

**THE FORMATION OF CHINESE CONCEPTIONS REGARDING
CHRISTIANITY: A REINTERPRETATION BASED ON THE ANTI-
OPIUM MOVEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**



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ABSTRACT

This thesis is to build bridges between the West and China for a better understanding of the recent history of Christianity in China. Regarding western Christians, we have to take into account the two Opium Wars and the following historical events. Because they had a significant negative impact on Chinese conceptions of Christianity, and knowledge of these events is vital to a better understanding of why Christianity was and is closely linked to imperialism in Chinese thoughts. It offers us insights into why some Chinese people are not anti-religious but anti-Christian, and why the Chinese government is anti-religious but particularly anti-Christian. Regarding Chinese people in mainland China, acknowledgement should be given to the contribution of missionaries and the positive impact of Christianity on Chinese society, especially regarding the anti-opium movement of the nineteenth century, which have remained until today overlooked, either intentionally or not. However, this thesis is only a step toward a more complete project, as additional work and further research are still required to develop a fuller and better understanding in order to build bridges between the West and China; understandably, this is a complex task.

DEDICATION

For God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

For the Chinese Church who have inspired this project.

For those people who have helped me to be where I am now

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A NOTE ABOUT CHINESE NAMES

This thesis not only draws upon English sources and archives, but also from Chinese literature. When Chinese names are used in the main body of the text and footnotes, I have followed the Chinese norm of placing the surname before the forename. For example, Sun Zhongsun, whose surname is Sun. Furthermore, the Romanisation system for Cantonese and other dialects are different, and I have used some sources by the scholars from Hong Kong and Taiwan, so I used Hanyu Pinyin to spell their names, and also put the alternative Romanisation in parenthesis [e.g. Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen)]. The name of the authors and the title of the books in footnotes are simplified Chinese characters which are used in the Chinese mainland.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

ABS: Alliance Bible Seminary

ASIMH: Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History

CASS: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

CCP: Chinese Communist Party

CCPA: Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association

CIM: China Inland Mission

CMS: Church Mission Society

CPC: Communist Party of China

CPPCC: Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

EIC: East Indian Company

HSSC: Holy Spirit Study Centre

IAS: International Academic Symposium

ISCS: Institute of Sino-Christian Studies

LMS: London Missionary Society

PRC: People's Republic of China

RCO: Royal Commission on Opium

SARA: State Administration of Religious Affairs

SSOT: Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade

TSPM: Three-Self Patriotic Movement

UFWD: United Front Work Department

INTRODUCTION

1. Motivation and Objectives

It is accurate to say that some western Christians still feel a certain guilt by association for the past actions of missionaries in China, especially with regard to the Opium Wars and the subsequent historical events. Some Chinese Christians in mainland China have also struggled with their Christian identity due to the historical association between Christianity and western imperialism.¹ One of the Chinese conceptions of Christianity in mainland China has often been a combination of ‘the opium of the people’ and a non-militaristic means for western powers to infiltrate China through the influence of religion. This conception has been expressed by the government, and is echoed by some academics and leaders of the state-registered churches. When the Communist Party took power in China in 1949, the government expelled foreign missionaries and applied strong pressure on indigenous Chinese churches to sever all connections with western churches and missionaries. During the last half century, the majority of Chinese citizens, some members of the Official Chinese Church, and the Chinese government viewed the Christian missionary enterprise as an obvious form of western imperialism.²

Edmond Tang points out that Christianity in China has received more attention from the West than other Asian countries due to the international interest in China’s human rights situation and the thriving and growing number of Christians in China despite their repression

¹ Cook, Richard R. “Overcoming Mission Guilt: Robert Morrison, Liang Fa, and the Opium Wars”, *After Imperialism: Christian Identity in China and the Global Evangelical Movement*, Richard R. Cook & David W. Pao Eds. (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 2012), 35-45.

² Cohen, Paul A. “The Anti-Christian Tradition in China”, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Feb. 1961), 169-180.

and persecution. Christian missions in China have been defined by western scholars, and are often packaged either ‘in the language of the human rights polemic serving to criticize the Chinese regime’ or ‘artificially in western theological categories’.³ Western ideas about Chinese Christian Churches are often based on presumptions which ignore ‘the impacts of the political campaigns, economic plans and social engineering of the last 50 years on the Chinese Church’s belief systems, symbols, contents of worship, conversion patterns, organization and relation to society’.⁴

From one of the Chinese perspectives in mainland China, Christianity is viewed as the opium of people, the tool of imperialism, and religious infiltration because of the imperialistic invasion and aggression directed toward China from the 1840s. This perspective has affected the management of religious affairs since the Communist Party gained power in 1949. Today, the shadow of this view can still be found in the Chinese official *White Paper on the Freedom of Religions in China* which was issued in 1997, and continues to affect religious policies. This point of view originated from the fourth entrance of Christianity into China when western missionaries brought the gospel by following warships into China during the first Opium War in the 1840s. In the eyes of many Chinese people, past and present, Christianity and opium were both fought for and legalized together by the Treaty of Tianjin in 1860 during the second Opium War.

