

The Role of Chinese Workers in the Church Missionary Society's
Kwangsi-Hunan Mission, 1899-1951

Peter Cunich
University of Hong Kong

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When the last British missionaries left Guilin in September 1950, it was far from a foregone conclusion that their departure would mean the end of the Kwangsi-Hunan Diocese of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (Zhenghua Shenggong Hui, CHSKH), as the Anglican church was known in China. Although it was still the smallest and poorest of the Church Missionary Society's dioceses in China, it had nevertheless made important strides in self-propagation and self-regulation since the 1920s. These developments had been crowned by the enthronement of Kwangsi-Hunan's first Chinese bishop, Addison K.S. Hsu, on 12 March 1950, and after the departure of the foreign workers the main parishes in the diocese continued to be served by seven Chinese priests and a large number of lay workers.¹ While it was recognised that the changed circumstances in China represented perhaps the greatest challenge in the diocese's short history, Bishop Hsu was heartened that his workers, both clerical and lay, felt 'a new impetus to go forward and strengthen the Church's witness to Eternal Truth and Love'.² A retreat was held for all workers at the diocesan centre in Lingling for two weeks in August 1950 in order that the church workers could gain a comprehensive understanding of the 'New Principles of the People's Government' and form a 'constructive programme to meet future needs'. They wrestled with a range of issues, including the application of dialectical materialism to their social work and 'using the new method of constructive and sincere criticism', but the major question was how they should 'carry on and extend Evangelistic work under present restrictions'.³ Despite the difficulties involved in adjusting to the restrictions imposed by the new regime and the renunciation of their faith by many young members of the church, there appeared to be signs of a new strength of purpose in the diocese, with each parish having become self-supporting. This was achieved partly through the expedient of all church workers 'plying a trade to contribute to their own support' as an adjunct to their spiritual work 'which must of course have first claim on time and thought'. Even though public evangelistic work was no longer possible, 'it was felt that the work of evangelism should be unceasingly carried on through Christian homes, individual contacts, distribution and loan of Christian literature, through personal letters'.⁴ Hsu and his colleagues were 'full of hope' for the future even though their strong links with the foreign missionaries had been cut and the financial support of the CMS had ceased.

Unlike other Chinese missions of the CMS, the development of independent church government had been a priority from the very beginning of the Kwangsi-Hunan mission in 1899. Successive mission leaders had focused on building up a Chinese clerical and lay workforce that would be able to take control of their own church as soon as possible. When the Diocese of Kwangsi-Hunan was established in 1909, there were only twenty-five baptised Christians, with three poorly trained Chinese catechists working under the British missionaries, but the first bishop,

William Banister, was determined from the first to give Chinese Christians in his diocese 'rightful control' over their church. Even before the erection of the diocese in 1909, Banister had asserted in a memorandum to the Archbishop of Canterbury that it should be accepted that the presence of foreign missionaries in China was 'only temporary' and that the Chinese church must 'one day become purely National with its own clergy and bishops'.⁵ Once appointed bishop he developed a plan that included a diocesan council that would act as an 'organ of union' between the members of the 'foreign Society and the indigenous congregations', even though this was thought by the London parent committee of the CMS to be premature. Nevertheless, Banister was adamant in his belief that 'in China there will be a deadlock unless the Mission Boards of England and America are prepared to have more faith in their men and responsible leaders, both Native and Foreign'.⁶ Banister had originally served in the Fukien mission of the CMS from 1880 until 1897, where he doubtless came under the influence of John R. Wolfe, who was an early and strong believer in the importance of building up a Chinese clergy within the mission.⁷ Banister served as principal of the CMS theological college in Fuzhou before being transferred to South China as mission secretary, where he was credited with encouraging the formation of 'flourishing and self-supporting congregations in Hong Kong and Canton' and establishing a number of highly successful educational institutions.⁸ He felt that the direction of developments in the South China mission was more encouraging than in Fukien or Mid-China (Chekiang) where 'the weak spot ... is that Christians have been taught to feel ... that they are helping the foreigner to set up his Church, instead of feeling that the foreigner is helping them to organize and maintain *their* Church'.⁹ In Kwangsi-Hunan he wanted to try one 'last experiment in Church organization' that would aim at making the local church responsible in the management of the mission's work 'from the outset', an arrangement that was 'an advance in the direction of Control by the Chinese'.¹⁰

The main problem with Banister's vision for the new diocese was that there were not yet sufficient Chinese assistants working under him who could take on the necessary leadership roles in the local church. Moreover, the London parent committee had already quashed efforts in the Fukien mission to give Chinese clergy more authority in the provincial church council established there in 1883.¹¹ Although Banister's colleagues in the field protested that London had committed a 'definite wrong' to Chinese Christians who deserved to have a greater say in the direction of their church, not everyone was convinced that the bishop's ambitious plan was sensible. Thomas Goodchild, who had been in China since 1898 and had transferred to Kwangsi-Hunan from Mid-China in 1910, also felt that he was 'a great believer in giving the Chinese responsibility from the first', but from his perspective of the work in a newly established mission outpost at Hengchow (Hengyang) he concluded that self-support should be a precondition of self-government:

... if 'taxation without representation' is wrong, I think that 'representation without taxation' is also wrong. The principle of forming a self-governing church of coolies, who have never had any responsibility of governing in their lives ... [is] a mistake. I want these men to take the double responsibility from the first.¹²

It was therefore vital that building up a group of Chinese leaders, both lay and clerical, should be one of the chief priorities in the Kwangsi-Hunan mission if Banister's forward looking policies were ever to be approved by London. Like the other CMS missions in China, however, this aim proved difficult to fulfil, especially in finding and training young men for ordination.¹³

Louis Byrde, the first missionary in the Kwangsi-Hunan field, had already made some progress towards this end. Byrde managed to train five Chinese workers in Guilin as catechists and evangelists before Banister's arrival in 1910, and Frank Child also seems to have been doing similar work in Yungchow (Yongzhou).¹⁴ The results of these efforts were variable, to say the least. Byrde's Mandarin language teacher, Song Tsong-chen, a Moslem who was initially persecuted after his conversion in 1902, eventually became a catechist and was appointed as the first lay reader in Guilin. In 1907 it was reported by Frank Child that Song had been 'a very real help in the evangelistic services, ably preaching to his fellow countrymen and often drawing large crowds to his magic-lantern lectures'.¹⁵ By 1911 he had worked as a catechist in three of the mission stations and had been given responsibility for finding suitable premises for a preaching hall in the new outpost at Hingan. He was even showing signs of suitability as an aspirant for the ministry: 'He is a strong all-round man, and with further training and a wider experience may well become a great power for Christ.'¹⁶ Other workers were not so successful. Ma Feng-yuen, a degree holder who was baptised in 1903, was very effective as a catechist and teacher because of his academic standing. Unfortunately, by 1910 'his pride and temper, together with the desire for more worldly advantage, [had] gained the ascendancy over him and marred his usefulness as a Christian worker', so he had to be dismissed.¹⁷ In Yungchow, Chang Chien-san also proved to be a valuable addition to the staff from 1906: 'a good man and a fluent, thoughtful preacher. Being much older than any other Christian, he was able to give a lead which none of us, foreign or Chinese, can supply'. He had a strong prayer life and was an avid reader, giving his sermons 'the mark of a true Chinese scholar', but he died in 1909 just as he was establishing himself as a leader of the local Christians.¹⁸

Other men were recruited as colporteurs from 1907. Liu Fuh-seng, a former soldier, was an opium addict before being cured by James Parker in 1908; he was nevertheless 'strong in body and in spirit' and by 1910 was serving the Kweilin mission in the countryside.¹⁹ At the same time, Louis Byrde reported that his colporteur assistants in Yungchow had sold large quantities of gospels and tracts, and had 'preached to or conversed with great numbers of people'.²⁰ In 1911, John Holden asked Li Yao-ting, his 'keen native bookseller', to accompany him on a lengthy itineration of southern Hunan, so these colporteurs were gradually given more responsibility if they showed keenness and potential for further development as local mission workers.²¹ It took the Kwangsi-Hunan mission longer to begin recruiting Chinese women, but by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century Mrs Fu at Yungchow, although not properly trained as a Biblewoman, was nevertheless 'very keen and earnest' and had 'a winning way' in the women's guest hall: 'she has a gift for preaching Gospel truths, and holding her audience by the hour, which is not easily acquired by training'.²² A greater focus on women's work would be encouraged after the 1911 revolution.

