November 6 and 20, 1899, this was supplemented by a specific approval of an effort to secure an endowment of \$250,000 for Tengchow College. The time has now come when obedience to the call of Providence, and a wise use of the opportunity which God has opened to us in North China, imperatively demand that a more energetic effort should be made to put the College on a firmer basis.

I earnestly hope that the Board will take such immediate steps as will enable the College to open at Wei Hsien at the earliest practicable moment. It is neither necessary nor desirable to wait for the whole endowment. The land has already been purchased, and if one or two college buildings, with the houses for the professors, cannot be at once provided by special gifts, we should make an advance from the Shantung indemnity for Wei Hsien Station, since the necessities for the station itself will be so largely met by the special Pittsburg rebuilding fund. It is easy to conjure up difficulties. Any of us can make a long list if we are given time. But none of them are insuperable enough to justify us in leaving our best mission college to stagger along amid unfavorable conditions, while we wait for ideal ones to materialize. As John Sherman said of specie payments: "The only way to resume is to resume." The location of Tengchow College has been discussed for more than thirteen years. It is now high time to act. The additional equipment can be provided as money and needs develop.

#### REBUILDING THE DESTROYED STATIONS.

In this work, Peking, Paotingfu and Wei Hsien should have the assistance of an architect. The entire plants of those stations are to be rebuilt, and the addition of the college buildings at Wei Hsien will swell the total to formidable proportions. Moreover, Chiningchow Station, which I regard as one of our important strategic centers in China, though not destroyed, should be almost wholly rebuilt, as it

is composed of native buildings, utterly unfit for missionary residence and work. Never before has it been necessary for us to undertake building operations in any one country and at any one time on so large a scale. The missionaries are men of good sense and administrative ability, but they frankly say that their previous training has not fitted them for the duties of supervising architects. The curriculum of a theological seminary or a medical school does not include such studies. My examination of the buildings of our own and other boards in various missions in Japan, Korea and China has shown that some of the very best missionaries do not know how to construct a building properly, while some who do know are forced by the pressure of missionary work to leave too much to the discretion of the native workmen, so that, in some cases, defective foundations or walls have necessitated repairs almost as soon as a building is completed. Even if the missionaries had the experience, they have not the time. The force at those stations, even in ordinary circumstances, is hardly adequate to the conduct of the regular missionary work. Just now, indeed, it is painfully inadequate, while the peculiar situation in China presents problems and opportunities which imperatively demand the utmost strength of the missionaries. It would be calamitous to divert practically half of this scanty force from their work among the Chinese for a year or more, in order to direct carpenters and bricklayers. This is the time for increasing the missionary work, not diminishing it.

The Board has already recognized the principle, by sending an architect to Korea to assist that Mission for a year. I have cabled a request, most heartily endorsed by the Shantung missionaries, that he be sent to Wei Hsien for a month this fall, to draw plans and to make estimates for materials. The Peking Mission is equally desirous of having his assistance in the rebuilding of Peking and Paotingfu. If possible, he should return in the spring to superintend the erection of the buildings. Such a man will be imperatively needed, and should be employed by the Board in North China for at least a year.

On the general subject of missionary architecture, I find wide differences of opinion on the field. Some excellent missionaries insist on keeping as close as possible to native lines, so that a mission building will be in harmony with its surroundings, and will conciliate a people who dislike anything obtrusively foreign. Other equally able and experienced missionaries prefer a building of distinctively American style, a residence which will remind them of home—boldly foreign in every outline. Some good men believe that mission property should be severely plain, as more in

harmony with the missionary purpose, the poverty of the people, and the principle of self-support; while other men, just as good, insist upon a scale which will be a visible witness to the presence and dignity of the Church of God, and an example to the Chinese of what religion should have.

Coupled with this diversity of view, is often a disposition to regard buildings at a particular station as a local matter, to be, within the limits of the Board's appropriation, practically determined by the missionaries who for the time constitute that station. They, in turn, are apt to leave it to the individual whose work or residence is most directly involved. In some missions there is no "Property Committee" for the mission, but the mission appoints each station as the property committee for its own work.

The consequence is a startling variety of architectural types. A physician builds a hospital according to his own ideas, and a few years later his successor finds it not at all adapted to his notions. A man plans a house to suit the needs of his particular family, and within a year his death or resignation assigns the house to another man, who must have alterations made. One missionary is allowed to erect a church because he is in charge of it, though the majority of his colleagues do not conceal from a visitor their dissent from the principles which the edifice typifies. I am not now referring to any particular mission or board, but giving the general impression of visits and conferences in many fields of all denominations. Our own work presents less that is objectionable from this viewpoint than that of several other boards. And yet illustrations are not wanting in our own fields.

It will be noted that these questions are not at all questions of the wisdom or ability or trustworthiness of the missionaries. It is altogether beside the mark to reply that an authoritative decision by the mission or Board would "argue a distrust of the station." Often, the utterances of the members of the station themselves show that they have not been able to agree. But whether they could agree or not, to urge that an interference with a station or an individual in a building matter implies distrust of his judgment begs the whole question at issue. The very essence of that issue is that building is not a local matter, that schools and hospitals do not belong to the station or houses to the men who for the time are to occupy them. Mission property belongs to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. It is for the use of the mission work of that Church. In our system, the Board is the legal and responsible owner of the property, and the Board looks not so much to the individual missionary or to the local station as to the mission as the

field representative and guardian of its interests. A mission should not abdicate its rightful function on the supposition that "building matters should be left to the station," nor can we for a moment admit that a desire of a mission or the Board to see plans involves an unwillingness to trust the missionaries immediately concerned. That may be "The Gospel Mission" idea, but it is not the Presbyterian. We believe in and are organized on the principle of representative government.

So I think that the Board, which must bear the real responsibility for consequences, may reasonably require that houses should be built for the uses of the average missionary family, and not for the peculiar needs of those who are to temporarily occupy them; that we should not, for example, have two bedrooms in one house and five in another, because the first man has no children and the other has several, but build both for the average need. Anything beyond that should be considered a personal expenditure which does not constitute either a legal or a moral claim for the first occupant, in the event of such changes in the station force as may justify a mission in assigning another family to that particular house. A family in a heathen land needs a comfortable house. The husband should be given a reasonable discretion in making it, and he and his should not be lightly disturbed. But, on the other hand, personal idiosyncrasies should not be permanently fastened upon a place which does not belong to him, and which other families must use after him; nor should a single missionary continue to occupy alone a large house because "it is his" or "hers," while a family is dwelling in discomfort in a small native dwelling.

I think, too, that, in general, the style of architecture should conform as nearly as practicable to that of the country in which the building is situated. Exact similarity is not usually expedient. The Asiatic's conceptions of comfort differ from ours, while of sanitation he knows nothing. We should not live on damp mud or stone floors, or sleep on heated brick kangas, because he does. Missionary residences should be attractive to the lonely workers to whom they are often the only bit of native land they have. Schools, churches and hospitals should be adapted to their respective purposes, not mere sheds or hovels, but enough above the level of the natives to afford an example of decency and sanitation and the possibilities of their own architecture. But they should not be "monumental." Ostentation should be scrupulously avoided. Forms of architecture which needlessly aggravate a conservative people, and which stamp the whole mission plant as something essentially and defiantly alien, should not be adopted. At best, we are foreign enough in a country



which is traditionally hostile to the outsider. Let us not unnecessarily arouse this sort of antipathy. I have seen mission buildings which, if I were an Asiatic, I should resent. I should instinctively feel that the men who lived in them were not of my sort, that the religion which they typified was an exotic, and that to espouse it was in some sense to expatriate myself. I am glad to add that those buildings were not ours, nor, so far as I know, would our missionaries erect them, even if they had the requisite funds. But there are Protestants as well as Catholics who need to remember that the Orient can never be Occidentalized. Asia will be Asia until the end of time, and not America or Europe, and if China is to become Christian, her churches will not be Gothic, nor will her schoolhouses be square, stiff, three-story bricks. So let us, as far as practicable, follow, the flowing, graceful lines of Oriental architecture, which are really more beautiful than our own, anyway, build substantially and comfortably, but on as modest a scale as is compatible with reasonable taste, health and permanence.

I believe that both the China Missions, which now have rebuilding to do, are in harmony with these views. They would doubtless adopt them by a large majority if they were submitted to them in the form of a resolution. All the easier is it, therefore, for me to write so plainly of the principle, and to urge that it should not be allowed to break down through any failure on the part of the Missions or the Board to enforce it in particular cases. We have an unprecedented opportunity to construct model station plants at Peking, Paotingfu and Wei Hsien and Chiningchow. Let us take advantage of it.

The prices of labor and materials have sharply advanced in consequence of the enormous demands incident to the construction of railways, with their depots, shops and roundhouses, the vast engineering schemes of the Germans at Tsingtau, the British at Wei Hai Wei and the Russians at Port Arthur, the extensive scale on which the Legations are rebuilding in Peking, the reconstruction of virtually the entire business portions of both Peking and Tientsin, as well as the coincident rebuilding of the mission stations of all denominations, Protestant and Catholic. It will be readily understood what all this activity means in a land where there are as yet but limited supplies of the kind of skilled laborers required for foreign buildings, and where the requisite materials must be imported from Europe and America by firms who "are not in China for their health."

Nor can we afford to "wait till the rush is over." The interests of our mission work at this critical time are too vital to be made secondary to railroads, stores, machine-shops

and liquor houses. We are too far behind now. Besides, it is futile to hope that the competition will be materially less next year, or the year after, or the year after that. Commerce and politics are projecting works in North China, which will not be completed for a decade. Railway officials tell me that it will take them two years to finish their line to Chinanfu and four years to construct the one to Ichowfu. The German Government is not only spending 11,000,000 marks this year for streets, sewers, water and electric light works, barracks, fortifications, wharves and public buildings in Tsingtau, but it has voted 12,500,000 marks a year for ten years for deepening and enlarging the inner harbor. China has entered upon an era of commercial development. The Western world has come to stay, and while there may be temporary reactions, as there have been at home, prices are not likely to return to their former level. There are vast interior regions which will not be affected for an indefinite period, but for the coast provinces, in which our chief work is situated, primitive conditions are passing forever. We should rebuild, therefore, as soon as the state of the country will permit.