However, the story of the Christian mission movement in China was not characterized only by exploitation, misunderstanding, and hostility. Missionaries also had a significantly positive influence on Chinese society in areas such as establishing colleges and schools,

³ Tang, Edmond. “Yellers and Healers—Pentecostalism and the Study of Grassroots Christianity in China”, *Asian and Pentecostal: the Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, 2nd ed. Allan Anderson & Edmond Tang Eds. (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2011), 379-394.

⁴ Tang, “Yellers and Healers—Pentecostalism and the Study of Grassroots Christianity in China”, 379.

raising the status of Chinese women, the publication of historical and scientific works, the introduction of new technological knowledge and medicines, providing translations of the Bible and introducing the western-style printing press. The introduction and wide circulation of western political and historical literature placed China within the global context, and made it possible for Chinese scholars to view their own country's history in new ways, influencing the leaders of the reform movement, and inspiring the self-strengthening movement in China.⁵

There can be little dispute that both the missionary societies and the Chinese have committed wrongs within their entwined histories. Therefore, there is a need to take into account the two Sino-British Wars, the Unequal Treaties, the following historical events and their impact, in order to have a better understanding of the formation of the Chinese conception of Christianity. And from a western/British reading of missionary work, acknowledgements should be granted to the contributions made by missionaries and the positive impact Christianity had on certain aspects of Chinese society. This is especially significant when one considers Christian efforts to lead the anti-opium movement in Britain and to denounce their own government in an effort to eliminate the opium traffic, while at the same time missionaries were opposed to the opium trade in China; both attempts were, and still are, overlooked.

The purpose of this research is to build bridges between the West and China for a better understanding of the recent history of Christianity in China. Regarding western people who are interested in Chinese Christianity, we have to take into account the two Opium Wars and the following historical events. Because they had a significant negative impact on mainland Chinese conceptions of Christianity, knowledge of these events is vital to a better understanding of why Christianity was and is linked to imperialism in some Chinese thoughts.

⁵ Spence, Jonathan D. *The Search for Modern China* (NY: Norton, 1990), 206-207.

It offers us insights into why many Chinese people are not anti-religious but anti-Christian, and why the Chinese government is anti-religious but particularly anti-Christian.

Regarding Chinese people in mainland China, acknowledgement should be given to the contribution of missionaries and the positive impact of Christianity on Chinese society. We will focus on Protestant Christians' efforts regarding the anti-opium movement in Britain and Protestant missionary opposition to the opium trade in China in the nineteenth century. These efforts have remained until today overlooked either intentionally or unintentionally by Chinese scholars. As Lodwick acknowledged, 'the numerous China missionaries represented all sects of Christianity and as a group could agree on no single religious viewpoint, yet on the opium question they were of one opinion: opium was harmful'.⁶

Hopefully, this thesis will provide a fuller and wider perspective of what was happening in China before and especially after the Opium Wars. The indigenous opium trade arose from the external imperialism which justified why the Chinese were upset, and also explained what the missionaries were doing to combat the effects of drug abuse on the ground. The challenge the missionaries faced was two-fold: one was against their own leaders/government and imperial over lords in repealing the laws about opium, but also what they were actively doing in terms of challenging the trade on the ground. This is particularly significant because it acknowledges that although the problem of opium was first introduced from the British as a form of currency, this in turn created new and unique problems within China from the Chinese as they sought to adapt to and develop despite this oppression from the British. It also in turn brought about new levels of oppression and deprivation on local levels as the influx of

⁶ Lodwick, Kathleen L. "Missionaries and Opium", *Handbook of Christianity in China, Vol. 2, 1800 to the Present*, R. G. Tiedemann Ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 354-360, esp. 356,

opium created a new drug culture and infrastructure which changed the lives of many Chinese people.

Christian missionaries opposed the opium trade because the Chinese were justifiably angry, and especially as some Christian missionaries were intimately tied to this trade. Some western missionaries were knee deep in this mess trying to resolve it in a very real way, by saving lives, and finding alternatives to the opium. Western missionaries were giving life back to the Chinese, when the Western British powers had sought to take it away. The anti-opium movement shows what the missionaries actually stood for. We can only know the true extent of what they were doing on a political and spiritual level in the West by considering their letters to MP's, Parliament, government, and churches back home to stop the trade. They were dealing with the issues of the opium trade on the ground: with the addiction, with the poverty, with the dependency, and broken lives, homes and communities. The main focus is on Protestant missionaries, as Lodwick pointed out that 'Roman Catholic missionaries were slow to become involved in the anti-opium movement, as the Vatican did not publicly denounce the opium trade and the use of the drug until 1892'.⁷

Since the purpose of the thesis is to build a bridge: on the one hand, for Western people to better understand the fourth entrance of Christian mission in China why some Chinese people have negative impressions regarding western missionaries and Christianity. This is done by studying a few of the main historical events between the 1840s and 1940s. on the other hand, the purpose is for some Chinese people to rethink their negative conceptions of Christianity. This is based on Protestant Christians' efforts in the anti-opium movement in Britain and the Protestant missionaries' opposition in China to the opium trade. The phrases

⁷ Lodwick, "Missionaries and Opium", 356.