So successful were these early recruits that, by 1910 in the Yungchow district, the country work was being done 'entirely by our Chinese brethren' by 1910, and Louis Byrde rejoiced 'to bear witness to their general zeal'. Three of the workers were particularly talented at their work, but it was recognised that there was a need to train them properly if they were to achieve their full potential. Byrde had already held two examinations for the Chinese staff under his direction, but it seemed to him that a more formal training regime was necessary, so in 1910 it was decided that two of the workers would be sent to the American Church Mission's catechetical school at Hankow.²³ By 1913 there were four Kwangsi-Hunan men at this school, supported by

a grant from London. Later in the decade, British supporters of the mission made regular donations for the training of catechists.²⁴ While the men were away in Hankow, Edith Couche set about training their wives to assist them in the outstation work.²⁵ This work was extended in 1916 by Elsie Holden into a proper Biblewomen's school at Yungchow that aimed to train enough local Biblewomen to supply the needs of the entire diocese.²⁶ In this way, a rudimentary formation programme was started in the diocese for training Chinese workers. Fully trained men were also borrowed from other dioceses to fill the gaps while the Kwangsi-Hunan men were away. A graduate borrowed from the Hankow school started catechetical work at Guilin in April 1911. Mr Lei was initially 'a tremendous success', with 'the gift of drawing people in':

He is a gentleman, with winning ways, tactful, intelligent, well read, versed in things modern, conscious of the backwardness of his own nation and of national defects, and convinced that the Gospel is China's only hope.

Moreover he is quite a good preacher, and better still in teaching enquirers and catechumens.²⁷

After a year of effective work in the mission Lei was asked to leave, however, when it was discovered that he had interfered in a law suit and caused trouble with the local officials, a practice that was not uncommon among men in his position but which the CMS had specifically banned.²⁸ Another catechist on loan from Bishop Roots of Hankow, Li Chin-chien, was sent to the difficult station of Hengchow to assist Thomas Goodchild in establishing the new mission field there; by the end of 1912, he was preaching to congregations of forty to sixty people.²⁹ In 1915, Rev Fang Ling-seng was loaned from the Mid-China diocese for placement at the new station at Siangtan.³⁰

During World War I the first men were sent from Kwangsi-Hunan to begin their studies for the ministry, marking a new and important stage in the development of the indigenous mission workforce, but ordinations did not take place for some time: Song Tsong-chen in 1919, Chen Chi-chang and Song Pu-ren in 1920, and Su Ren-ping in 1922. The career trajectories of these men, as far as they can be determined, seem to have followed the general pattern that has been noticed in other CMS missions in China.³¹ It is difficult, however, to trace their careers with anything approaching the level of prosopographical exactitude that would provide a fuller picture of how the body of Chinese clergy in the diocese was formed. For the most part, we do not even know which theological schools they attended. They therefore remain in most cases rather shadowy figures. There are various reasons for this paucity of information concerning the Chinese workers in the diocese. The foreign missionaries' letters to the CMS secretaries in London seldom mentioned their Chinese co-workers, and the rapid devolution of authority within the diocese from the early 1920s meant that even fewer references were made to them as the decade wore on. Most of the local mission business was transacted by the secretary of the diocesan synod and the bishop in communication with the missionaries in their parishes, but few of these documents apart from synod minutes reached the parent committee in London. It is likely that a substantial archive of diocesan papers existed at the diocesan centre in Lingling up until 1949, but no trace has yet been found of any documents seized by the Communist authorities in either of the relevant provincial archives. One substantial source of information has been the *Kwangsi-Hunan Diocesan Newsletter*, published regularly between 1904 and 1951, but this was a journal meant for the consumption of British supporters of the mission, so references to the Chinese clergy and other workers was never comprehensive. Chinese converts were more of a focus in the articles written by missionaries, while very few articles

were contributed by the Chinese workers themselves, due largely to their poor command of the English language, so relatively few details emerge from this source regarding the training or day-to-day work of the Chinese mission staff. It is known that a Chinese-language 'counterpart' of the *Diocesan Newsletter*, titled the *Diocesan Quarterly*, was published for a time, but no copies of this have so far been found in the archives.³² It has therefore proven very difficult to trace every Chinese worker in the Kwangsi-Hunan diocese, but so far approximately two hundred names have emerged from the sources.

An analysis of this evidence indicates that the composition and structure of the Chinese workforce in the Kwangsi-Hunan diocese was similar to that of other CMS missions in China. At the base of the hierarchy were a large number of servants who attended to the needs of the British missionaries. These ranged from cooks and household servants, gardeners and repairmen, who were necessary for the day-to-day functioning of any foreign organisation in China, to the dozens of coolies employed when necessary in the first three decades of the century to carry the belongings of the missionaries on their lengthy inland itinerations between mission posts.³³ These mission servants will not be considered in this paper because they were not generally involved in the 'evangelical' work of the mission, even though many of them eventually converted to Christianity.³⁴ The next group consisted of the Biblewomen, who received the lowest salaries of those involved in evangelical work, although it was widely understood that their remuneration did not adequately 'express their value to the church'.³⁵ Another group of itinerating male employees at the lower end of the mission hierarchy were the colporteurs, who in the early years of the mission had the job of selling Christian literature and speaking to those who were interested in Christianity, often providing the first point of contact in outlying areas between Chinese and the CMS. They appear not to have advanced any higher in the service of the mission and are seldom mentioned by the 1920s, so their role was not a permanent feature of the mission in Kwangsi-Hunan.

The Chinese teachers in the mission schools steadily rose in status over the 1920s and 1930s and became a permanent feature of the mission staff. Many of them had fairly rudimentary educational backgrounds, often receiving instruction from British teachers in the mission's own schools. There was a definite pecking order among the teachers in diocesan schools. Not surprisingly, female teachers appear to have had a much lower status than male teachers right up to the 1940s, while those teaching at the Anglo-Chinese All Saints' Middle School in Yungchow were in a class of their own. The nursing staff at the 'Way of Life' hospital in Guilin and the dispensary at Taochow (Dao Xian) received professional training leading to examinations for nursing certificates so were held in high esteem. The foreign missionaries also needed language teachers when they first arrived in China in order to learn Mandarin, the language widely used in northern Guangxi and southern Hunan. Although these men were seldom full-time employees of the mission, they were often degree-holders with high social status and some eventually converted after many years' association with their foreign students. The bulk of the Chinese mission staff consisted of evangelists and catechists, indigenous preachers and community leaders who served in the small and often isolated mission outposts scattered across the countryside. Catechists had usually received some training in the skills of ministry and were accorded a higher status in the mission, while an evangelist held 'a less responsible post' and was usually a younger man 'or one who is unfitted intellectually for the higher place'.³⁶ At the top of the hierarchy were the ordained deacons and priests who eventually came to have a much fuller share in the running of the diocese,

and many of whom by the early 1930s had been appointed as 'pastors in charge' of the main parishes.