But while we cannot anticipate any substantial reduction in wages we may be able to save something in materials by taking advantage of the wholesale scale on which we must purchase. Asia is too densely peopled to have large forests, and those she has are not within easy reach. Native lumber, therefore, is scarce and often small and crooked. That in common use comes from Manchuria and Korea. I was impressed in Tsingtau to find that the Germans are using Oregon lumber and to be told that it is considered the best, and, in the long run, the cheapest. The Tsingtau planing-mill says that Oregon pine costs more than the Korean and Manchurian, but that it is superior in size and quality. The transportation charges, however, are one cent per pound from Tsingtau to Wei Hsien, which is a heavy addition. Manchurian pine can be delivered at Wei Hsien via the junk port of Yangchiako and thence by land for \$20 gold per thousand square feet, one inch thick, which is considerably less than the Tsingtau retail price for Asiatic lumber. Oregon lumber costs in Shanghai 45 taels (about \$32 gold) per thousand feet, but an importer estimates that it can be delivered at Tsingtau for \$25 gold per thousand in large quantities.

I, therefore, recommend that, as soon as the local architect employed by the Mission can form an estimate of the materials which will be required, and the form in which they will be needed—viz., doors, sashes, flooring, etc.—bids be obtained from the Pacific coast as well as in China. Low freight rates could probably be secured for so large a con-

signment. Direct purchase in Oregon may be found to be impracticable. I simply advise investigation. Meantime, I have asked the Wei Hsien missionaries to examine and report to the Board on what terms they can obtain a cargo of Oregon lumber which has been unexpectedly left on the agent's hands at Chefoo.

#### THE VASTNESS OF THE FIELD.

The magnitude of the task to which the Church has set herself in China is almost overwhelming. In spite of all that I had read, I was amazed by what I saw. To say that the empire has an area of 5,000,000 square miles is not sufficiently intelligible, for our minds are not able to comprehend such an enormous figure. But it may help us to remember that China is one-third larger than all Europe, and that, if the United States and Alaska could be laid upon China there would be room left for half a dozen Great Britains. Extending from the fifty-fourth parallel of latitude on the north to the eighteenth on the south, the empire has every variety of climate from arctic cold to tropic heat. It is a land of vast forests, of fertile soil, of rich minerals, of navigable rivers. The very fact that it has so long sustained such a vast population suggests the richness of its resources. There are said to be 600,000,000 acres of arable soil, and so economically and thriftily is it cultivated that many parts of the empire are almost continuous gardens and fields. Baron von Richthoven tells us that China has 600,000,000,000 tons of anthracite coal, and that the single Province of Shensi could supply the entire world for a thousand years.

Equally difficult is it for us to comprehend the meaning of 400,000,000 as applied to the population of China. But consider that the eighteen provinces alone, with an area about equal to that part of the United States east of the Mississippi River, have eight times the population of that part of our country. In the vivid language of Gracey, "there are twice as many people in China as on the four continents—Africa, North and South America and Oceanica. Every third person who toils under the sun and sleeps under God's stars is a Chinese; every third child born into the world looks into the face of a Chinese mother; every third pair given in marriage plight their troth in a Chinese cup of wine; every third orphan weeping through the day, every third widow wailing through the night are in China. Put them in rank, joining hands, and they will girdle the globe ten times at the equator with living, beating human hearts. Constitute them pilgrims and let two thousand go past every day and night under the sunlight and under the solemn stars, and you must hear the

ceaseless tramp, tramp of the weary, pressing, throbbing throng for five hundred years."

There is something almost overpowering in the immensity of the population. Great cities are amazingly numerous. In America a city of 1,000,000 inhabitants is a wonderful place, and all the world is supposed to know about it. But how many in the United States ever heard of Hsiang Tan Hsien, the city in Hunan in which we are opening a mission station? Yet Hsiang Tan Hsien is said to have 1,000,000 inhabitants, while within comparatively short distances are other great cities and innumerable villages. There are hundreds of Philadelphias and Bostons and Clevelands in China, while Rochesters and St. Pauls and Milwaukees are so common as to be commonplace. Men never tire of writing magazine articles about the number of suburbs around New York and Chicago. In five weeks' constant journeying through the far interior of the Shantung Province, the country districts, as we would call them, I passed through a village or town an average of once in every mile, to say nothing of the towns on both sides which my road did not traverse.

I was impressed anew by the worth of these people. Multitudes are, indeed, stolid and ignorant, but multitudes, too, have strong, intelligent features. Thousands of children have faces as bright and winning as those of American children. More strongly than ever do I feel that Americans have not done justice to the character of the Chinese. I do not refer to the bigoted, corrupt Manchu officials, nor to the lawless barbarians who were among those who flocked to the banners of the Boxers, just as in our own land lewd fellows of the baser sort are ever ready to follow the leadership of a demagogue. But I refer to the Chinese people as a whole. Their viewpoint is radically different from ours, and we have often harshly misjudged them, when the real trouble has lain in our failure to understand them. Let us be free enough from prejudice and passion to respect a people whose national existence has survived the mutations of forty-eight centuries; who are frugal, patient, industrious and respectful to parents, as we are not; whose astronomers made accurate recorded observations two hundred years before Abraham left Ur; who used paper 150 years before Christ, and fire-arms at the beginning of the Christian era; who first grew tea, manufactured gun-powder, made pottery, glue and gelatine; who wore silk and lived in houses when our ancestors wore the undressed skins of wild animals and slept in caves; who invented printing by movable types 500 years before that art was known in Europe; who discovered the principles of the mariner's compass, without which the oceans could not be

crossed, conceived the idea of artificial inland waterways and dug a canal twice as wide as the Erie and 600 miles long; who invented the arch which is the basal element in our modern architecture, and who originated our modern methods of banking, by using notes of exchange instead of cash or barter. In the year 1368 few Europeans dared to do business on a credit basis. But there has recently been placed in the British Museum a bank note bearing that date, issued by Hung-Wu, Emperor of China. The Chinese exalt learning, and alone among the nations of the earth, make scholarship a test of fitness for official position. True, that scholarship moves along the narrow lines of Confucian classics, but surely such knowledge is a far higher qualification for office than the brute strength which for centuries gave precedence among our ancestors.

We must not form our opinion from the Chinese whom we see in the United States. True, most of them are kindly and patient, while some are highly intelligent. But, with comparatively few exceptions, they are from the lower classes of a single province—Cantonese coolies. The Chinese might as fairly form their opinion of Americans from our day-laborers. But there are able men in the Celestial Empire. Bishop Andrews returned from China to characterize the Chinese as "a people of brains." When Viceroy Li Hung Chang visited this country all who met him unhesitatingly pronounced him a great man. After General Grant's tour around the world he told Senator Stewart that the most astonishing thing which he had seen was that wherever the Chinese had come into competition with the Jew, the Chinese had driven out the Jew. We know the persistence of the Jew, that he has held his own against every other people. Despite the fact that he has no home, and no government; that he has been ridiculed and persecuted by all men; that he is an alien in race, country and religion, he has labored on, patiently, resolutely, distanced every rival, surmounted every obstacle, compelled even his enemies to acknowledge his shrewdness and his determination; till to-day in Russia, in Austria, in Germany, in England the Jew is bitterly conceded to be master in the editorial chair, at the bar, in the universities, in the counting house and in the banking office; while the proudest of monarchs will undertake no enterprise requiring large expenditure until he is assured of the support of the keen-eyed, swarthy-visaged men who control the sinews of war. Generations of exclusion from agriculture and the mechanical arts, and of devotion to commerce, have developed and inbred in the Jew a marvelous facility for trade.

And yet this race, which has so abundantly demonstrated its ability to cope with the Greek, the Slav and the Teuton,

finds itself outreached in cunning, outworn in persistence and overmatched in strength by an olive-complexioned, almond-eyed fellow with felt shoes, baggy trousers, loose tunic, round cap and swishing queue, who represents such swarming myriads that the mind is confused in the attempt to comprehend the enormous number. The canny Scotchman and the shrewd Yankee are alike discomfited by the Chinese. Those who do not believe it should ask the American and European traders who were crowded out of Saigon, Shanghai, Bangkok, Singapore, Batavia and Manila. It is true that the Chinese are inordinately conceited, but shades of the Fourth of July orator, screams of the American eagle! it requires considerable self-possession in an American to criticize any one else on the planet for conceit. The Chinese have not, at least, padded a census to make the rest believe that they are greater than they really are.