‘Chinese people’ and ‘Western people’ have been used above already, and will be continually used through the thesis, so we have to nuance the usage and expression of these phrases to bring out their subtle difference and shades of meaning, in order to avoid the dangers of generalisations.

When referring to ‘western people’, usually this means those people in the West who are interested in Chinese Christianity; those who are concerned about the suppression and persecution mainland Chinese Christians have encountered, and circumstances and challenges Chinese Christians are still facing today in mainland China; those who feel guilty about Christian missions in China in the past especially during the expansion of imperialism during the 1800s and 1900s; and those who only look from one aspect of the religious situation and criticize the regime’s religious policy, instead of trying to learn from the past in order to have a better understanding of the present. Merely questioning religious freedom and criticizing religious policy would not help improve Chinese Christians’ political situation, instead it may cause the regime to suspect that Chinese Christians may cause unrest and threaten the unity of the nation. This in turn may result in a tighter control to avoid religious infiltration from the West.

When referring to ‘Chinese people’, first it means those people in mainland China. However, Chinese views on Christianity are very complicated and fall into diverse categories, the perspectives varying throughout time and across different groups. For instance, some Chinese people have positive views on Christianity because of its impact on Chinese society, and rapid growth has occurred in Chinese churches from the 1990s. Some Chinese people have a neutral or even no view about Christianity, they may just see Christianity as one of the religions or have little idea what Christianity is, or never in the case of some rural or mountain areas, they may never have heard of it. Some Chinese people might have quite a negative view of

Christianity as mentioned above, expressed by the regime and echoed by some leaders of official churches and scholars. This thesis is trying to address this third category, those who have read some Chinese literature about the historical events from the Opium Wars to the 1950s, especially the connections between these events and Christianity and western missionaries, and as a result, have quite a negative impression because of the missionaries' involvement in these events during the hundred years of national humiliation; and those Chinese Christians who were marginalized and suffered in the past for their faith because of the relationship of Christianity and western missionaries with imperialists. Hopefully, the thesis will help these Chinese people and Christians in mainland China to understand that there is more to what happened in the history of Chinese Christianity and another side to the story.

However, this thesis is only a step toward a more complete project to better understand modern history of Chinese Christianity, as additional work and further research are still required to develop a fuller and better understanding in order to build bridges between the West and China; understandably, this is a complex task.

2. Methodological Considerations

As different scholars in diverse fields point out, 'all history involves selection'.⁸ Without such a selection process, research on history would become uncontrollable, and 'general

⁸ Collini, Stefan. *English Pasts: Essays in History and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 100. Silver, Harold. *Education as History* (London: Methuen, 1983), xx. Cobban, Alfred. *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6. Lee, A. D. *From Rome to Byzantium AD 363 to 565: The Transformation of Ancient Rome* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), xiv. Gracia, Jorge J. E. *Philosophy and Its History: Issues in Philosophical Historiography* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 52. Wright, N. T. *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1992), 83. Smith, Mark C. *Social Science in the Crucible: The American Debate over Objectivity and Purpose* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 188. Twining, William. *Rethinking Evidence: Exploratory Essays*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 105.

history could not be written at all'.⁹ History has two different meanings in popular usage. One is of history as a sum of the total human activities in the past, and the other, more common usage, is that it is a record of historical events rather than the events themselves. Therefore, the study of history involves how to select and organize the information in a systematic approach which is influenced by the historian's frame of reference. The frame then may be influenced by 'the prevailing social, political and intellectual trends of the contemporary time'.¹⁰ Even the National Standards for History which were adopted in the United States and World History by the National Council states,

All historical study involves selection and ordering of information in light of general ideas and values. Standards for history should reflect the principles of sound historical reasoning—careful evaluation of evidence, construction of causal relationships, balanced interpretation, and comparative analysis. The ability to detect and evaluate distortion and propaganda by omission, suppression, or invention of facts is essential.¹¹

Therefore, in this thesis, we have to select and carefully organise the historical events which had an impact on the Chinese conceptions of Christianity.

As previously mentioned, Christianity has been perceived by some Chinese people in mainland China as the opium of people, the tool of imperialism, and religious infiltration. To better understand how this perception has been formulated, we have to study the incidents which occurred from the beginning of the fourth entrance of Christianity into China in the 1840s during the Opium War, to the deportation of missionaries and banishment of Christian missions from China in the early 1950s after the Communist Party took power in 1949. For the state narrative, this epoch has been called the 'one hundred years of humiliation', and it

⁹ Clarke, Frank G. *Australia in a Nutshell: A Narrative History* (Dural, NSW: Rosenberg Pub., 2003), 12.