The very rapid advance in the role of Chinese priests is perhaps the most startling feature of the various developments that took place in the Kwangsi-Hunan mission during the 1920s. From the earliest years of the mission it had been a principal concern of the foreign missionaries to recruit suitable local men for the ministry so as to form a leadership cadre within the Chinese church. Although Bishop Banister had been thwarted in his first attempts at ensuring 'Control by the Chinese' in his diocese, he nevertheless continued to badger the CMS London secretaries and moved ahead with planning for an eventual devolution of authority. By the time the 1922 National Missionary Conference in Shanghai began to demand 'most insistently' that 'native churches' be given control of their own affairs, the Kwangsi-Hunan diocesan synod had already moved a long way towards incorporating its Chinese members into its decision-making protocols. The foreign missionaries had committed themselves publicly to fostering the growth of an indigenous church 'in every possible way', and this was demonstrated in the composition of the synod and its committees. The standing committee and board of finance were elected 'without distinction of race', allowing the Chinese workers to play 'an increasingly prominent and effective part in the life of the church'. This was not only felt to be a valuable training ground 'for those who we hope will in future years be directly responsible for the work, but also as a means of more efficiently meeting the real situation confronting us; for our co-members bring to the task both consecrated ability, and also in many cases a first-hand knowledge far more detailed than we, as foreigners, can ever possess'.³⁷ Chinese involvement in decisions regarding the 'choice, promotion, or dismissal of workers' had reduced a previous source of suspicion and dissatisfaction, but it was felt that while the missionary's leadership role was not yet a thing of the past, 'it is manifestly our duty, more and more, to entrust to the people of the land in which we are seeking to build up a church, the position of leadership and responsibility'.³⁸

In 1923, the departure of several foreign missionaries on furlough provided an opportunity for two of the newly ordained priests to be given 'practically independent spheres of work' in new parishes carved out of the Yungchow and Guilin mission fields. A *Diocesan Newsletter* editorial noted that, 'It is a matter of the greatest encouragement that we have Chinese clergy worthy to be put into such places of responsibility' only a short time after their entry in the ministry.³⁹ Despite these positive comments, the names of Chinese pastors were not included in the regular lists of clergy published in the *Diocesan Newsletter* until 1926. 1923 marked the retirement of Bishop Banister, but he was succeeded by John Holden, who also held equally strong views on the necessity of devolution. These views were reinforced by the anti-foreign protests in 1925, but it was still thought that the Chinese clergy of the diocese did not yet form a viable nucleus of leadership for the church:

We are placed in a most perplexing position, for whilst it is undoubtedly true that the presence of Western leaders militates against the rapid spread of Christianity, the fact remains that in very few cases, of which this diocese is certainly not one, is it possible to dispense with that leadership.⁴⁰

Of course, it became increasingly difficult to recruit new members of the clergy in the political atmosphere that dominated China and the diocese from 1925 until the end of the decade. In these difficult times some of the Chinese clergy did show remarkable courage in withstanding the advances of anti-foreign forces in the diocese. Pastor Song led the Guilin Christians in resisting an attempt by members of another mission

to start an independent and entirely Chinese church 'free from foreign influence of any kind whatsoever'.⁴¹ It was also at this time that Addison Hsu became secretary of the diocesan synod and began to demonstrate his remarkable organisational abilities. It was no doubt as a result of these events that Bishop Holden hastened the devolution process after a meeting of the synod boards and committees in early 1926 that discussed the means by which the Mission Conference, consisting of only the foreign missionaries, would begin to surrender its powers of appointment.⁴²

The process of devolution stalled, however, during the political upheavals of 1927 which required the withdrawal of all the foreign workers from the diocese. This meant that the synod planned for early 1927 could not be held until January 1928. During the extended absence of the British missionaries, it fell upon the Chinese workers to take charge of the local affairs of the diocese. They did an exceptionally good job in very difficult circumstances. Despite being labelled as 'running dogs' of the 'foreign tyrants' and subjected to a range of insults from incendiary youth and labour groups connected with the Kuomintang, Bishop Holden was pleased to report to the mission's supporters in Britain that, 'The Chinese workers carried on the ordinary pastoral and evangelistic work for the most part without much opposition'. He was particularly impressed with the Christian stoicism of the dispenser and nurses at the 'Way of Life' hospital in Guilin. With a 'truly Christian absence of resentment', Holden noted that 'their readiness to return good for evil' in continuing to treat the sick and injured had 'done more than anything else possibly could have done to prepare for the resumption of the wider work of the Church, and we cannot but be full of gratitude ... for the splendid spirit and example they showed at that difficult time'.⁴³ In Ningyuan, Rev Yu Shao-wen was threatened with death by brigands, being later 'bound, hung up, and beaten' by the mob because he was recognised as 'the representative of the foreigner'. Despite imprisonment and insult, he volunteered to help with medical work among his captors and looked after the local Christians who had suffered terrible trials during the sacking of the city.⁴⁴ In Yungchow, the matron of the Biblewomen's school, Mrs Huang, had carried on the work there single-handedly during the absence of Elsie Holden, so was rewarded with appointment as vice-principal in 1928.⁴⁵

The trials of 1927 demonstrated more clearly than ever that the diocese needed to accelerate the handover of power to the Chinese leaders of the church. The performance of the Chinese workers in the face of terror and insult had for the most part been exemplary, while the British consul's insistence on a lengthy withdrawal of the foreign missionaries meant that the Chinese church could no longer rely exclusively on CMS leadership in the diocese:

It has been made quite plain, if this was not fully understood before, that for the Gospel to find a wider and readier acceptance, it will have to be presented more really under Chinese auspices and through Chinese channels. Anti-Christian feeling has been only a phase of anti-foreignism, and if the Chinese Church, which is ready enough for the assumption of autonomy and control, will also be ready for the sacrifice involved in genuine responsibility (including ultimately that of finance) the future is bright with hope.⁴⁶

At the same time, however, many felt that 'the burden borne perhaps too long by the workers from the West cannot suddenly be transferred entirely to the shoulders of the Chinese Church without danger of a breakdown'.⁴⁷ It was a situation that required careful consideration and skilful negotiation, but the process was made considerably easier by the fact that a slow process of devolution had already been 'quietly accomplished' since the days of Bishop Banister 'without pressure or compulsion

before the days of intense nationalism'. When the crisis came in 1927, therefore, Kwangsi-Hunan 'was spared the trial of having a body of Chinese Christians and colleagues who regarded us as having kept them from their rightful privileges'.⁴⁸

At the diocesan synod in January 1928, the Board of Finance became an executive rather than just a deliberative body, with full control over diocesan finances, except with regard to the personal affairs of the missionaries. Bishop Holden felt that this 'acid test of sincerity' with regard to diocesan finances had 'thoroughly convinced' the Chinese workers 'that as far as the Western missionaries are concerned, there is no desire to do anything but help forward the movement towards self-government in the Church'.⁴⁹ This move forward was acknowledged by Addison Hsu, the most eloquent of the Chinese laymen, as indicative of 'a great willingness for sacrifice and a loving spirit' among the foreign missionaries, 'making as real as possible the control of the Chinese Church by the Chinese Christians':