It is easy to be deceived by the result of the war with Japan. The Japanese were successful, not because they are smarter, but because they had more swiftly responded to the touch of the modern world, and had more quickly succeeded in organizing their government, their army and their navy in accordance with scientific methods. More bulky and phlegmatic China was caught napping by her wide-awake enemy. Despising the profession of war and conceitedly imagining that no other nation would dare to trouble her, or that if it did, the attack could be no more serious than a mosquito bite, China gave her energies to scholarship and commerce, and filled her regiments and ships with paupers, criminals and opium fiends, who were as destitute of courage, intelligence and patriotism as the dorky who explained his flight from the battle-field by saying that he would rather be a live coward than a dead hero. Moreover China's public service is rotten with corruption, and as the weakness of the government and the absence of an outspoken public press leave them free from restraint, China has been the very paradise of embezzlers. A Chinese official admitted to a friend of mine that at the outbreak of the war with Japan the Chinese Government contractors had bought a cargo of old rifles in Germany which had long before been discarded as worthless by the German army, paying two ounces of silver for each gun, and thriftily charging the government nine ounces. Then they had bought a cargo of cartridges which didn't fit the guns, and which had been lying in damp cellars for twenty years, and put the whole equipment into the hands of raw recruits commanded by opium-smokers.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Chinese were worsted in the onset with the wide-awake Japanese. But let no man imagine that this is the end. China has plenty of men

who can fight, and when they enter the service and are well commanded, they make as good soldiers as there are in the world, as "Chinese Gordon" showed. Was not his force called the "Ever Victorious Army," because it was never defeated? Did not Lord Charles Beresford, of the English Navy, say, after personal inspection of most of the soldiers of China: "I am convinced that properly armed, disciplined and led, there could be no better material than the Chinese soldiers?" Did not the fifty Chinese who served under Admiral Dewey in the battle of Manila fight so magnificently that they showed themselves equals in courage of the American sailors, and were commended by Admiral Dewey in a special report urging Congress to make them American citizens? On this trip I have seen the soldiers of England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Russia, America and Japan. But the Chinese cavalrymen of Governor Yuan Shih Kai, who escorted me through Shantung, were as fine troops as I saw anywhere. There are 7,500 of them. They have been drilled by German officers, are splendidly mounted, armed with modern rifles, and would be a foe not to be despised. When Bishop Potter returned from his tour of Asia, he expressed a high opinion of the Chinese adaptability for modern civilization, and he declared that "when Japan has taught China the art of war, neither England nor Russia nor Germany will decide the fate of the East." In Siam, in the Philippines, in the Strait Settlements, wherever they have gone, the Chinese have shown themselves to be successful colonizers, able to meet and to control competition, so that to-day the business of Manila and Bangkok and Singapore is largely in the hands of these aliens.

It is common for people to praise the Japanese and to sneer at the Chinese. All honor to the Japanese for their splendid achievements. With marvelous celerity they have adopted many modern ideas and inventions. They are worthy of the respect which they receive. But those who have made a close study of both peoples unhesitatingly declare that the Chinese have more solid elements of permanency and power than the Japanese. The Japanese have the quickness, the enthusiasm, the intelligence of the French, but the Chinese have united to equal intelligence the plodding persistence of the Germans, and the old fable of the tortoise and the hare is as true of nations as it is of individuals. Unquestionably, the Chinese are the most virile race in Asia. "Wherever a Chinese can get a foot of ground and a quart of water he will make something grow." Colquhoun quotes Richthoven as saying that "among the various races of mankind the Chinese is the only one which in all climates, the hottest and the coldest, is capable of great and lasting

activity." And he states as his own opinion: "She has all the elements to build up a great living force. One thing alone is wanted—the will, the directing power. That supplied, there are to be found in abundance in China the capacity to carry out, the brains to plan, the hands to work."

I do not, of course, mean that the Chinese are a perfect people. Very, very far from it. They have grave faults. Gambling, immorality and superstition prevail among them, while beyond any other people known to us they are stagnant, spiritually dead, a nation of agnostics, living only for this world and ignorant of those higher levels of spiritual thought and life to which Christianity has raised whole classes in Europe and America. Because of these things we are attempting to Christianize them. But at a time when they are being so vociferously abused it is only fair that we should give them credit for the good qualities which they do possess. I do not believe that Eliza Scidmore is right when she says that "no one knows, or ever really will know, the Chinese, the most incomprehensible, inscrutable, contradictory, logical, illogical people on earth." They are, indeed, very different from us in many important particulars. It would never occur to you to committ suicide in order to spite your neighbor, but in China such suicides occur every day, because it is believed that a death on the premises is a lasting curse to the owner, and so the Chinese drowns himself in his enemy's well, or takes poison on his foe's doorstep. That is odd from our viewpoint, and there are many other peculiarities equally strange to us. But, after all, we shall get along best with the Chinese if we remember that they are human beings, essentially like ourselves, responsive to kindness, appreciative of justice and capable of moral transformation under the influence of the Gospel.

And how little comparatively we are doing for them! To say that there are fifty-eight Protestant boards and societies and 2,818 Protestant foreign missionaries working in China is apt to give one a distorted idea of the real situation, for he forgets the immensity of the population. We call a station well manned when it has four families and two or three single women. But what are they among those swarming myriads? I find that the proportion of Protestant missionaries to the population which is commonly quoted needs revision. There is one to every 142,000 souls. But that, too, requires modification, for it counts some who are engaged in forms of work which are but indirectly missionary, wives whose time and strength are absorbed by household cares, and all those who are absent on account of ill-health and furloughs, who alone are usually about ten per cent of the total enrolment. The actual working force, therefore, is far



smaller than the statistics appear to suggest. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few." It will oppress me as long as I live.

Take, for example, the West Shantung Mission. The force is smaller by ten than it was a decade ago. Unlike many of our other China stations, too, we cannot divide our responsibility with any other Board. At every station we occupy the field alone, so that those people must hear the Gospel from us, if they ever hear it at all. How are we discharging our responsibility? Ichowfu, a prefectural city of 60,000, with an adjacent population estimated at 6,000,000, has only three families and one single woman.

Chiningchow is an important commercial center, and within a convenient itinerating radius of fifty miles north and east and eighty miles south and west live 5,000,000 souls. Yet the present force consists of three men and one wife. Excluding a couple of missionaries of the Gospel Mission who are there temporarily, the nearest Protestant missionaries are two Episcopalians, seventy-five miles north, our Ichowfu station one hundred and forty-five miles east, two Southern Presbyterians, one hundred and twenty miles south, and on the west no one for many hundreds of miles.

Chinanfu, the capital of the province, is a fine city of 300,000 inhabitants. Though we have had a station there for thirty years, there is now no regular missionary work being done in all that city, save as our physicians reach those who come to the dispensaries. There was formerly considerable preaching done, but the force has dwindled to two physicians and two ordained men, and one of them must give his whole strength to shepherding the outstation churches north and northwest of the city, and the other is equally burdened with the care of the country work south and southwest. They can devote no time to Chinanfu's 300,000, unless they neglect ten times that number in the country. So our city chapel is rented as a post office, and the dust and rats had full sway in the adjacent house till Dr. Hayes went to Chinanfu for the Provincial College, and voluntarily began a Sunday afternoon service. The English Baptists work the field eastward, but the city itself and the densely populated region north, west and south are exclusively ours.

Wei Hsien is a thriving business city of 100,000. Nineteen years we have had a station here, but when I asked the missionaries to give me an opportunity to meet the Christians, they replied that they had little work in the city, and that there were very few Christians in it. Practically all the work of this, our largest station in North China, is in the country. Within a radius of eighty miles there are 124 outstations and 3,000 communicants. And yet there are thous.

ands of villages in this field which are still unreached, for here also the population in our itinerating radius aggregates nearly, if not quite, 6,000,000. And for all this mighty host we have, besides the medical man and woman, but three families and two single women. Yet we count Wei Hsien our most fully manned station!

There are few other Protestant boards at work at Shantung, and their work, except at Tengchow and Tsingtau, is on the coast in regions wholly distinct from ours, for this one province has almost half as many inhabitants as the entire United States. It is the holy land of China, the home of the great Confucius, the center of some of the most powerful influences in the empire. The people, unlike the Chinese whom we see in America, are tall and robust, the best type of the Chinese, both physically and mentally. In this magnificent field God has given us a position of commanding ascendancy as compared with other denominations. We occupy the strategic cities. We have the bulk of the population. We have by far the largest number of churches and schools, and our missionaries, few as they are, are, nevertheless, more numerous than those of any other Board, and are recognized leaders in all Christian work.

The tendency of the Mission has been to develop work in the villages rather than in the cities. I would not diminish its efforts in this direction. We are not working a fiftieth part of the territory which we are supposed to occupy. Practically the entire Province is one vast, highly cultivated field, thickly dotted with villages, most of which in America would ambitiously call themselves cities. Save for occasional small groves which mark the graves of prominent families, trees are allowed to grow only in the towns, the space in the fields being too valuable for them. Very beautiful those masses of green foliage appear to the dusty traveler. There are always a dozen, and often scores in sight, and I knew that under every one clustered thickly the low mud and stone walls of human beings who had never heard of Christ. One morning as we crossed a ridge I counted thirty-one populous villages in front of me and as many more were in sight behind. And Dr. Johnson, who was with me, said that, so far as he knew, there was not one soul of all those teeming, toiling myriads who knew Jesus. Nor was there any one who could tell them. The only missionaries in that region are two of our own, but there are many hundreds of other villages nearer them than these. All over the Province there are literally thousands of villages which have not yet been touched by the Gospel. As one looks upon them he enters into the spirit of Christ, who, "when He saw the multitudes was moved with compassion for them because

they were distressed and scattered, as sheep not having a shepherd."

It is natural that the missionaries should place emphasis upon this village work, for the respectable middle class farmers and merchants, who form the greater part of the village population, are more open to the Gospel. Life is simpler, temptations fewer, distractions smaller, faith easier than in the cities, where worldliness and vice and heathenism and race prejudice are often fiercely intensified. It is harder to make an impression on a great city than on a small town. There is a larger mass of hostile or indifferent public opinion to be faced by the individual convert, while it is far more difficult for him to observe the Sabbath. Of course, this is the history of Christian work the world over, at home as well as abroad. But on the foreign field the eagerness to obtain visible results, the pressure from the home churches to report conversions, the greater willingness of the villagers to hear the gospel, the frequently remarkable way in which the Spirit of God has moved upon villages, and the inexorable fact that workers have been too few to preach everywhere, have combined to lead the missionaries away from the centers. For this wide itineration the Mission deserves great credit. It involves separation from the family, and often much physical hardship. Those who have been doing it should be encouraged to continue it, and their number should be increased.

But I strongly feel that the Board should give each station such a force that, without diminishing its country work, it could more effectively work the cities. Stations at Chinanfu and Wei Hsien, for example, ought to mean regular preaching and aggressive work in those powerful towns, as well as in their tributary villages. I know that the difficulties are great. They always have been. But the city dominates the country now as much as it did in Paul's time, and in China as much as in America. If we are to evangelize Shantung we must not neglect the centers of its life. The Roman Catholics entrench themselves in cities, and, while we would not imitate their cathedrals or many of their methods, we may at least recognize their wisdom in this respect.