¹⁰ Baudet, Floribet & Eric A. Sibul. "Historical Research in the Military Domain", *Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in Military Studies*, Joseph Soeters & Patricia M. Shields & Sebastiaan Rietjens Eds. (London: Routledge, 2014), 67-77, esp. 70.

¹¹ Guarneri, Carl J. & Jim Davis. *Teaching American History in a Global Context* (NY: Routledge, 2015), 3.

was widely felt during this period that China had been ‘carved up like a melon’ by more-advanced western nations.¹² Many historical events took place during this time period, so we have selected a few main incidents which have significantly impacted on Chinese conceptions regarding Christianity.

First of all, even though Christianity had entered China four times during its history, the fourth entrance will be studied to understand the situation in which Christian missionaries came to China and how and why opium and missionaries were closely associated together in Chinese minds. However, the entry of missionaries during the Opium Wars was just the beginning, and several subsequent historical events will be considered to understand how these events affected Chinese conceptions regarding western missionaries and Christianity, and led to the end of the fourth Christian mission in the early 1950s. Following this, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851-1864) will be examined because the founder, Hong Xiuquan, was a Chinese Christian influenced by western missionaries. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom dominated more than half of the territory of China, lasted about sixteen years, and nearly overturned the Qing government regime. Next, we will look at religious cases of anti-missionary incidents which happened locally, almost two thousand times, all over the country over a period of seventy years from the first incident in 1842 to the Revolution of 1911 during the late Qing Dynasty. Following this, the Boxer Uprising will be given attention regarding how local incidents of opposition to Christianity increased and expanded to a national scale with the slogan ‘supporting the Qing Dynasty and eliminating foreigners’; a slogan which was employed for the purpose of ‘ejecting and eliminating foreign religion’ and encouraging

¹² Marsh, Christopher. *Unparalleled Reforms: China's Rise, Russia's Fall, and the Interdependence of Transition* (Lanham: Lexington, 2005), 165.

people to ‘kill all the Catholics’.¹³ More than three hundred missionaries and twenty thousand Chinese Christians were killed during the Boxer Uprising.

The imperial system of the Qing Dynasty ended with the Revolution of 1911 when the Republic of China was established. Following this, the Anti-Christian Movement appeared in the 1920s. We will look at the three stages of the movement, its trigger point and its negative impact on Christianity. Lastly, we will take a look at Vatican decisions in the vexed and violent times before the establishment of the New China in 1949, especially during the Eight Year War of Resistance against Japan from 1937 to 1945 and the Civil War between the Nationalist and the Communist Party from 1946 to 1949. These decisions not only led to the end of the fourth time of the Christian missions in China, but also affected Chinese conceptions of Christianity. From that period to the present, missionary activities are not permitted in China, and the Vatican and China have never established a diplomatic relationship.

However, as Gracia points out history not only involves the selection of historical events which we study, but also involves the selection of materials because ‘such selection determines in important ways the nature of the resulting historical account’.¹⁴ Regarding the selected historical events, hundreds of articles and books have been written on these individual incidents. Therefore, these materials have to be evaluated and selected with consideration of how they advance our understanding of why some Chinese people in mainland China perceive Christianity as they do. Regards to Chinese literature, research on the general history of these events will be consulted, with a focus on their religious

¹³ Mu Anshi 牟安世. 义和团抵抗列强瓜分史 [*The Resistance of the Boxers against the Western Power Carving up China*], (Beijing: Economic Management Press 经济管理出版社, 1997), 199-203.

¹⁴ Gracia, *Philosophy and Its History: Issues in Philosophical Historiography*, 52.

significance. In addition, research on the history of Christianity in China will be examined, particularly in relation to how these selected historical events have been viewed by some Chinese people in relation to Christianity.

However, history not only involves the selection of historical events and materials which reflects the interests and values of the historian,¹⁵ but also involves interpretation.¹⁶ Historians interpret evidence in terms of their own beliefs about the meaning and purpose of these historical events.¹⁷ As Clark points out that ‘all historical judgments involve persons and points of view’.¹⁸ Furthermore, he asserts that ‘knowledge of the past has come down through one or more human minds, and has been ‘processed’ by historians.¹⁹ Consequently, ‘the facts of history never come to us ‘pure’, since they do not and cannot exist in a pure form: they are always refracted through the mind of the recorder’.²⁰ The historian needs an ‘imaginative understanding for the minds of the people he is dealing, for the thought behind their acts’, so we can ‘view the past, and achieve our understanding of the past, only through the eyes of the present. The historian is of his own age, and is bound to it by the conditions of human

¹⁵ Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*, 6.

¹⁶ Leinhardt, Gaea & Catherine Stainton. “Learning to Reason in History: Mindlessness to Mindfulness”, *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences*, Mario Carretero & James F. Voss Eds. (London: Routledge, 2009), 131-158.