This in fact is the real progress of the Church in this diocese, because it cannot be prosperous and stand firmly unless the Chinese Christians are fully conscious of their responsibility and take an actual part in the control of the work.⁵⁰

This development was confirmed by the foreign missionaries at their long-postponed Missionary Conference in early 1929, and the process of devolution was completed by the Conference relinquishing to the synod its right to appoint missionaries. The Chinese clergy played a prominent role in writing to all Christians in the diocese to confirm that in future the position of Chinese and Western workers in the diocese would be one of 'complete equality' in which 'not the slightest distinction remains'.⁵¹

By 1929, therefore, the role and status of the Chinese clergy in the diocese had advanced considerably since the first Chinese Christian was ordained deacon in 1919. Thirteen Chinese priests were ultimately ordained for the Kwangsi-Hunan diocese (see appendix), but despite their growing prominence in the 1920s, very little is known about their backgrounds and evangelistic activities until the 1930s. It is unclear exactly where the earliest recruits trained for the priesthood, but it seems likely that those in formation during the 1920s and 1930s would have been sent to the Central Theological School at Nanking after its opening in 1921.⁵² As already mentioned above, the earliest priests come to the ministry via their roles as teachers or catechists. The initial ordinand, Song Tsong-chen (1919), was the very first Chinese to be converted by Louis Byrde in Guilin; he became a catechist in 1907 and proved himself extremely able at both preaching and negotiating for property on behalf of the foreign missionaries. Su Ren-Ping (1926) was also a catechist at Guilin over a long period, while Song Pu-ren (1920) was one of the evangelists at Yungchow in 1909. Yu Shao-wen (1921) came to Hunan as a catechist from Fujian. Long years of service in the diocese as evangelists and catechists clearly provided a strong pastoral preparation for these men before they committed themselves to further study for the ministry. Bishop Banister recognised the importance of a more superior education to that being provided by the CMS primary schools in preparing the young men of the diocese for evangelical service on the mission. He therefore established All Saints' middle school as a means of providing promising boys from throughout the diocese with the type of Anglo-Chinese education that was thought necessary for producing 'good Christian workers'. Initially located at Hengchow, the school moved to Yungchow in 1922 and continued to be an important source of recruits until it was forced to close in 1927. Pupils were encouraged to 'go further with their education', and from 1923 a 'normal training course' was initiated in the hope that in due course the school would be able to provide 'a sufficient number of trained teachers for all our

schools'.⁵³ Students were encouraged into 'witness-bearing' at weeknight street-chapel preaching services, and in late 1924 a group of students set out with Addison Hsu on a two-week 'social study' trip of the Yungchow mission field to help them consider their future careers 'in accordance with the need of society and of the Church'.⁵⁴ While such initiatives produced many future teachers and catechists for the diocese, it is not known how successful they were in identifying and encouraging men who were considered to be suitable for priestly training. Addison Hsu, the vice-principal of All Saints', would eventually offer himself for the ministry after the closure of the school in 1927, but the role of the diocesan middle school in incubating priestly vocations remains unclear.

Even before ordination, the early Chinese clerical leaders in the diocese had become acquainted with the organisation and government of the CHSKH after its formation in 1912. Catechists and evangelists were prominent members of the diocesan synod from the beginning, but they were also involved in the higher councils of the church. Catechists Song Tsong-chen and Song Pu-ren represented Kwangsi-Hunan diocese at the general synod in April 1915 and from that time onwards members of the Chinese clergy were always among the diocesan representatives.⁵⁵ Addison Hsu and Chen Chi-chang represented the diocese at the 1928 general synod in Shanghai where Chinese representatives greatly outnumbered foreigners in the House of Delegates and Lindel Tsen was elected chairman. This greatly impressed Addison Hsu, reinforcing his impression that the CHSKH was making great progress towards the goal of 'a truly Chinese organisation'. He was excited by the prospect of the church becoming a 'practically autonomous' province of the Anglican communion, a hope that was finally realised at the Lambeth Conference in 1930.⁵⁶ As outlined above, there can be no doubt that the Kwangsi-Hunan clergy remained utterly loyal to the foreign missionaries during the anti-foreign disturbances that followed the Shanghai incident in May 1925 and the later political problems in 1927. Not only did the Chinese clergy prevent the local churches of the CHSKH from breaking away and forming independent Chinese churches, they also provided a warm welcome for the CMS missionaries when they finally returned to the field in 1928. The *Diocesan Newsletter* is replete with expressions of confidence and pride in the work they had achieved while the British had been ordered out of China.

Yu Shao-wen was given the outstation of Ningyuen after his ordination to the diaconate in 1921 and faithfully served the Christians there for seven years, during which time brigands made it virtually impossible for foreign missionaries to visit the city. After his narrow escape from death at the hands of bandits in 1927, he was given Chuanchow parish, which turned out to be a poisoned chalice because of severe anti-Christian feeling in the town. While Bishop Holden considered him to be 'quite self-reliant and independent', just the qualities needed in the pastor of an isolated mission station, Yu faced an 'underground opposition' there that made it necessary for the bishop to intervene when he was prevented four times from buying property for the church.⁵⁷ The unfortunate Tseng Kwang-shuen was sent to Ningyuan in early 1928 and was making good progress in reviving the shattered Christian congregation when bandits again attacked the city and all the workers were forced to flee. His next posting was to the less nerve-wracking CMS public reading room in Yungchow, where the bishop was pleased to report on Tseng's easy interaction with enquirers there: 'Mr Tseng has a very attractive personality. He is also a splendid preacher and a very good pastor'.⁵⁸ Song Pu-ren had done 'good work' at Hengchow early in his ministry, 'full of enthusiasm for his new charge', but he was then sent to the dastardly Chuanchow in 1926 where the church was looted by students and he was threatened

with personal injury if he returned to the town. From that time until his transfer to Taochow in 1928 he was only able to visit the outlying parts of the parish.⁵⁹ Bishop Holden was always full of praise for these men who were asked to work far away from the main missionary centres and who suffered such privations during the unsettled 1920s.

Bishop Holden's greatest esteem, however, was reserved for one of the newer priests who did not receive ordination until 1931. Addison Hsu had been known to Holden since 1912 when, as a thirteen-year-old school boy at St Paul's in Siangtan (Xiantan), Hsu was singled out from the other boys in his class as 'one of the brightest youths possible to meet', the top boy in nearly every subject. With his 'smart, clean, winning ways' he was a favourite with both masters and boys alike. Holden felt that he had just the sort of spirit that the church needed for its future work in the diocese. Ten years later, Hsu returned to Yungchow as a 'brilliant young university graduate' and 'bright Christian' to be vice-principal of All Saints middle school, the training ground for the diocese's future leaders.⁶⁰ As a layman, he was able to hold a congregation spellbound when he preached, and by 1928 he was described as 'one of the leading Chinese workers in the Diocese'. He was one of the few Chinese pastors who wrote articles for the *Diocesan Newsletter* and his command of English was said to be flawless. He 'took the lead' in matters of educational policy and acted as diocesan secretary and treasurer for many years. When his time came for ordination to the diaconate in 1929, Holden described him as 'outstanding' among the Chinese workers in the diocese; 'To him, more than to any other colleagues, I owe a great debt in the comparative smoothness with which the process of devolution from mission to diocesan control is now taking place.'⁶¹ After spending four years in parish work and continuing to assist both Holden and his successor, Percy Stevens, Hsu was sent in 1935-36 to Ridley Hall in Cambridge for further studies and a period of 'parochial experience' at Folkestone in Kent, before returning to China and being appointed archdeacon in December 1936.⁶² Consecrated as assistant bishop in 1941, he was elected as the first and only Chinese bishop of Kwangsi-Hunan in 1950. His rapid rise through the ranks was unlike any other clerical career in the diocese. This was undoubtedly due to his prodigious administrative and pastoral skills, his relatively high level of education, and an easy command of English, so he stands out as being quite different from the rest of his clerical colleagues in the diocese. Compared with the rank and file Chinese workers in Kwangsi-Hunan, he developed skill sets that most young men had little opportunity of obtaining.