Some missionaries tell me that street chapel preaching does not pay. But Dr. Corbett, after thirty years' experience in it, emphatically declares that it does. It must have the right kind of a preacher, alert, sympathetic, fervent, ready in extemporaneous address. It must be followed up by diligent house-to-house work, and by free itineration. Comparatively few men will be converted at the chapel, but prejudices will be removed, hearts softened, and thoughts of God aroused. Hearers are often visitors from the country, and months after-

ward the preacher visiting some distant village, will be welcomed by some man who first heard the Gospel at the city street chapel, and through that man the missionary will secure a foothold in the community. Repeatedly it has happened that work has suddenly sprung up in some village fifty or more miles away, and the missionary has been at a loss to understand why that particular village, rather than scores of nearer ones, should yield such fruit, till he finds that the leading spirits received the Word in the city chapel. Men like Dr. Corbett could cite scores of illustrations of this.

But city work need not be exclusively street chapel preaching. There are many ways, such as following to their homes school children and dispensary patients, personal work with individual acquaintances, etc. Miss West and Mrs. MacNair are effectively reaching some of the most influential families in Tokio in this latter way. There are methods enough, and the missionaries of China are finding them wherever they have the available force, and they will find them in West Shantung if we can give them the requisite reinforcement.

#### THE FOUR PRESENT FORMS OF MISSIONARY WORK

Appear to be adequate, namely, the evangelistic, the educational, the medical and the literary.

Presbyterian missionaries have not given such proportionate emphasis to direct evangelistic work as the missionaries of some other boards, notably those of the China Inland Mission. But the results show that, in proportion to the number of missionaries employed and in the stability and spirituality of the native church, our work is exceeded by no other work in China. And yet it would be well if still greater emphasis could be given to this form of missionary activity. China needs the preaching of the Gospel—not in any narrow or technical sense, but in broad scriptural proportions. Some missionaries tell me that comparatively few Chinese are converted by the foreigner, and that the main dependence in this form of the work must be upon the native pastors and evangelists. I fear that this fact sometimes unduly weakens the missionary's sense of responsibility for personal effort for souls. But, manifestly, we cannot send over missionaries enough to adequately preach the gospel to each one of the four hundred millions of the Chinese. The great future work of evangelization must be carried on by the Chinese Christians themselves. To this end, missionaries must train up a native ministry.

Both in China and Japan, some missionaries of our own and other churches expressed a fear that the boards have com-

mitted themselves to an extreme and impracticable theory of self-support, and that, in harmony with this theory, it is the policy of the boards to undervalue educational work, and to refuse appropriations for native helpers. When, in my interdenominational conference in Peking, I asked: "What modifications in the policy of the boards do you think should be made?" Dr. Sheffield, of the American Board, replied by protesting against the "exploiting of the Nevius method." When I asked him what he understood by the Nevius method, both he and Dr. Owen of the London Mission answered: "No paid native agents whatever." Substantially the same answer was given in Tokio, Kioto, Chefoo, Tsingtau, Shanghai and Canton. It is unfortunate that an impression prevails, in some missionary circles, that the boards represented in the joint conference of the Foreign Missions Boards of the United States and Canada are committed to such a view. Dr. Nevius himself disclaimed it, for not only did he employ a few helpers himself, but he said in his "Methods of Mission Work," page 9: "I fully recognize the fact that the employment and pay of native laborers is, under suitable circumstances, legitimate and desirable; as much so as the employment and pay of foreigners;" and again, on pages 95 and 96, he declared: "I should exceedingly regret if the statement just made or any other statement in these letters should be understood or construed as intimating that the use of money in carrying on missionary work is not legitimate."

The special merit of Dr. Nevius lies in the fact that, at a time when foreign money was unquestionably too lavishly employed, he appeared as a prophet of a new dispensation, calling attention to the dangers which were involved and emphasizing the importance of educating the native Christians to the duty of maintaining and extending the Gospel without expectation of pay from the foreigner. He did valuable service in urging the minimum rather than the maximum use of funds and in counselling greater reliance upon the Holy Spirit and the inherent vitality of the Truth. The peculiar circumstances of his time and field probably led him to an extreme which he himself might have modified if his life had been prolonged. His book as a permanent guide to new missionaries is defective in that it does not adequately recognize the necessity for the stated preaching of the Gospel by a properly trained ministry, and that, with all due prudence, foreign money may be wisely employed to some extent in attaining that end. It is to be regretted that the phrase "Nevius method" has come to be used by many missionaries as if it were synonymous only with this defect rather than with the really fundamental principle of an economical and cautious expenditure of money.

When a missionary objects to the "Nevius method," it is wise to ask him what he understands by that method. I usually find that he means the undervaluing of educational work, hostility to a settled ministry, and an absolute refusal to use foreign money in the employment of native helpers.

But whatever differences of opinion there may be as to what Dr. Nevius held and taught, it is important that the position of the Board should be more clearly understood. As I understand that position, it is that one of the primary objects of missionary work is to establish in every land a self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing church. Christianity is not to be exotic but indigenous. If China is to be Christianized, there must be a Chinese church. To this end, great care must be exercised in the use of foreign money. Christians must be taught from the beginning that they should support their own religious institutions, and that they are primarily responsible for the propagation of the Gospel among their countrymen. There is a legitimate use of foreign money in the earlier stages of the work. Infancy must be helped. The Board should make such appropriations as an equitable distribution of funds will permit for the employment of native evangelists and helpers. I do not believe that a native pastor's salary should ever be fully paid by the Mission. Every organized body of Christians should contribute something toward the support of their own work. Indeed, the rule should be that organized churches should be self-supporting. And yet it will sometimes be wise for the Mission to give partial support for a time. But such assistance should be with the distinct understanding that it is temporary, and that the congregation will be expected to attain self-support at the earliest practicable opportunity.

As far as possible, too, native evangelists and helpers working among the heathen should be supported by the native churches. Every congregation should be made to feel its responsibility for the evangelization of the neighboring villages, and should assist in sending out men for that purpose. However, for a time at least, the Mission must provide a considerable proportion of the cost of such work. But such helpers should be as few as practicable. Their salaries should be those which will enable them to live on or near the plane of their community and which will be approved by their people. They should not be allowed to get the impression that employment by the mission is their right, or that it is to be permanent, but, on the contrary, they should understand from the outset that employment at the expense of mission funds is temporary, and that the expectation of increase in salary and of permanent support should be toward their own people and not toward the Board. There must, of course, be due re-

gard to local conditions, particularly in missions where the opposite policy was long pursued. Neither the missionary nor the Board should suddenly or violently revolutionize in this matter. Self-support cannot be attained by immediately discharging all native helpers, or by so reducing the work that nothing will be left to support. Change must be gradual, and must be brought about by a due recognition of the dependence of the Oriental, his poverty, his willingness to be helped, and the tendency of human nature to move along the line of least resistance by paying out money furnished by the Board. The missionary should, therefore, kindly and wisely, but firmly and persistently, keep pressure on the Chinese Christians.

From this viewpoint, I have been very much gratified by the efforts which many of our missionaries are already making in these directions. They are pressing the policy of the self-support of the native church with wisdom and energy. For example, in the large Wei Hsien Station in the West Shantung Mission the Missionaries insist that "as rapidly as possible the Chinese shall support their own church work and primary schools and shall help as far as practicable in the support of the higher schools. The churches shall support their ministry. A church shall not be organized until there are enough reliable members to assure material for elders and deacons, such organization looking toward a more complete control of local affairs than a state of unorganization admits and opening the way to the support of an evangelist and ultimately of a pastor by their own efforts. The object is a church organized with its own elders and deacons and supporting its own pastor and congregational expenses, and to this end, steady pressure is put upon the Christians both before and after organization to give as they are able." So far as I can judge, most of our missionaries appreciate the necessity for bringing the native churches and schools to self-support and they are earnestly striving to do so.

On the other hand, there are missionaries in China who, whatever their theories may be, are not practically pressing self-support as much as they ought, and are yielding to a greater or less extent to the temptation to use money with a freedom which their colleagues frankly deprecate.

My conferences with some of the Chinese pastors and elders, moreover, clearly showed that, in spite of all that has been said and done by the missionaries and the Board, the native Christians do not yet clearly recognize their obligation to support their own work. This was particularly noticeable in my conference with the officers and leading members of the Chinese churches in Shanghai. We spent four hours in delightful and profitable intercourse. Addresses were made by

four pastors, three elders and one deacon. I had previously sent word to the Chinese brethren that I should like to have them present with freedom any subjects which were in their hearts. Among the topics upon which they spoke were: "A New Church Building for Hongkew," "More Preachers for China," "Enlargement of Educational Work," and "The Need of Increased Salaries for Native Preachers." The undercurrent of all these addresses, as of several others, was plainly financial expectation from the Board. I listened carefully but vainly for an indication that these excellent brethren had realization of the responsibility of the Chinese churches themselves to relieve the Board of the burden of their support. Their idea appeared to be that the way to get more native preachers for China was for the Board to educate them and pay them; the way to enlarge the educational work was for the Board to supply the funds; the increase in the cost of living was to be met by increased appropriations from New York, etc., though the pastor of the Hongkew church said that the people would only ask the Board for the land, the people themselves erecting the edifice. The trend of their remarks was the more significant because seven of the eight speakers were graduates of our Hangchow and South Gate Schools. I was impressed by their intelligence and devotion. They were evidently men of more than ordinary worth of character. I knew that the Central China Mission had been faithful in its inculcation of self-support. I did not, therefore, at the time, and I do not now feel that any just criticism should lie against the missionaries. Rather did the evening tend to show the difficulty of convincing the Chinese that Christianity is not the foreigner's religion; that they do not become the followers of the foreigner in espousing it, and that the foreigner is not permanently responsible for supporting their religious institutions. Evidently weary years must yet be spent in persuading the Chinese not to look so steadfastly to the Board for financial assistance, not to expect that every increased expense must come from New York, but that, while American Christians will continue to aid them, and count it a privilege to do so, yet, if China is to be evangelized, the responsibility must be more largely assumed by the Chinese Christians themselves.