¹⁷ Rae, Murray A. “Creation and Promise: towards a Theology of History”, *‘Behind’ the Text: History and Biblical Interpretation*, Vol. 4, Craig Bartholomew & C. Stephen Evans & Mary Healy & Murray Rae & Robin Parry Eds. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003), 267-302, esp. 283.

¹⁸ Clark, George. “General Introduction: History and the Modern Historian”, *The New Cambridge Modern History*, G. R. Potter Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), xxv. Harben, Niloufer. *Twentieth-Century English History Plays: From Shaw to Bond* (New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1988), 2. Clegg, Cyndia S. *Critical Reading and Writing across the Disciplines* (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1988), 317.

¹⁹ Clark, “General Introduction: History and the Modern Historian”, xxv. Richardson, Alan. *History Sacred and Profane* (London: SCM, 1964), 250. Sturley, D. M. *The Study of History* (Harlow: Longmans 1969), 126. Tarling, Nicholas. *Historians and Southeast Asian History* (Auckland: University of Auckland, 2000), 37.

²⁰ Carr, Edward H. *What Is History?* 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1987), 22. Green, Anna & Kathleen Troup. *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 7. Baird, Robert D. *Category Formation and the History of Religions*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991), 38. Schaff, Adam. *History and Truth* (Kent: Elsevier Science, 2015), 188. Munslow, Alun. *Deconstructing History*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), 48-49.

existence'.²¹ Therefore, history as an actual process also involves both individuals and society as a whole.²² Consequently, history is not a bare chronicle of events which was recorded without a point of view because

St Augustine looked at history from the point of view of the early Christianity; Tillamont, from that of a seventeenth-century Frenchman; Gibbon, from that of an eighteenth-century Englishman; Mommsen from that of a nineteenth-century German. There is no point in asking which was the right point of view. Each was the only one possible for the man who adopted it.²³

However, even though all history is interpreted history and recorded with certain viewpoint, it does not mean there is no facts. 'The fact that *somebody*, standing *somewhere*, with a particular *point of view*, is knowing something does not mean that the knowledge is less valuable: merely that it is precisely *knowledge*'.²⁴ We need to be aware that any writer could have a 'bias', but the information he or she presents is still valuable. 'It merely bids us be aware of the bias, (and of our own, for that matter), and to assess the material according to as many sources as we can'.²⁵ Therefore, 'intellectual honesty consists not in forcing an impossible neutrality, but in admitting that neutrality is not possible'.²⁶

As the New Testament scholar and historian, N. T. Wright argues, history is neither

²¹ Carr, *What Is History?* 24-25. Schaff, *History and Truth*, 188. Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, 48. Sharma, Tej Ram. *Research Methodology in History* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 2001), 114. Cameron, John. "Preface", *Narrative is the Essence of History: Essays on the Historical Novel*, John Cameron Ed. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Pub., 2012), xi. Arnold, Dana. *Reading Architectural History* (London: Routledge, 2002), 19-20.

²² Mathews, Shailer. *The Spiritual Interpretation of History* (NY: Cosimo, 2006), 188.

²³ Collingwood, R. *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), xxii. Rubinoff, Lionel. "Historicity and Objectivity", *Objectivity, Method, and Point of View: Essays in the Philosophy of History*, Willem J. van der Dussen & Lionel Rubinoff Eds. (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 133-153, esp. 139.

²⁴ Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 89. Adams, Samuel V. *The Reality of God and Historical Method* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2015), 46. [Emphasis in the original]

²⁵ Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 89. Adams, *The Reality of God and Historical Method*, 46. Eddy, Paul R. & Gregory A. Boyd. *The Jesus Legend: A Case for the Historical Reliability of the Synoptic Jesus Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 21. Kelly, Stewart E. *Truth Considered and Applied: Examining Postmodernism, History, and Christian Faith* (Nashville, Tenn.: B & H Academic, 2011), 75.

²⁶ Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 89. Holmes, Arthur F. *All Truth Is God's Truth* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press 1979), 131. Diekema, Anthony J. *Academic Freedom and Christian Scholarship* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2000), 54.

‘bare facts’ nor ‘subjective interpretation’, but is rather ‘meaningful narratives of events and intentions’.²⁷ Historians are not only interested in what actually happened, but also interested in why it happened. Therefore, we have to look at the inside of an event, in particular, the human aims, intentions, motivations and consequent actions, and ‘how these affected the observable events’.²⁸ If historians have to take account of human motivation and intention, then the worldviews and mindsets of the communities and societies to which individuals belong and are involved has to be explored. We cannot just gather clumps of facts, and hope that they will integrate themselves because we have to show their interconnectedness. The model for such connections is that ‘of the interplay of fully human life—the complex network of human aims, intentions and motivations, operating within and at the edges of the worldviews of different communities and the mindsets of different individuals’.²⁹ It should, therefore, be the aim of academic researchers to not only clarify ‘what’ happened but to also investigate ‘why’ certain events and actions occurred.³⁰

After studying a few selected historical events, based on selected materials, with the intention of understanding Chinese conceptions of Christianity, we will then turn to how these important events have been interpreted in China from three perspectives: the Chinese church’s perspective, the Chinese government’s perspective, and academic perspective. We will look at how and why the Three-Self Patriotic Movement has been carried on in Chinese churches to sever their connection with western missionaries in the 1950s after the Communist Party took power. Furthermore, we will see how these historical events have affected the management of religious affairs, and religious policy in China. Moreover, from academic perspective, we will

²⁷ Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 82.