While the major mission stations eventually came to be overseen by Chinese pastors in the early 1930s, the outstations were served entirely by evangelists and catechists, just as in other CMS missions, while itinerating Biblewomen tended to the needs of the female Christians.⁶³ The foreign missionaries readily accepted that these 'earnest *native* workers' were the best people 'to strengthen and build up the Christians and to teach those who have not heard' in these backward and isolated places.⁶⁴ Reports on the work of catechists and evangelists during the 1920s are full of praise for their devotion to duty, especially as their lives were full of danger during the tumultuous 1920s when brigands and irregular soldiers often held control of large areas of Guangxi and Hunan provinces. At other times, the armies of opposing regional governments caused havoc across large areas of the diocese. While foreigners were to some extent protected by virtue of their legal status, local mission workers were just as likely to fall victim to the depredations of banditry as the rest of the Chinese population. In some cases they were singled out for especially severe treatment. In 1922, the Guilin outstations were attacked and plundered with the

catechist at one station, Peng Kuei Seng, being murdered and his body left in an open field.⁶⁵ Mr Tang, the evangelist at remote Siao Shu, was 'a man of little learning, but of real zeal and earnest faith, and apparently also plenty of natural executive ability'. He narrowly escaped with his life when brigands attacked in the summer of 1923, being fired upon several times until he fooled his pursuers by feigning drowning in the river. His son was later carried off and held for ransom by bandits for three months.⁶⁶ Likewise, at Wen Tsen, near Guilin, the catechist was carried off by robbers for ransom, but in both these cases the men soon returned to their stations to continue their evangelisation work.⁶⁷ At Ling Chuan, the catechist had to fight with bandits in order to save his wife from being carried away.

Things did not improve in the mid-1920s as marauding soldiers became as great a problem as the bandits. At Long Shui in 1925, the evangelist's house was looted by soldiers, leaving his family with only the clothes they were wearing; at Kwanyang, the catechist was tied up by soldiers and humiliated in public.⁶⁸ These efforts by Chinese workers to stay at their posts in spite of the dangers involved were greatly appreciated by the foreign missionaries. Charlotte Bacon was generous in her praise of 'the steadfastness and bravery of the catechists and evangelists, continuing in their posts and doing their work in continual peril of robbers', while Bishop Holden worried about his Chinese workers, acknowledging that 'the catechists are finding the strain of constant danger almost too great'.⁶⁹ But not all of the Chinese workers were able to withstand the pressure. The evangelist at Kwanyang and his wife lost their nerve after the city was taken and retaken eight times by bandits in less than a year; two years previously they had narrowly escaped death at Lingchuan.⁷⁰ At Wu Tien Chiao the evangelist fled after a mob of anti-Christian villagers attacked the church with axes; the previous year a Christian villager was almost killed in an axe attack on his way home from church.⁷¹ Again, in the 1927 'reign of terror', Chinese workers throughout the diocese suffered humiliation and loss of their possessions and homes when the churches, preaching halls and other premises of the diocese were destroyed or looted, with the Guangxi stations suffering greater losses than those in Hunan.⁷² At Ningyuan, the evangelist, Chia Tsai-kwang, was held for ransom and drowned while trying to escape his captors.⁷³ Many evangelists and catechist were forced to abandon their posts and flee for safety with the rest of the population.

The political upheavals and the constant threat of brigandage throughout the 1920s were certainly a great challenge to the mission's frontline Chinese workers, a fact that was recognised by the foreign missionaries who sought various ways of supporting their colleagues. The first initiative was in March 1923, when a refresher course for catechists and evangelists was organised by Percy Stevens at Taochow. This was an opportunity for communal prayer, bible study, 'normal' lessons which considered the best means of teaching Sunday school pupils and catechumens being prepared for baptism, and crowded evangelical meetings in the gospel hall. Those present were enjoined to respond generously 'to the voice of God for a fuller consecration' of their lives rather than allowing a 'hardening of the heart and a consequent retrogression' after their week of spiritual retreat.⁷⁴ It was felt that evangelists in remote areas faced special challenges, no matter how much zeal and eagerness they had for their work. Careful supervision was especially necessary regarding the 'great temptations' they faced with so much money passing through their hands.⁷⁵ The next course could not be arranged until the summer of 1928 after the Chinese workers had again been exposed to violent upheavals across most of the mission stations in Guangxi and Hunan. Another course that attracted twenty-five men was offered for seven weeks in the early summer of 1929.⁷⁶ It was noted that a

'war psychology' had developed among the workers during the previous years of political unrest 'which makes the quieter times seem flat and tame, and to welcome the excitement of unrest whilst dreading the possible consequences', leading to an 'inevitable weariness of mind and body for most of those who bear responsibility'.⁷⁷ Refresher courses such as these helped the Chinese workers to readjust to the more peaceful conditions and reassociate themselves with fellow workers. These courses were also aimed at preparing new workers who could no longer be sent to the training school in Hankow after its closure in 1927. In this sense it was 'the first beginning of leader training' within the diocese, and aimed at giving 'spiritual and intellectual training to men who for the most part have already been thrust out as leaders, but who have not had much previous training, and in some cases not much Christian experience'. It was hoped that these 'embryo leaders' would eventually be promoted to the role of catechist 'and later on begin to prepare for ordination'.⁷⁸ This was perhaps a forlorn hope in the 'new China' of the 1930s, with only four new priests being ordained in the following decade.

At the same time that new arrangements were being made for the training of male workers in the diocese, Edith Couche was trialing her own 'summer school' at Taochow for women, many of whom were the wives of evangelists or had otherwise shown themselves to be suitable as female workers. The value of identifying Chinese women as potential leaders in the evangelisation process had been recognised soon after work began on the Kwangsi-Hunan mission. The proven value of Biblewomen working among female converts elsewhere in China was accepted by the earliest male missionaries, but it took time to make a start with women's work and it proved very difficult to recruit suitable Chinese women for these roles. The first Biblewoman in Yungchow was an untrained, uneducated wife of a cook, who was nevertheless invaluable as a helper whose principal task was to speak to the crowds of women who came to the mission compound each day. Her successor was one of two Biblewomen recruited from the American Church Mission training school in Hankow: Mrs Hwang, 'a well-educated and remarkably capable woman' had previously been a government teacher in Guilin, so it became clear to the leaders of the mission that a more thorough approach to training Biblewomen was necessary than the unstructured efforts of Edith Couche and Rose Bachlor. A Biblewomen's Training School was therefore established at Yungchow by Elsie Holden in 1916, with a three-year curriculum consisting of 'elementary subjects' to 'enlarge the mental horizon of the women', together with biblical studies, church history and 'practical evangelistic and teaching work'. Applicants had to be widows over the age of forty, but it was difficult to attract suitable candidates. Most Chinese women in Guangxi and Hunan were illiterate and shy of public work, so the school for lengthy periods functioned as little more than a 'station class' for women, 'where some came to learn the Doctrine for a few months', but the majority of these were unsuitable for employment as full-time workers. By 1924, only five women had completed the full course, but another three finally graduated in 1926, with Mrs Holden lamenting that 'they leave us one by one'. Some consolation was taken from the fact that many of the women, 'simple Christians' though they were, had received a partial education at the school and were now 'taking a more definite part in Church work' in the diocese by witnessing in their own homes, or as the wives of teachers and catechists.⁷⁹ These women were generally very enthusiastic, enjoying the practical work involving house-to-house visiting and needing no encouragement to speak at length in public when entertaining visitors or holding 'evangelistic services' at the 'foreign house' in Yungchow.⁸⁰