In educational and medical work, our buildings are not architecturally so elaborate as those of some other Boards. Indeed, I have sometimes felt that our structures are almost cheap in comparison. But in the quality of work done, we stand in the very front rank. I have repeatedly heard missionaries of other boards speak in the highest terms of our institutions. I have already discussed the needs of Tengchow College, and there are boarding schools which should



also be strengthened. While we must guard against spending a disproportionate amount of strength and money upon educational work, and while we should steadfastly refuse to weaken the evangelistic work in the interest of the institutional, we should, nevertheless, realize that the time has come in China for developing Christian schools, and that their influence will be incomparably greater in the future than it has been in the past. We cannot ignore this demand if we expect Christianity to vitally influence this great Empire.

In literary work, also, our missionaries are second to none. In conversing with men of other boards, I have frequently heard warmly appreciative testimony to the scholarship and ability of Presbyterian missionaries. Any interdenominational committee on a literary or educational matter is certain to include Presbyterians; while frequently we furnish the chairman. The fame of some of our missionaries in this respect is deservedly great in China.

This is a phase of missionary effort upon which even greater emphasis should now be laid. I feel more strongly than ever the vital necessity of the direct preaching of the Gospel. Nothing can possibly take the place of that. And yet we have not, perhaps, sufficiently realized that the Chinese are a nation of writers rather than speakers. They are not so much accustomed as Western nations to public discourse. The priests of the native religions do not preach. The presentation of truth in oral discourse is something that is comparatively new and strange in China, and it is much more difficult to influence people in that way than it is in England and America. The Chinese are pre-eminently a people of books. Buddhism converted them, not by preaching, but by literature. Above all other nations they exalt learning. The printed essay, the distributed pamphlet, the proclamation posted on the wall, are the common means of disseminating ideas. If Christianity is to supersede Buddhism and Confucianism, it must make a larger use of this method of promulgating Scripture truth.

This does not mean that every missionary should turn from other work to prepare books and tracts. Abroad as well as at home, comparatively few men are fitted for this work, and comparatively few are required for it. The missions should be more insistent than ever that no one should be allowed to sacrifice assigned missionary work to literary efforts without the express approval of the mission. In this connection it should be noted that the "Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese" is doing much to widen the intellectual horizon of the Chinese and to prepare their minds for the reception of the Gospel.

Under the general subject of literary work falls our Mission Press in Shanghai. It is a magnificent institution. I have been at some pains not only to personally examine it and to confer with Mr. Fitch and his associates, but to make inquiries regarding it of missionaries of other boards, notably the agents of the Bible Societies. The testimony is unanimous that the Press does the best work in China, and that its influence for good is mighty as it is far-reaching. Its annual output for the year exceeds a million and a quarter copies, comprising about seventy million pages.

In addition to this publishing work, there is a large and rapidly growing supply trade in printing paper, stationery, ink, books, magazines, blank books, type-casting, stereotypes, school supplies, etc. These are sent to all parts of China and to Korea. Other denominational presses in China, such as the Methodist Press in Foo Chow, obtain their supplies largely at our Press, while it is the general depository of the Chinese Tract Society, the Diffusion Society and the Educational Association of China.

At the last rendering of account, the Press had in godown books and tracts of the Chinese Tract Society to the value of \$14,176; of the Educational Association, \$14,982, and of the Diffusion Society, \$8,322. Of our own stock we had \$42,562. Besides these there were many books sent to be sold on commission. The above sums up over \$80,000. The ledger balance for December 31st, which Mr. Fitch showed me, contained 996 open accounts, besides separate magazine and paper book accounts. Sundry debtors owed \$28,245.67, and sundry creditors called for \$8,753.07. Mr. Fitch says: "It is very rare that we have to write off anything as a bad debt." Besides the societies above mentioned, printing was being done during my visit for the American Bible Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the American Baptist Mission at Swatow, the Berlin Mission at Tsingtau, the American Episcopal Mission, both the Northern and the Southern Methodist Episcopal Missions, the Christian Mission, the Medical Missionary Association, the Christian Endeavor Society of Nagasaki, besides various local jobs. Three fonts of Chinese types were being cast for Korea, and a half font for the American Board Mission at Foochow, while a font had just been finished for Singapore. One hundred and twelve Chinese workmen were employed. Before the Boxer outbreak the number was 130.

While I knew before I came to Shanghai that our plant was inadequate, I confess that I was unprepared for the narrow, congested quarters which I found. It is not to our credit that we have not before this given the most important mission press in the world a more suitable plant. This need,

however, the Board has already met by advancing \$20,000, gold, as a "loan to be repaid to the Board out of the earnings of the Press within a period of ten years." Property in that part of the foreign settlement where the Press is located has now become so expensive that it is impracticable to make the needed enlargement there, so that an admirably located tract has been obtained in the outskirts of the city, and it is proposed to transfer to that site all the manufacturing part of the business, leaving in the present quarters the offices, salesroom, etc. This will be a great improvement. The Press can now do its own binding, which, up to this time, it has had to give out to native firms at no small disadvantage; while the increased equipment will enable it to more adequately care for its large and growing business. Up to this time, the Press has not been able to accept half the business that it might have had.

The most serious perplexity in connection with the Press arises from the competition of native establishments. This competition is partly in Shanghai itself. The Chinese are rapidly learning the printer's trade, and it is as difficult to compete with them in this business as in others. The management of some of the best of these native presses are former employees of our own Mission. One establishment in particular, on the same street and only a few doors away, is under the management of native Christians. Their relation to our Press is very friendly. Our missionaries are naturally, glad to find that the native Christians are manifesting such energy, self-reliance and skill in business matters, and as the years pass, we must expect increasing competition of this kind. Thus far, the Chinese establishments do not equal our Press in the grade of work, but in this respect also they will probably improve.

The most serious competition, however, is with Japan. The agents of the British and Foreign and the American Bible Societies informed me that, while they would be glad to give a larger part of their work to our Press, we have not, thus far, been able to do it. The output of each of those societies far exceeds the total of our Press. Moreover, the Bible Society agents find that, even after paying transportation charges both ways, they can get their work done in Japan very much cheaper than our Press can do it in Shanghai. Dr. Hykes says that the saving is sometimes as much as one-half. Of course, the Bible Societies feel obliged to take advantage of such a saving.

I find that our Press is not peculiar in this respect among the presses of China. No press, native or foreign, in Shanghai or in any other Chinese city, is able to compete with the Japanese presses. The Japanese are quicker and more adept

in mechanical work than the Chinese. The printing establishments in Japan are on a larger plan, a few of them being among the very largest in the world, and by doing their work on so extensive a scale and by the use of the very best and most carefully selected foreign machinery, they are able to underbid Chinese establishments in much the same way that a trust in America can obtain advantages over lesser plants. Moreover, the Japanese employers use child labor, put men over them as guards are placed over convicts in a penitentiary workshop, pay starvation wages, and force an amount of work out of their employees that Christian missionaries cannot conscientiously imitate. It is difficult, therefore, to see how this competition can be successfully met, though it is probable that the rapid rise of wages in Japan will in time partially equalize the difference, as wages in Shanghai are believed to be about as high as they are likely to become.

However, a large amount of work, particularly of the higher grades, will always have to be done in Shanghai. As no other establishment can compete with ours in the quality of the work done, as we are now about to do our own binding as well as our own printing, as the new plant will give increased facilities, and as there is the large and rapidly growing supply trade to which I have already referred, it is probable that our Press will always have all the work that it can possibly do. Though we shall continue to lose some printing on account of the competition of Japanese and Chinese presses, our Press will be in the coming days, as it has been in the past, an increasing power in the dissemination of Christian literature. I do not believe, therefore, that we have any reason to fear for its future.

#### THE OUTLOOK.

I have discussed this subject with all the foreigners I have met, and with many Chinese officials. The latter, in every case, suavely assured me that there would be no further trouble. It would not be wise to presume too far upon such promises. I attach more weight, however, to the words of Governor Yuan Shih Kai. He is probably the ablest and most reliable high Chinese official in the empire. His power is great, and he has shown himself friendly to missionaries in such effective ways that it would be ungracious to doubt him. He personally told me that foreigners would be safe in Shantung as long as he controlled it. He has written to the missionaries: "I purpose hereafter to have lasting peace. \* \* \* Everywhere it is now quiet. The missionaries of France, Germany and other nations have returned to the interior to preach as formerly. If you reverend sirs, wish to return to the interior I would beg you first give me word

that I may most certainly order the military everywhere to most carefully protect and escort."

Not content with this, he has widely published the following regulations for the warning and instruction of the Chinese:

"1. In order to protect foreigners from violence and all mission property from burning and other destruction, all civil and military officials with all their subordinates (including literati, constables, village elders, *et al.*), must use their utmost endeavors to insure their protection. Persons refusing to submit to officials in these matters may be instantly executed without further reference to the Governor, and any one who rescues foreigners from violence will be amply rewarded.

"2. Any persons having been found guilty of destroying mission property or using violence to foreigners shall be severely dealt with according to the laws which refer to highway robbers, and in addition to this their goods and property shall be confiscated for the public use.

"3. Whoever succeeds in capturing and delivering to the officials a ringleader in these anti-foreign gangs shall receive a reward of 200 taels (\$150), the same reward to be given to any one capturing five of the ordinary offenders. To furnish accurate information leading to the capture of a ringleader entitles the informer to 100 taels.

"4. Whenever a missionary is traveling through the country the civil officials, whether previously informed or not, conjointly with the military officials, must carefully protect and escort him stage by stage, and by no means excuse themselves from fulfilling these obligations.