²⁸ Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 110.

²⁹ Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 112-114.

³⁰ Archer, Margaret & Rachel Sharp & Rob Stones & Tony Woodiwiss. “Critical Realism and Research Methodology”, *Journal of Critical Realism*, Vol. 2, Issue 1 (July 1999), 12-16.

see how these incidents have been recorded and interpreted by Chinese scholars, in different time periods, due to historians' aims, intentions, and motivations which were influenced by their worldviews and the societies to which they belonged.

The aim of this thesis is to build bridges between the West and China for a better understanding by the West of why Christianity has been perceived negatively by some Chinese people in mainland China, and for mainland Chinese to see a fuller picture of what happened regarding missionary activities during the same historical period. Missionaries had a significant and positive impact on Chinese society, and in Britain there were Protestant Christian efforts regarding the anti-opium movement, while in China Protestant missionaries opposed the opium trade. All of these activities will be explored to help Chinese readers rethink their conceptions regarding Christianity. The main reason to look at these activities is to present another set of stories about missionaries and opium. The reason to select the anti-opium movement is that the beginning of the fourth entrance of Christianity was closely associated with the Opium Wars, so in Chinese minds, Christianity and opium 'came together spread together, have been fought for together, and finally legalized together'.³¹ The Emperor Xianfeng's brother, Prince Kung, expressed the Chinese attitude against the West succinctly to Sir Rutherford Alcock in 1869: 'Take away your missionaries and your opium and you will be welcome'.³² Moreover, missionaries also clearly recognized the relationship between opium and Christian missions in Chinese minds.

Opium was brought into China many years ago...but the ordinary Chinese regarded it as having been brought in by foreigners about the time of the introduction of Protestant Christianity; so that in the minds of many Chinese all over the Empire, opium and the Christian religion are associated together...In view of these things

³¹ Rowntree, Joshua. *The Imperial Drug Trade: A Re-statement of the Opium Question in the Light of Recent Evidence and New Developments in the East* (London: Methuen, 1905), 242.

³² Barr, Pat. *To China with Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China 1860-1890* (London: Secker & Warbuck, 1972), 55. Thompson, Larry C. *William Scott Ament and the Boxer Rebellion: Heroism, Hubris and the "Ideal Missionary"* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2009), 12.

every church organization should be free of opium and as energetic in fighting it as any anti-opium league in the land.³³

Therefore, the anti-opium movement was an important dimension of missionary activity which went unreported in the official records and Chinese literature regarding the history of Christianity in China. It will, therefore, contribute significantly to a reinterpretation of the Chinese conception regarding Christianity.

The core research on this section is mainly based on online or archived primary sources. The archival citation insists that ‘the historian’s descriptions are factually accurate because they are based on authentic materials and are verifiable’, so ‘in this common perspective, archival documents “speak for themselves”’, and ‘archives as sources of authoritative history’, increasingly became ‘the primary sources of proof and verification’.³⁴ However, we have to make a clear distinction between unpublished sources which only exist in archives and published sources which can be sourced from a variety of locations. With all sources, we have to ask who produced it, why did they produce it and who was the intended audience for it. We also need to consider how far our perception of history may be influenced by the kinds of documents which happened to have survived. We could say that some perspectives have a privileged position because they are well represented in the surviving documentation, while the viewpoints of other actors in historical events may have been lost or are not well represented in the surviving sources. For instance, missionaries’ contribution to education in China has been well researched, but missionaries’ efforts regarding the anti-opium movement in Britain and their opposition to the opium trade in China has been neglected intentionally or

³³ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records: Report of the Great Conference Held at Shanghai, April 5th to May 8th, 1907* (Shanghai: Centenary Conference Committee, 1907), 647.

³⁴ Blouin, Francis X. & William G. Rosenberg, *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 17-18, 85.

unintentionally, especially by Chinese scholars.³⁵

One form of archival materials is the journals of different missionary societies which includes *Chinese Repository*, *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, *North China Herald*, *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, and *The Methodist Quarterly Review*. Significantly, the *Chinese Repository* and *Chinese Recorder* had been published in China by Protestant missionaries, and both contain extensive information on missionary opinions and attitudes regarding the opium issue.