By the 1930s the situation had improved enormously, partly due to the opening of a newly renovated school building but also because younger and better educated women were by then being accepted for training, most of them in their twenties. Regular donations were received from supporters in Britain for their training, and reports of their work in the *Diocesan Newsletter* were generally upbeat. The services provided by these Biblewomen were clearly much appreciated by both foreign missionaries and the Chinese congregations; in 1924 it was reported that all the outstations of Yungchow were asking for a Biblewoman to visit them regularly.⁸¹ But there were problems too. When Edith Couche took over the work at the Biblewomen's school she found that many of her students fell into one of two categories: 'the gentle and unenergetic' or 'the energetic but ungentle'. Others never really lived up to expectations. Mrs Ma had been illiterate until she was fifty-five years old, and even after three years of training and more than ten years of experience in the field, 'Her efforts at teaching and preaching are certainly not up to modern standard, but she has done her bit.'⁸² Some Biblewomen encountered difficulties with the women placed under their care during the anti-Christian agitation in the mid-1920s, especially when they had to report wrongdoing to the foreign missionaries; they were sometimes 'reviled and calumniated in the vilest manner' by other Chinese women for appearing to be too much in league with the foreign missionaries.⁸³ While it was acknowledged that the Biblewomen from the Yungchow school were key to the success of the CMS mission to women in Kwangsi-Hunan, it was also accepted that 'in this work they need much help and direction at first. They get up against so many new and unexpected difficulties, get involved in party quarrels, get discouraged.'⁸⁴

The other major work of the diocese was medical in nature. Dr Charlotte Bacon had established the 'Way of Life' hospital when she returned to Guilin after World War I, but throughout the next twenty-five years she relied heavily on Chinese workers, many of whom she had trained herself. Her first assistant was Mr Song, a Moslem and the brother of Rev Song Tsong-chen, the mission's first convert. He was appointed dispenser of the original temporary hospital in 1915 and became Dr Bacon's 'right hand and colleague in healing and building alike'. He had only the most basic medical training, but learned quickly on the job, treating all the male patients, keeping the hospital accounts, doing all the dispensing, and even supervised most of the building works for the new hospital.⁸⁵ Song's successor was Tang Yui-fuh, the son of Louis Byrde's first convert in Yungchow. Tang was educated in the CMS school at Yungchow before receiving medical training under Dr Hadden at the Wesleyan hospital there. He moved to the 'Way of Life' hospital after Mr Song's murder in 1923.⁸⁶ Tang and his wife proved to be versatile and zealous workers in the Guilin mission; Mrs Tang helped teaching classes for street boys in the evenings, while Mr Tang also assisted in the ordinary church work 'most wholeheartedly'.⁸⁷ By the early 1930s, Tang was being described as a 'doctor', despite his lack of formal qualification. Bacon was continually asking for a properly trained Chinese doctor, but such a worker did not finally arrive until 1936 when Dr Hwang, a recent graduate of the University of Hong Kong and a keen Christian, was recruited.⁸⁸ In the late 1940s, Archdeacon Chen's daughter, Chen Guo-hsien took up a post at the hospital just before the foreign missionaries departed. The hospital also had its complement of catechists and Biblewomen working within its walls, but it was the nurses who formed the most recognisable group in the compound. They were all local women who were put through a rigorous training in general nursing and midwifery by Dr Bacon and Sister Rhoda Watkins. Together with the dispenser, these women managed to keep the hospital running with limited resources throughout the long absence of the

missionaries in 1927-28. Most of them converted to Christianity in time and many took their nursing skills beyond the CMS mission in due course.

In many respects, then, the Kwangsi-Hunan mission of the CMS was similar to the other British missions in China, especially in terms of the type of Chinese workers employed and the way in which these workers ultimately came to have a leading role in the church, but there were also some notable differences. It could be argued that the Chinese congregations of the Kwangsi-Hunan mission were poorer, more remote, and less well educated than most other regions of China at the turn of the twentieth century. This made recruitment of qualified Chinese workers extremely difficult, and in such an environment one might expect a highly paternalistic approach to mission work, where foreign missionaries would cling to their control of the mission for as long as possible in order to guide their Chinese flocks to a fuller understanding of the gospel message. Hewitt noted in 1977 that 'missionary paternalism died hard' within the China missions of the CMS, 'especially when linked to a deep-seated conviction that some treasures of Christian insight and understanding are of a sort that can only be built up over many centuries, and that their embodiment in an alien Western culture does not seriously impair their transmission to other cultures'.⁸⁹ There were certainly some manifestations of this type of spiritual paternalism in Kwangsi-Hunan, but the mission had been blessed by early leaders such as Louis Byrde and William Banister who were deeply committed to the idea of self-government for the new Chinese church they were helping to build, certainly more so than the CMS parent committee in London. The CMS headquarters delegation to the Far East in 1912-13 noted the aspirations of the local churches for autonomy and stated clearly that the aim of the Anglican communion was 'to keep steadily to the front the hope of securing and appointing in due course Chinese Bishops, their office and work being for the time undertaken by foreigners, who are paving the way for Chinese successors'.⁹⁰ In effect, however, that autonomy took a very long time to be granted, but in Kwangsi-Hunan the British missionaries were looking forward to the appointment of a Chinese bishop from as early as 1930. The general synod had other ideas, however, and appointed another foreigner, Percy Stevens, to the empty see when John Holden was translated to West China in 1933.

In the case of Kwangsi-Hunan, the most recently established mission of the CMS, there were significant advantages to be gained from starting late. Mistakes made elsewhere over the previous years were avoided and new ideas were more readily adopted, especially when supported by an experienced and autocratic spiritual governor such as Bishop Banister. One of the greatest difficulties in Kwangsi-Hunan, as elsewhere in China, was finding suitable candidates for the ministry, so self-propagation remained a noble aim towards which the foreign missionaries gave as much support as they could, but they still had to rely on the limited human resources of the people in the diocese. Perhaps the most intractable problem, however, was always that of achieving anything even approaching an adequate level of self-support, a difficulty that was not overcome until after the departure of the missionaries in 1950 and the imposition of necessarily pragmatic measures to support the diocesan clergy and lay workers in a radically changed political environment. Although it is doubtless true that far greater progress was made in the South China mission than anywhere else in the country in establishing a self-governing CHSKH church after 1912, it must not be forgotten that the South China mission was the earliest to be formed in China and had a far larger force of ordained Chinese clergy and better trained lay workers to act as leaders, so devolution could therefore be achieved far sooner than in the more recently formed dioceses.⁹¹ Although some of the early Kwangsi-Hunan priests

proved to be excellent pastors, competent administrators, and several times demonstrated their willingness to suffer for the faith, a Chinese priest who was eligible for the episcopate did not emerge until the ordination of Addison Hsu in 1931. Unlike some other missions where the events of 1927 elicited a hesitant and uncertain response from the Chinese workers, those in Kwangsi-Hunan diocese seem to have risen to the challenge with a determination that delighted and inspired the British missionaries.⁹² In the disturbed Kwangsi-Hunan mission field, therefore, it was the events of the late 1920s that provided an opportunity for Chinese church workers, both clerical and lay, to take the lead in administering their own church, while the foreign missionaries grew in their respect of their Chinese co-workers and became more determined to give them a fuller share in the government of the diocese.