"5. If injury to missionaries or destruction of property occurs in any district whatever, both civil and military officials of said district shall be degraded and reported to the throne.

"6. The elders, constables, *et al.*, of every village shall do their utmost to protect missionaries and their property. If in the future there occurs in any village destruction of property or violence to a missionary, the headmen of such village shall be dealt with according to the edict issued during the twenty-second year of the present Emperor. And, in addition to this, they shall be required to present themselves to the yamen and make good all losses. The constables of such villages shall be severely dealt with and expelled from office forever.

"7. In case of an offender in matters above mentioned concealing himself in a village, whether his native or neighboring village, the elders and constables of such village shall be dealt with according to the law regulating the concealment of robbers; and in case such offender escapes from

said village these constables, *et al.*, shall be imprisoned until the offender is delivered to justice.

"8. All civil and military officials in whose districts none of these offences named above occur in one year, shall be rewarded with the third degree of merit, and three years of such freedom shall entitle the same officials to promotion.

"9. Rewards will also be given to village elders and constables in whose district no disturbance occurs. For one year's freedom from such disturbances they shall receive rewards to be determined by their local officials, and for three years' such merit they shall receive a tablet of merit and a button.

"10. All who unknowingly acquired goods stolen from mission premises are advised to return the same at once to the local official in order to avoid further trouble; but those who knowingly procure such and refuse to return them shall be dealt with even more severely than those who ordinarily acquire stolen property from thieves."

But while foreigners have just confidence in the great Governor of Shantung, they say that there is no certainty of his long continuance in his present post, and that one official, however powerful, cannot control national conditions. Since this Report was first written, Governor Yuan Shih Kai has been appointed Viceroy of Chihli, in succession to Li Hung Chang, a merited honor, which, though it removes him from Shantung, increases his power.

It is the general opinion that the Chinese have learned little from recent events except bitter hatred of the alien. Only one province, Chihli, has felt the vengeance of the foreigner. There the punishment has been severe. The Tientsin Tao-tai has been beheaded, the city wall has been razed to the ground and a roadway made where it stood—an unspeakable humiliation to the proud commercial metropolis. The Japanese soldiers tease the citizens by telling them that "a city without a wall is like a woman without clothes," and the people keenly feel the shame implied in the taunt.

In Paotingfu the Provincial Treasurer, the Manchu Commandant and the Colonel of the Chinese Imperial Regiment stationed there have been beheaded. The splendid official temple of the patron deity of the city has been demolished, and all the gate and wall towers, save two small ones, have been blown up.

In Peking the ruin is pitiable. True, the city, as a whole, is not as badly injured as I had expected to find it, but the ravages of war are evident enough. Wrecked shops, crumpled houses, shell-pierced walls are painfully numerous, while the most sacred places to a Chinese and a Manchu have been profaned. At other times the Purple Forbidden City,

the Winter and Summer Palaces, the Temple of Heaven and kindred Imperial enclosures are inaccessible to the foreigner. But an easily secured pass from the military authorities opened to us every door. We walked freely through all the spacious grounds and into all the famous buildings—the throne rooms which the highest Chinese official can approach only upon his knees and with his face abjectly on the stone pavement—the private apartments of the Emperor and the Empress Dowager, which, by the way, are not as comfortable as those of many a moderately wealthy American, and the great circular altar of the Temple of Heaven, where the Emperor worships alone and in solemn state at the winter solstice. Because Viceroy Li Hung Chang secured permission for General Grant to visit this venerated sanctuary, when the great warrior was in Peking during his tour around the world, the people raised a furious clamor. But while I calmly photographed the sacred places, a regiment of British Sikhs lounged under the ancient trees, picketed cavalry horses nibbled the uncut grass and clumsy quartermaster's carts stood in long rows beyond.

The vandalism of the conquerors has been shameful. It was, of course, inevitable that much havoc should have been wrought by the fighting and the fires. It was necessary that supplies for half-naked and famished besieged thousands should be taken from deserted grain and clothing shops. It was expedient that certain public buildings should be destroyed by order of the allied generals as a warning for the future. But why were soldiers and thieves allowed to steal the bric-à-brac and furniture and break the mirrors of the Emperor's personal apartments, to wantonly shatter beautiful columns, deface rare works of art, punch holes in gilded statues, tip over the noble bronze statue of Buddha in the temple which crowns the summit of the hill at the Summer Palace, and with malicious pains smash the heads of thousands of exquisitely carved figures and lions? The world is poorer for some of this havoc, and it will be a generation before it can be remedied, if, indeed, the edifices are ever restored to their former beauty. The Rev. Dr. Arthur H. Smith writes:

"Bating all exaggerations, it remains true that scores of walled cities have been visited by armed bodies of foreign soldiers, the district Magistrate—and sometimes the Prefect—held up and bullied to force him to pay a large sum of money, with no other reason than the imperative demand and the threat of dire consequences on refusal. In one case the Russians kidnapped the Prefect of Yung P'ing Fu and carried him off to Port Arthur. At Ting Chou the French did the same to the sub-Prefect, the only energetic Magistrate

in all that region, bearing him in triumph to Paotingfu and leaving the district to Boxers and to chaos. At Ts'ang Chou the Germans came in force, looted the yamen of General Mei, the only Chinese officer of rank who had been constantly fighting and destroying Boxers for nearly a year, drove him away and released all the Boxer prisoners in the jails of the city, plundering the yamen of the friendly and efficient sub-Prefect who had saved the lives of the foreign families close by the city. Is it any wonder that General Mei complained that 'on eight sides he had no face left,' and that it is now no longer safe for any foreigner to travel in Chihli at a distance from the military outposts?"

And what shall we say of the atrocities committed by the troops of the allied armies in China last summer? Bishop D. H. Moore, of the Methodist Church, wrote: "You can hardly form any conception of the exposure and hardships under any but the American and Japanese flags. The English have scarcely any but the Sikhs, who are lustful and lootful to a degree. The Russians are brutal and Germans deserve their reputation for brutality. With Lowry and Hobart, I responded to the agonizing appeal of a husband to drive out a German corporal who, on duty and armed, had run him off and was mistreating his wife. The instance is but one of hundreds of daily occurrence. The French are very devils at this sort of outrage. On the advance to Peking, beyond Tungchow, they found married families—men, women and children—cowering in barges on the canal and volleyed into them. Every man, every cart, every boat must fly a flag. Coolies are cruelly impressed and often cruelly mistreated. On one side of the street the Germans are in authority; on the other side the Americans. The one is deserted, the other is a hive. The great Christian nations of the world are being represented in China by robbing, rapine, looting soldiery. This is part of China's punishment; but what will she think of Christianity? Of course, our soldiers are the best behaved; but there are desperate characters in every army."

The *Japan Weekly Mail* says: "It sends a thrill of horror through every white man's bosom to learn that forty missionary women and twenty-five little children were butchered by the Boxers. But in Tung Chou alone, a city where the Chinese made no resistance and where there was no fighting, five hundred and seventy-three Chinese women of the upper classes committed suicide rather than survive the indignities they had suffered. Women of the lower classes fared similarly at the hands of the soldiers, but were not unwilling to survive their shame. With what show of consistency is the Occident to denounce the barbarity of the Chinese, when



Occidental soldiers go to China and perpetrate the very acts which constitute the very basis of barbarity?" And when I asked the Rev. Dr. D. Z. Sheffield, for many years a missionary of the American Board in Tung Chou, whether this statement was accurate, he replied that it was not only true, but that it was an understatement of the truth. The *New York Times* declares that every outrage perpetrated on foreigners in China has been repaid tenfold by the brutalities perpetrated by the allied armies. "It is," adds the editor, "simply monstrous that the armies of Christian nations, sent out to punish barbarism and protect the rights of foreigners in China, should themselves be guilty of barbarism. Revenge has been accompanied by mean and cruel and flagrant robbery. The story is one to fill all rational minds with disgust and shame."

Is it any wonder that the Chinese continue to hate foreigners? How can we expect them to love us as long as they cannot go through the foreign settlements to the Young Men's Christian Association in Tientsin for fear of insult on the notorious Taku Road, or walk the streets of Shanghai without being daily subjected to violence from brutal white men, or when, as in Peking, even respectable American ladies, to say nothing of Chinese, cannot prudently ride out except in closed carts, so great is the probability of indignity at the hands of foreign soldiers. As an American citizen, I am thankful that our American troops conducted themselves more decently.

Nor am I ashamed of the policy of our Government. I am aware that a majority of the American citizens in China believe that our national policy has been weak and short-sighted. The missionaries speak highly of the kindness of Minister Conger and the United States Consuls at Shanghai and Canton, while everybody praises the magnificent energy of Consul John Fowler, at Chefoo, who is only now beginning to receive the credit that is justly his due. But I have been repeatedly told that our Government did not appear to realize that there were any other American citizens or properties in China than those in the Peking Legation; that it did absolutely nothing to rescue its citizens in the prefecture of Paotingfu and the Province of Shansi; that, while we condemn the policy of the European Powers, we have been for years sponging benefits secured by them for all foreigners, and that, if it were not for their control of the situation, not an American could live in China to-day. The opinion is well-nigh universal here that the Washington Administration has been too much influenced by the astute Chinese Minister, Wu Ting Fang, who is believed to be an adept in "the ways that are dark and the tricks that are vain," and whose suc-

cess in "hoodwinking the Government and people of the United States" make the average foreigner in the Far East devoutly wish, with good old Bishop Cox, that some one would compose a form of sound words suitable for the use of pious men in circumstances of great provocation. The men who criticize our nation's policy do not want revenge or cruelty, and they deplore as greatly as any one the atrocities perpetrated by the European troops and the selfishness and avarice which apparently dictate European policy. But they do want America to more adequately realize its responsibilities in China; to protect its citizens irrespective of their occupations, so long as their occupations are legitimate, and to abandon the idea that it can escape its duty in and toward China on Cain's plea that we are not our "brother's keeper."