The *Chinese Repository* was the first major journal of sinology. Written as a periodical, and compiled and printed in Guangzhou from 1832 to 1851, it contained Chinese culture and history, current issues and missionary activities, as well as other documents to help Protestant missionaries. The journal earned a high reputation as a source of scholarly knowledge and information on a wide range of subjects about Asia over two decades. The first American Protestant missionary Elijah C. Bridgman was the founding editor from 1832 until 1847 when he left Shanghai. James G. Bridgman took charge until Samuel W. Williams succeeded him in September 1848. In a one year period from May 1836 to April 1837, seventeen articles had been published on ‘the history and present state of the opium trade in China, most of which illustrated the various ways that the drug was exerting an evil influence on the moral, commercial, and political life of the nation’.³⁶

The *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* began publication in Shanghai in 1867,

³⁵ For broader appreciation of how the league of nations responded to the opium trade, please see Rimner, Steffen. *The Asian Origins of Global Narcotics Control, c. 1860-1909* (Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University, 2014). Rimner, Steffen. *The Origins of Global Narcotics Control* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, forth coming).

³⁶ Lazich, Michael C. “American Missionaries and the Opium Trade in Nineteenth-Century”, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (June 2006), 197-223. Malcolm, Elizabeth L. “The *Chinese Repository* and Western Literature on China 1800 to 1850”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 7 Issue 2, (March 1973), 165–178.

and ceased publication in December 1941 when Japanese authority closed it down. It was a leading journal for English speaking missionaries in China. The *Chinese Recorder* was known for supporting Chinese nationalism and its involvement with liberal theology in the 1920s and 1930s under the editor Frank Rawlinson.³⁷ As the main publication of Protestant missionaries in China, it devoted more attention to opium issues after 1890 due to intensification of the missionaries' anti-opium propaganda and activities.³⁸ Lodwick points out, 'Opium was a subject much discussed in the *Chinese Recorder* in the last years of the nineteenth century. Editorially, the periodical took a strong stand against the use of opium'.³⁹ The medical missionary of the London Missionary Society, Dr. John Dudgeon, was considered the most memorable of the anti-opium activists, and his stream of articles was widely published in the *Chinese Recorder* and elsewhere.⁴⁰

Archival materials are also found in the form of records of missionary conferences. For instance, records from the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai in 1877 contain discussion on 'the use of opium and its bearing on the spread of Christianity in China'.⁴¹ Records from the Century Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World held in Exeter Hall in London in 1888 also contain discussion of the opium trade during the opening meetings with Hudson Taylor and other missionaries commenting on it. Later, during the session of mission fields of the world, Hudson Taylor again drew attention to

³⁷ Lodwick, Kathleen L. *The Chinese Recorder Index: A Guide to Christian Mission in Asia 1867-1941* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1986). Rawlinson, John L. *The Recorder and China's Revolution: A Topical Biography of Frank Rawlinson, 1871-1937* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Cross Cultural Publications, 1990).

³⁸ Zhou, Yongming. *Anti-Drug Crusades in Twentieth-Century China: Nationalism, History, and State-Building* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 23.

³⁹ Lodwick, Kathleen L. *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 32.

⁴⁰ Austin, Alvyn. *China's Millions: the China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2007), 245.

⁴¹ *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878), 352-362.

the evil of opium and the Resolution of the Opium Trade with China was passed at an additional meeting during the Conference.⁴² At the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai in 1890, presentations to the conference supporting the prohibition of opium traffic were presented by the Central China Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Society of Friends, and the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade in Britain.⁴³ Furthermore, Dr. H. T. Whitney presented a paper on ‘the value and methods of opium refuges’, and Dr. J. Dudgeon presented on ‘statistics and resolutions on the evil of the use of opium’. A committee was appointed to report on steps necessary for combatting the opium and morphine evils, and a permanent committee for the promotion of Anti-Opium Societies was also appointed during the Conference.⁴⁴ The China Centenary Missionary Conference held at Shanghai in 1907, records that 12 anti-opium books had been published, and medical work on opium refuge had been reported. Additionally, a resolution on the opium question had been passed, and a memorial on the subject of the prohibition of opium was presented and adopted.⁴⁵

Other primary sources are found in the forms of records of missionary societies

⁴² Johnston, James. *Report of the Century Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World held in Exeter Hall (June 9th-19th), London, 1888* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1888), 128-137, 172-177, 470-475.

⁴³ *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890), 703-705.

⁴⁴ Whitney, H. T. “Value and Methods of Opium Refuges”, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890), 306-360.

⁴⁵ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 194, 256-266, 387-392, 646-649.

including China Inland Mission,⁴⁶ London Missionary Society,⁴⁷ and Church Mission Society;⁴⁸ Journals of Anti-Opium Societies such as *Friend of China* by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and *National Righteousness* by the Christian Union for the Severance of the British Empire with the Opium Traffic; reports of the Royal Commission on Opium⁴⁹ and the discussion between Joshua Rowntree⁵⁰ and Arnold Foster⁵¹ on the report; Parliament Papers, and other reports. Other primary sources have also been taken into consideration including the writings of early missionaries, debates on the opium problem between missionaries and merchants, and the biographies and/or autobiographies of early missionaries and anti-opium figures.