APPENDIX

List of Chinese Clergy who served in the Kwangsi-Hunan Diocese, 1919-51

Ven. Archdeacon Chen Chi-chang (1920-50)
Rev. Fang Ling-seng (c.1915), seconded from Hankow
Rt. Rev. Addison Ki-song Hsu (1929-51)
Rev. Liu Han-hsin (1948-51)
Rev. Lu Chen-nan (1931-51)
Rev. Peng Hua-tsing (1932-51)
Rev. Sen Ming-shui (1946-51)
Rev. Song Pu-ren (1920-45)
Rev. Song Tsong-chen (1919-39)
Rev. Su Ren-ping (1926-51)
Rev. Tseng Kwang-shuen (1929-45)
Rev. Wan Hsien-tseh (1936-51)
Rev. Yang Chen-chang (1935-51)
Rev. Yu Shao-wen (1921-48)

Foreign and Chinese Staff of the CMS Kwangsi-Hunan Mission, 1899-1951

	1899	1904	1909	1914	1919	1924	1929	1934	1939	1944	1949	1951
Foreign missionaries:												
MEN:												
Bishop	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
clergy	1	4	7	8	4	6	5	4	4	3	2	-
WOMEN:												
wives	1	1	3	7	5	7	6	3	4	2	1	-
workers	-	-	3	3	6	6	8	9	6	6	4	-
doctors	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	2	1	-
nurses	-	-	-	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	-
FOREIGN SUB-TOTAL	2	5	13	21	18	23	23	21	19	17	11	-
Chinese clergy:												
Bishop	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
clergy	-	-	-	-	1	4	6	9	11	9	8	7
TOTAL STAFF	2	5	13	21	19	27	29	30	30	27	20	8

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- ¹ Percy Stevens, 'Bishop's Foreword', *Kwangsi-Hunan Diocesan Newsletter* [hereafter *Newsletter*], no. 140 (April 1950), pp. 3-4. Percy Stevens had stepped down as bishop on 28 February 1950, Hsu having been elected at the diocesan synod held soon after the 'liberation' of Hunan and Guangxi by the Communist army in October-November 1949. There had been twelve foreign workers in the diocese in 1949.
- ² Addison Hsu, 'A New Era for the Diocese', *Newsletter*, no. 141 (Jan. 1951), p. 6.
- ³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
- ⁵ Lambeth Palace Library, London, Davidson 252, fol. 10, 'Memorandum on the New Diocese of Kwangsi and South Hunan' (15 February 1909).
- ⁶ Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1943*, vol. 2 (London: SCM Press, 1977), p. 277; Church Missionary Society Archives, University of Birmingham [CMSA], Kwangsi-Hunan, G1.CH5/O/1913/40, Banister to Baring Gould, 26 August 1913.
- ⁷ Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857-1927* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 19-20.
- ⁸ John Holden, 'The Right Rev. William Banister, D.D.', *Newsletter*, no. 83 (August 1928), p. 820.
- ⁹ CMSA, G1.CH5/O/1913/43, Banister to Baring Gould, 9 September 1913.
- ¹⁰ G1.CH5/O/1913/50, memo of a meeting between Banister, Baylis and G.A. Western, 10 October 1913; G1.CH5/O/1913/43, Banister to Baring Gould, 9 September 1913.
- ¹¹ Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants*, pp. 23-24.
- ¹² G1.CH5/O/1913/31, Goodchild to Baylis, 14 June 1913.
- ¹³ G. F. S. Gray, *Anglicans in China: A History of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui (Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hwei)*, (New Haven: Episcopal China Mission History Project, 1996), p. 23.
- ¹⁴ G1.CH5/O/1913/10, Louis Byrde to Baring Gould, 21 February 1913; *Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries for the Year 1907 [Annual Letters]* (London: CMS, 1908), p. 205.
- ¹⁵ *Annual Letters*, 1907, p. 205.
- ¹⁶ *Newsletter*, no. 27 (August 1911), p. 43.
- ¹⁷ *Annual Letters*, 1910, p. 374.
- ¹⁸ *Annual Letters*, 1909, p. 437; *Newsletter*, no. 27 (August 1911), p. 43.
- ¹⁹ *Annual Letters*, 1910, p. 375.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 124.
- ²¹ *Annual Letters*, 1911, p. 284.
- ²² *Annual Letters*, 1909, pp. 436, 440; 1910, p. 126.
- ²³ *Annual Letters*, 1909, p. 438; 1910, pp. 124-25.
- ²⁴ Mrs Bourdillon of Bexhill was particularly generous, providing £15 up to 1922; *Newsletter*, no. 63 (Dec. 1922), p. 382.
- ²⁵ CMSA, G1.CH5/O/1913/11, Edith Couche to Baring Gould, 28 January 1913.
- ²⁶ Edith Couche, 'Biblewomen', *Newsletter*, no. 116 (January 1937), p. 9.
- ²⁷ CMSA, G1.CH5/O/1911/7(i), Edith Couche to Banister, 13 Sept 1911; John Bacon, 'Advance in Kweilin', *Newsletter*, no. 29 (March 1912), pp. 88-89.
- ²⁸ CMSA, G1.CH5/O/1912/72, John Bacon to Baring Gould, 26 October 1912; Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants*, p. 28.