Though I confess that I am not able to satisfactorily explain the course of our Government in some important details, I cannot endorse all those criticisms. During the dark days of the siege, I was, as secretary for North China, brought into frequent correspondence with President McKinley and Secretary of State Hay, and I vividly and gratefully remember the sympathy and co-operation which they invariably gave me. They were as anxious as anyone, and tried to do their best in circumstances new, strange and of extraordinary difficulty. As for the Chinese Minister to the United States, of course he did what he could to "save face" for his country. That was an essential part of his duty. But while we cannot always agree with him, we should, as friends of China, recognize the fact that by his ability and tact, he has largely increased popular interest in and respect for the Chinese people. Taking our Government's policy as a whole, I believe that it has been more in accord with Christian principles than that of any other nation. If our Government has erred in trusting the Chinese too much, that is at least better than erring by trusting them too little. If it has failed to do all for its own citizens that it ought to have done, it has not wronged or humiliated the Chinese. There is no blood of Chinese women and children on American hands; no record of outrage and iniquity blackens the page on which the American part of the Boxer outbreak will be written. If our nation has been unjust to any, it has been to its own. Generations will pass before the northern provinces will forget the bitterness of resentment which they now feel toward the European Powers. But already they are beginning to understand that the Americans are their friends; that we do not seek territory; that we will not be a party to extortion; that we do not want to destroy her but to save her; that our object is not to rule her, but to fit her to rule herself, and

that we desire only freedom to peacefully trade and to communicate those ideas of religion which we ourselves originally received from the Far East, which have brought to us inestimable blessings, and which will, in China as in America, result in the truest happiness and the purest character for the individual, and the most stable institutions and genuine greatness of the nation.

But America is not prominent enough in China to make her example a determinate factor in the attitude of the nation toward foreigners, nor are the people likely to discriminate in favor of a few Americans among the hosts of aggressive, grasping, domineering Europeans. On all sides, too, I am told that while the Chihli Province feels the awful force of its punishment, the reactionary officials and the nation as a whole are unmoved. Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand Chinese hear only what their scholars and officials tell them, and those worthies are careful to adjust the account to suit their own purposes, and to save the national "face." They blandly assure the credulous people that the foreign armies did not follow the court because they dared not; that the alien troops are leaving the capital because they are being driven out by Chinese patriots; that the Boxers inflicted crushing defeat upon their foes, etc. In Tsingtau the Germans are digging sewers, broad and deep, with laterals to every house and public building, and the natives actually say that these sewers are intended to be underground passages, down which the foreigners can flee to their boats when they are assailed by the redoubtable Boxers!

Chefoo is a city where foreigners have resided for forty years, where there are consuls of all nations and extensive business relations with other ports, where foreign steamers daily arrive and depart, and where warships frequently lie. There are five formidable cruisers here now. Surely the Chinese of Chefoo should understand the situation. But during the troubles of 1860 French troops were quartered here, and their conduct was so atrociously brutal and lustful that Chefoo has ever since been bitterly anti-foreign. The Presbyterian missionaries have repeatedly tried to do Christian work in the old walled city, but have never succeeded in gaining a foothold, and all their local missionary work is confined to the numerous population which has come from other parts of the province and settled around Chefoo proper. Nothing but battleships in the harbor kept that old city from attacking foreigners last summer. This spring the cry "kill, kill" was raised as a foreigner walked through the streets, and only last week inflammatory placards were posted on the walls, while word has just arrived that within a day's journey of the German headquarters at Tsingtau the populace is angrily protesting against the recent increase of taxes.

Nevertheless, the future is not necessarily so doubtful as the present temper of the people might indicate. To a greater extent than any other people the Chinese are led by their officials, and some of the high officials have learned that massacres of foreigners result in the coming of more foreign-igners, in the capture and destruction of cities, in humiliating terms of peace, in heavy indemnities and large concessions of territory and in the degradation and perhaps the execution of the magistrates within whose jurisdiction the tumult occurs.

In my tour through the interior of the Shantung and Chihli provinces, the magistrates appeared to be almost nervously anxious that no mishap should befall me. I had sent no announcement of my coming to any one except my missionary friends, nor had I asked for any favor or protection save the usual passport through the United States Consul. But the first Tao-tai I met politely inquired about my route, and, as I afterward learned, sent word to the next magistrate. He in turn forwarded the word to the one beyond, and so on throughout the whole trip. As we approached a city, uniformed attendants from the chief magistrate's yamen met us and escorted us, sometimes with much display of banners and trumpets and armed guards, to an inn which had been prepared for our reception by having a little of its dirt swept into the corners and a few of its bugs killed. Then would come a feast of from fifteen to thirty courses of Chinese delicacies, some of which I found very good. A call from the magistrate himself followed, and he chatted amicably while great crowds stood silently about. Not for a moment, day or night, were we out of the sight of soldiers. If we took a walk about a village they followed us. Eating, sleeping or traveling, we were always watched. Several times we tried to escape such espionage, or to induce the soldiers to turn back. We did not feel our need of them, nor did I desire my peaceful mission to be associated with a military display. Besides, if hostility should be manifested, a dozen Chinese soldiers would be of little avail among those swarming millions. But our efforts and protests were vain. Each official was determined to make it plain that he was doing his duty in trying to protect these foreigners, so that if they got hurt it would not be his fault. Perhaps, too, he was not averse to showing the populace that foreigners had to be guarded. I was half-ashamed to travel in that way. But I could not help myself.

Whether any attack would have been made if I had been allowed to journey quietly with my one or two missionary companions, I am not competent to judge. Foreigners, who have lived many years in China told me before starting

that my life would not be safe beyond rifle shot. They have told me since that the profuse attentions I received were mere pretense; that the very officials who welcomed me as an honored guest probably cursed my race as soon as my back was turned, and that, if the people had not understood from the presence of the troops and from the magistrate's marked personal attentions, that I was not to be molested, my wife would probably have had a chance to collect my life insurance. The views of such experienced men are not to be lightly set aside.

All I can say is that on these suppositions the Chinese are masters of the art of dissimulation, for in all my journeyings through the very heart of the region where the Boxers originated, and where the anti-foreign hatred is said to be bitterest, I saw not the faintest sign of unfriendliness. The typical official received me with the courtesy of a "gentleman of the old school." The vast throngs which quickly assembled at every stopping place, while silent, were respectful. We tried to behave decently ourselves, to speak kindly to every man, to pay fair prices for what we bought; in short, to act just as we would have acted in America. And every man to whom I smiled, smiled in return. Wherever we asked a civil question we got a civil answer. Coolies would stop their barrows, farmers leave their fields to direct us aright. In all my weeks of almost incessant traveling in the interior, amid a population so dense that I constantly marveled, I never heard a rude word, nor saw a hostile sign. I naturally find it difficult to believe that those pleasant, obliging people would have killed me if they had not been restrained by their magistrates, and that the officials who exerted themselves to show us all possible honor would have gladly seen us murdered if they had dared.

And yet just one year ago these identical people were angrily destroying the property and venomously seeking the lives of foreigners who were as peaceably disposed as I am, ruthlessly slaying not only men, but women who had never done them wrong, but who had devoted their lives to teaching the young and healing the sick and preaching the Gospel of love and good will; and the best-informed men I meet here, from Sir Robert Hart down, are fearful that the end is not yet, and that an official order might repeat the whole bloody history. At a conference with forty representative missionaries of all denominations in Shanghai, a very large majority agreed with the Rev. Dr. Parker, of the Southern Methodist Church, in the statement: "We are not out of the trouble yet; the reactionaries are in the minority, but they are in power. They have learned nothing and they will try again to drive us out unless the Powers unseat them

and reinstate the Emperor and the Reform Party." Meantime, famine has brought the great Provinces of Shansi and Shensi to such pitiable extremity that human flesh is being openly sold for food. The Yungting River has overflowed its banks in Chihli. The Yellow River, "China's Sorrow," is again desolating wide areas in Shantung, and the flood in the Yang-tse valley is said to be the most extensive known for three-quarters of a century. Vast regions of the most fertile and thickly populated part of the empire are at this writing a continuous expanse of water, and the wretched inhabitants, destitute and starving, are huddled in abject despair on the higher ground beyond. Multitudes will be like ravening wolves this winter. The three hundred missionaries of all denominations who are spending their vacation at Kuling, the mid-China mountain resort, are reported in the Shanghai *Daily News* to be "permeated by feelings of uncertainty and distrust as to what the future holds in store. Many fear unrest among the people in Central China on account of the floods, and they are not satisfied with the outlook for questions in the North."

It would be unwise to underestimate the gravity of the situation, or to assume that the most numerous and conservative nation on the globe has been suddenly transformed from foreign haters to foreign lovers. The world may again have occasion to realize that the momentum of countless myriads is an awful force, even against the resources of a higher civilization, as the Romans found to their consternation when the barbarian hordes overran the Empire. We do not know how long the disturbance will continue, nor what further proportions it may assume. Already it has brought the greatest peril to devoted men and women, as well as the destruction of much valuable property. It may be that much blood will yet be shed. Inflamed passions will certainly be slow in subsiding. Men who are identified with the old era will not give up without a furious struggle. Both boards and missionaries must exercise great tact. It took three hundred years to bring England from pagan barbarism to Christian civilization, and China is vaster more and more conservative than England. The world moves faster now, and the change-producing forces of the present exceed those of former centuries in mighty effectiveness as much as a modern steam hammer exceeds the puny hand hammer of old. But China is ponderous, and a few decades are short for so gigantic a transformation.

The partition of her territory is possible. The Powers do not want it now, partly because they fear that the resultant scramble would involve them in war with one another, partly because they dread the uncertainties of direct ad-

ministration of so huge and stubborn a population. So they prefer their present policy of "spheres of influence." But if partition should come it would only hasten the development of those teeming millions of people, for foreign domination would mean more railway, telegraph and steamship lines. It would mean the opening of mines, the development of the press, the domination of Western ideas. It would give the missionaries readier access to every part of the Empire. And, though China as a political organism might be divided, the Chinese people would remain the most virile, industrious, untiring people of Asia, and perhaps, after due tutelage, a coming power of the world.