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- ²⁹ *Newsletter*, no. 30 (June 1912); G1.CH5/O/1912/73, Banister to Baring Gould, 4 November 1912.
- ³⁰ *Newsletter*, no. 42 (May 1915), p. 94.
- ³¹ Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants*, p. 37.
- ³² It is mentioned for the first time in the *Newsletter*, no. 88 (Dec. 1929), p. 3, and again in the early 1930s.
- ³³ When the six missionaries from Guilin set out for Kuling in the summer of 1924, they employed thirty-five coolies to carry their chairs and boxes of possessions; Mary C. Bland, 'Our Escape from Kweilin', *Newsletter*, no. 70 (Dec. 1924), p. 560.
- ³⁴ For example, Hong Shan-chang, the mission house gardener and his three sons were all admitted as catechumens in July 1928; S. E. Law, 'Coming Back', *Newsletter*, no. 84 (Nov. 1928), p. 864.
- ³⁵ Edith Couche, 'Biblewomen', *Newsletter*, no. 116 (January 1937), p. 9.
- ³⁶ Percy Stevens, 'A Convention', *Newsletter*, no. 65 (June 1923), p. 434.
- ³⁷ John Holden, 'Towards Self-Government', *Newsletter*, no. 64 (March 1923), pp. 408-9; see also his 'Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 68 (May 1924), p. 507.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 410.
- ³⁹ *Newsletter*, no. 65 (June 1923), p. 423. The two appointees were Yu Shao-wen and Chen Chi-chang.
- ⁴⁰ John Holden, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 74 (Dec. 1925), p. 635.
- ⁴¹ W. R. Cannell, 'Riding the Storm', *Newsletter*, no. 74 (Dec. 1925), p. 646.
- ⁴² John Holden, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 76 (June 1926), pp. 678-79.
- ⁴³ John Holden, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 80 (Sept. 1927), pp. 766-67, 768.
- ⁴⁴ Yu Shao-wen, 'The Sack of Ningyuan', *Newsletter*, no. 81 (Jan. 1928), pp. 784-88.
- ⁴⁵ Elsie M. Holden, 'Going Forward in the Biblewomen's School', *Newsletter*, no. 84 (Nov. 1928), pp. 850-51.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 744.
- ⁴⁷ John Holden, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 81 (Jan. 1928), p. 781.
- ⁴⁸ John Holden, 'Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 86 (June 1929), p. 3.
- ⁴⁹ John Holden, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 82 (April 1928), p. 800.
- ⁵⁰ Addison K. S. Hsu, 'A Chinese View of the Sixth Diocesan Synod', *Newsletter*, no. 82 (April 1928), p. 808.
- ⁵¹ John Holden, 'Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 86 (June 1929), p. 3; 'Letter from Chinese Clergy to the Christians of the Diocese', *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
- ⁵² Lu Chen-nan, ordained in 1931, certainly studied at the CTS in Nanking.
- ⁵³ M. C. Ram, 'First Impressions', *Newsletter*, no. 63 (Dec. 1922), p. 403; T. P. Tindall, 'All Saints' Boys' School, Yungchow', *Newsletter*, no. 65 (June 1923), p. 435.
- ⁵⁴ T. P. Tindall, 'Yungchowfu Jottings', *Newsletter*, no. 66 (Sept. 1923), p. 473; Addison K. S. Hsu, 'A Winter Trip', *Newsletter*, no. 71 (March 1925), pp. 578-81.
- ⁵⁵ *Newsletter*, no. 42 (May 1915), p.94.
- ⁵⁶ Addison K. S. Hsu, 'Some Impressions of the General Synod', *Newsletter*, no. 83 (Aug. 1928), pp. 823-25; Hewitt, *The Problems of Success*, p. 219; Gray, *Anglicans in China*, p. 42.
- ⁵⁷ *Newsletter*, no. 76 (June 1926), p. 682; no. 83 (Aug. 1928), p. 819; no. 85 (March 1929), p. 868.
- ⁵⁸ *Newsletter*, no. 83 (Aug. 1928), p. 842; no. 87 (Sept. 1929), p. 15.
- ⁵⁹ *Newsletter*, no. 66 (Sept. 1923), p. 462; no. 80 (Sept. 1927), pp. 768-69.

- ⁶⁰ *Newsletter*, no. 31 (Aug. 1912, p. 133; no. 65 (June 1923), p. 435.
- ⁶¹ *Newsletter*, no. 71 (March 1925), p. 578; no. 88 (Dec. 1929), pp. 3-4.
- ⁶² Addison K. S. Hsu, 'A Farewell Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 114 (July 1936), pp. 10-11.
- ⁶³ Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants*, p. 19.
- ⁶⁴ M. C. Macoun, 'Everlasting Brightness and Peach-streams', *Newsletter*, no. 69 (Sept. 1924), p. 536.
- ⁶⁵ R. N. Bland, 'Amongst the Brigands', *Newsletter*, no. 64 (March 1923), p. 418; Charlotte Bacon, 'Bluffers and Bandits in Kweilin', *Newsletter*, no. 67 (Jan. 1924), p. 494.
- ⁶⁶ Edith Couche, 'The Last Outpost', *Newsletter*, no. 66 (Sept. 1923), p. 464; Percy Stevens, 'Personal Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 67 (Jan. 1924), p. 495.
- ⁶⁷ Edith Couche, 'The Last Outpost', *Newsletter*, no. 66 (Sept. 1923), p. 466.
- ⁶⁸ John Holden, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 72 (June 1925), p. 596.
- ⁶⁹ Charlotte Bacon, 'Bluffers and Bandits in Kweilin', *Newsletter*, no. 67 (Jan. 1924), p. 494; John Holden, 'Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 69 (Sept. 1924), p. 539.
- ⁷⁰ John Holden, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 70 (Dec. 1924), p. 556.
- ⁷¹ J. R. Wilson, 'Danger', *Newsletter*, no. 71 (March 1925), p. 590.
- ⁷² John Holden, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 80 (Sept. 1927), pp. 768-69.
- ⁷³ John Holden, 'Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 83 (Aug. 1928), p. 819.
- ⁷⁴ Percy Stevens, 'A Convention', *Newsletter*, no. 65 (June 1923), pp. 433-34.
- ⁷⁵ R. N. Bland, 'Establishing the Church in the "Back of Beyond"', *Newsletter*, no. 72 (June 1925), p. 604.
- ⁷⁶ John Holden, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 84 (Nov. 1928), p. 844; Edith Couche, 'Opportunities', *ibid.*, p. 855; J. R. Wilson, 'Training Leaders', *Newsletter*, no. 87 (Sept. 1929), pp. 8-10.
- ⁷⁷ John Holden, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Newsletter*, no. 87 (Sept. 1929), pp. 4-5.
- ⁷⁸ Wilson, 'Training Leaders', pp. 8-9.
- ⁷⁹ Elsie M. Holden, 'Chinese Women for the Harvest Field', *Newsletter*, no. 70 (Dec. 1924), pp. 558-59; Elsie M. Holden, 'New Year Changes at the Biblewomen's School', *Newsletter*, no. 76 (June 1926), p. 686.
- ⁸⁰ Edith Couche, 'Labour not in Vain', *Newsletter*, no. 63 (Dec. 1922), p. 392.
- ⁸¹ M. C. Macoun, 'Everlasting Brightness and Peach-streams', *Newsletter*, no. 69 (Sept. 1924), p. 535.
- ⁸² Edith Couche, 'Biblewomen', *Newsletter*, no. 116 (Jan. 1937), p. 9.
- ⁸³ A. M. D. Dinneen, 'Christianity and the Race Problem', *Newsletter*, no. 72 (June 1925), p. 608.
- ⁸⁴ Edith Couche, 'Light and Shade', *Newsletter*, no. 77 (Sept. 1926), p. 710.
- ⁸⁵ Charlotte Bacon, *Where East Meets West in China* (London & Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1929), pp. 45-48.
- ⁸⁶ Norah A. Stevens, 'The Old Order Changeth', *Newsletter*, no. 64 (March 1923), p. 415.
- ⁸⁷ Charlotte Bacon, 'Hospital Progress', *Newsletter*, no. 68 (May 1924), p. 528.
- ⁸⁸ This Dr Hwang/Huang was Cantonese and known as Dr Ng Yew Seng (MBBS 1936) in Hong Kong. He left in 1938 to work for the Chinese Red Cross.
- ⁸⁹ Hewitt, *The Problems of Success*, vol. 2, p. 212.
- ⁹⁰ Cyril Bardsley & Frederick Baylis, *Report of the CMS Delegation to the Far East, 1912-13* (London: CMS, 1913), p. 152.
- ⁹¹ Hewitt, *The Problems of Success*, p. 224.

⁹² In the American Presbyterian mission at Jiangyin, Zhejiang, there was hesitancy and uncertainty among the Chinese workers, but they also acquitted themselves 'in a way beautiful to see'; Lawrence D. Kessler, *The Jiangyin Mission Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895-1951* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), p. 79.