But trying and even awful as the period of transition may be, the issue is not for a moment doubtful. Truth always overcomes error. Progress invariably wins the victory over blind conservatism. The higher civilization is sure to conquer the lower. With all its admixture of greed, selfishness and violence, the fact remains that the forces operating on China to-day include the vital regenerative element for the world. We are not wise above what is written when we declare that the eternal purpose of God comprehends China as well as America. He did not create those four hundred millions of human beings to simply fertilize the soil in which their bodies will lie. He has not preserved China as a nation during these forty-eight centuries for nothing. Out of the apparent wreck the order of a new dispensation will come—is already coming. Frightened men thought that the fall of Rome meant the end of the world, but we can now see that it cleared the way for the Gospel. Pessimists feared that the violence and blood of the crusades would ruin Europe, but instead they broke up the stagnation of the Middle Ages and made possible the rise of modern Europe. The faint-hearted said that the India mutiny of 1857 and the Syria massacres of 1860 ended all hope of further missionary work in those countries, but in both they ushered in the most successful era of missions. We have long felt that the barriers which have separated China from the rest of the world must, like the medieval wall of Tientsin, be cast down and over them a highway for all men be made. We did not expect the process to be so sudden and violent. But the hammer of God is doing in months what would otherwise have taken weary generations. Let us not be discouraged because the air is still filled with the deafening tumult and the blinding dust and the flying dèbris. Let us not lose heart and sound a retreat because some "of whom the world is not worthy" have been crushed in the awful rending. But let us utilize the new opportunity which is given us. Up to this time we have been playing with foreign missions. It is now time for

the Church of God to understand that its great work in the new century is to plan this movement on a scale gigantic in comparison with anything we have yet done, and, in a spirit of the broadest Christian statesmanship, to intelligently, adequately and prayerfully grapple with the stupendous task of Christianizing Asia.

But some are saying that this trouble has destroyed their confidence in missionary work, and that we ought to abandon the effort to evangelize the Chinese. Many are asking: "Shall you send any more missionaries to China?" I reply: "Shall we send any more merchants, any more consuls, any more oil, flour, cotton? Shall we continue our political and commercial relations with China and discontinue our religious relations; allow the lower influences to flow on unchecked, but withhold the spiritual forces which would purify politics and commerce, which have made us what we are, and which can alone regenerate the millions of China?"

Is disaster a reason for withdrawal? When our forefathers found themselves involved in the horrors of the Revolution, did they say that it would have been better to have remained subjects of Great Britain? When, a generation ago, our land was drenched with the blood of the Civil War, did men think that they ought to have tolerated secession and slavery? When the Maine was blown up in Havana Harbor and Lawton was killed in Luzon, did we demand withdrawal from Cuba and the Phillipines? When the gallant Liscum fell under the walls of Tientsin, did we insist that our troops should be recalled? Or did not the American people, in every one of these instances, find in the very agonies of struggle and defeat a decisive reason for advance? Did they not sternly resolve that there should be men, that there should be money, and that the war should be pressed to victory whatever the sacrifice that might be involved?

And shall the Church of God weakly, timidly run away because the very troubles have occurred which Christ Himself predicted, for He frankly said that He came "not to send peace, but a sword; that there should be wars and rumors of wars;" that his disciples should "be hated of all men;" that He sent them "forth as sheep in the midst of wolves," and that the brother should "deliver up the brother to death and the father the child." But in that very discourse He also said: "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after Me is not worthy of Me." Shall we abandon those myriads of Chinese Christians in their hour of peril, leave the Christian name to be disgraced, the rest of the mission property to be destroyed, the work of weary years to be wholly undone? Suppose Christ had abandoned the effort to save men when mobs threatened Him and the nation crucified Him!



At this solemn time, when we stand, as it were, in the presence of the charred remains of our beloved dead at Paotingfu and look upon our ruined stations and the frightful persecutions of our Chinese Christians; and not only this, but when we remember the savage beasts which tore the flesh of the early disciples in the arenas of Nero, the hissing flames which burned the bodies of a Savonarola, a Huss and a Wiclif; when we recall the catacombs of Rome, the pyres of Smithfield, the dungeons of the Tolbooth and the thumb-screws of the Inquisition,—I say by Paul's "Woe is me if I preach the not Gospel," and Luther's "Here I stand, God help me, I can do no other," aye, by the holy constraint of Him whose sweet yet peremptory voice calls us to follow His bleeding feet, we will—we must go on until all China has learned of Christ. And I am persuaded that the Presbyterian Church will say with us: "This is God's call for a forward movement in China. We must send more missionaries, more money, give every station an adequate equipment and press the whole majestic enterprise with new faith and power."

But we are told that we shall not be allowed to go on; that one of the indispensable conditions of peace will be the exclusion of missionaries from China, as neither China nor the Powers will permit any further work of this kind. On this point I venture three suggestions:

First—No administration that can ever be elected in America will thus interfere with the liberty of the Church. It will never say that arms manufacturing companies can send representatives to Peking and breweries and distilleries send drummers to Shanghai, but that the Church of God cannot send intelligent, devoted men and women to found schools and hospitals and printing-presses and to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It will never say that American gamblers in Tientsin and American prostitutes in Hankow shall be protected by all the might of the American army and navy, but that the pure, high-minded missionary, who represents the noblest motives and ideals of our American life, shall be expatriated—a man without a country.

This is, however, a problem for the nation, rather than for the Board. The American missionary went to Asia before his Government did, and until recently he has seen very little of the American flag. European nations have protected their citizens, whether they were missionaries or traders. But in the United States Senate it has been said that "if our citizens go to a far-distant country, semi-civilized and bitterly opposed to their movements, we cannot follow them there and protect them. They ought to come home." Is, then, the missionary's business less legitimate than the trader's? Is a man entitled to the protection of his country if he goes

to the Orient to sell opium and beer, but does he forfeit that protection if he goes there to preach the Gospel of temperance and peace? In the United States Senate Mr. Frye reminded the nation that about twenty years ago England sent an army of 15,000 men down to the African coast, across seven hundred miles of burning sand, to batter down iron gates and stone walls, reach down into an Abyssinian dungeon and lift out of it one British subject who had been unlawfully imprisoned. It cost England \$25,000,000 to do it, but it made a highway over this planet for every common son of Britain, and the words "I am an English citizen" more potent than the scepter of a king. And because of that reputation American missionaries have more than once been saved by the intervention of British ministers and consuls, who have not forgotten that "blood is thicker than water." Shall we vociferously curse England one day and the next supinely depend upon her representatives to help us out when our missionaries are endangered? This is not a question of "jingoism," whatever that may be. It is not a question of making unreasonable complaints to our own Government. It is not a question of religion or of missions. It is a question of treaties, of citizenship, of national honor and of self-respect. Let the nation settle it from that viewpoint. The missionary asks no special privileges. He can stand it to go on as before, if the nation can stand it to have him.

Second—If China shall make such a demand in repudiation of the treaties which she herself has expressly acknowledged to be valid, and if all the Powers shall support her in that demand, does anybody doubt what the missionary will say? He will reply: "I did not receive my commission from any earthly potentate, but from the King of kings and Lord of lords." He will follow the example of Dr. Hamlin who, when the Russian Minister in Constantinople haughtily said: "My master, the Czar of all the Russias, will not let you put foot on that territory," replied, "My Master, the Lord Jesus Christ, will never ask the Czar of all the Russias where He shall put His foot." He will say with Peter and John, who, when scourged and forbidden to preach any more in the Name of Jesus, friendless and penniless as they were, ringingly answered: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." Some will say this is madness. So of old men said of Christ: "He hath a demon." So they said of Paul: "Thou art beside thyself." In these days of effeminate faith and self-indulgent life, when some people think they cannot go to church when it rains, and complain if they are asked to give the price of a cigar to missions, let the world know that the mis-

sionary of the Cross is still willing to suffer, and if need be, to die for Jesus' sake.

Does any sane man imagine that the Church could cease to be missionary and remain a church? Politically, Benjamin Kidd declares that Americans might as well face the utter futility of any hypothesis based upon the supposition that America can remain away from the Orient. The last three years have made changes in America's relation to the world which we can no more recall than we can alter the course of the planet. It is idle for doctrinaires to tell us from the quiet comfort of home libraries, that we should "keep hands off." We can no more keep hands off than our country could keep hands off the slavery of the South; no more than New York could keep hands off a borough infected with smallpox. The world has passed the point where one-third of its population can be allowed to breed moral miasma which the other two-thirds must breathe. Both for China's sake and for our own, we must continue this work. If this is true in the political and commercial realms, much more is it true in the religious. Chalmer's notable sermon on the "Expulsive Power of a New Affection" enunciates a permanent principle. When a man's soul is once thrilled with the conviction that Christ is his Saviour, he must declare that glorious truth,

"To doubt would be disloyalty,  
To falter would be sin."

Christ voiced the deepest and strongest forces of the regenerated human heart in that clear, ringing, categorical imperative "Go!" and go we must.

I confess to a feeling of impatience when I am told that all our missionary plans for China must be contingent "upon the settlement of political negotiations," "the overthrow of the Empress Dowager and her reactionary advisers," "the re-establishment of the Emperor on his rightful throne," "the continuance in power of Governor Yuan Shih Kai," "the maintenance of a strong foreign military and naval force in China," "the thwarting of Russia's plans for supremacy," etc. All these things have been said to me and more. Are we then to despairingly resign our commission from Jesus Christ and humbly ask a new one from Cæsar? Not so did the apostolic missionaries, and not so, I am persuaded, will their modern successors do. We cannot, indeed, be indifferent to the course of political events, or to their bearing upon the missionary problem. But, on the other hand, we cannot make our obedience to Christ and our duty to our fellowmen dependent upon political considerations. To wait until China is pacified by the Powers, or "until she is en-