3. Thesis Structure

In the introduction, the significance of this research, the motivations for carrying it out, and the objectives it is intended to achieve are discussed. In the following section which addresses the methodological considerations of this thesis, research strategies are carefully consulted and constructed. Due to the complex methodological issues related to reading ‘histories’ from wide ranging and conflicting perspectives, there is a need to understand

⁴⁶ Guinness, M. Geraldine. *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, 3 vols. (London: Morgan & Scott, 1893 & 1894). Taylor, J. Hudson. *Three Decades of the China Inland Mission* (Toronto: CIM, 1895). Taylor, J. Hudson. *A Retrospect: Story of the Origin of the China Inland Mission* (Toronto: CIM, 1900). Taylor, F. Howard. *These Forty Years: A Short History of the China Inland Mission* (Philadelphia: Pepper Publishing Co., 1903). Broomhall, Marshall. *Faith and Facts: As Illustrated in the History of the China Inland Mission* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1909). Broomhall, Marshall. *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1915). Taylor, F. Howard. *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: the Growth of a Work of God* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1918).

⁴⁷ Ellis, William. *History of the London Missionary Society* (London: John Snow, 1844). Lovett, Richard. *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Frowde, 1899).

⁴⁸ Stock, Eugene. *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, 4 vols. (London: CMS, 1899).

⁴⁹ Royal Opium Commission, *First Report of the Royal Commission on Opium*, 6 vols. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895).

⁵⁰ Rowntree, Joshua. *The Opium Habit in The East: A Study Of The Evidence Given To The Royal Commission On Opium 1893-4* (Westminster: P.S. King and Son, 1895).

⁵¹ Foster, Arnold. *The Report of the Royal Commission on Opium Compared with the Evidence from China that was submitted to the Commission: An Examination and An Appeal* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1899).

differences in the selection and interpretation of historiographies; and then a theoretical framework is developed to evaluate and analyse the findings and results of the research.

Now we will turn to the overall structure of the thesis. Because the objective is to build bridges between the West and China for a better understanding of the fourth Christian mission in China, the thesis is divided into two parts. Part one consists of three chapters and is intended to give western readers who are interested in Chinese Christianity a greater understanding of how the fourth entrance of Christianity into China and the following historical events have impacted on Chinese conceptions of Christianity. In chapter one, the focus is on the fourth entrance of Christianity into China during the first and the second Opium Wars, followed by the impact of opium on Chinese society. The historical events discussed in chapter two include: the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom; religious cases (the Anti-Christian incidents); the Boxer Uprising; the Anti-Christian Movement in the 1920s; and Vatican decisions in the 1930s and 1940s until the end of the fourth entrance of Christianity in China.

In chapter three, we study how the Opium Wars and the following historical events have been interpreted and significantly impacted on how some Chinese people and the Chinese State perceive Christianity. We look at contemporary Chinese conceptions regarding the interrelationship of Christianity, missionaries and imperialism from three different representative perspectives. We consult writings from a range of Chinese authors, each of whom represent a different perspective within Chinese history and culture. Each offers their own distinctive insight into the complex relationship of Christianity, missionaries, and imperialism. This section includes not only academic perspectives from the Chinese mainland, but also Chinese scholars from Hong Kong and Taiwan. These authors have been

specifically selected as voices that are considered more sympathetic and friendly to the West, and have not been influenced by the same factors that have influenced the Chinese scholars in mainland China, making their insights particularly significant for this research.

Part two, consisting of three chapters, is intended to provoke some Chinese readers in mainland China to rethink their conceptions and reinterpret missionary activities based on the anti-opium movement of the nineteenth century. In chapter four, the historical events which have influenced the Chinese conception of Christianity, based on Chinese materials in the previous chapters, will be discussed to see whether what Chinese scholars portrayed was also recorded in English literature.

As we have seen, the Chinese conception of Christianity has become part of the national history and psyche, having been shaped by the fourth entrance of Christianity, during the Opium Wars, and by the following historical events. From the official writings and subsequent histories regarding Christianity in China, there can be little argument that the rise of imperialism, the growth of Christianity and the oppression of the Chinese people are closely tied; obviously this cannot be denied. There is also little contention that there is blood on the hands of some western missionaries who took the opportunity to the attempted western domination of China.

However, this is not the whole story. Lying beneath the official narrative of the Chinese government is another set of stories, another collection of narratives, that speak of a dimension of missionary activity and conviction that remains unreported in the official records. Notably, missionary efforts to lead the anti-opium movement in Britain to eliminate the opium traffic, efforts that were, and still are, overlooked in China. As Lodwick points out, ‘The numerous China missionaries represented all sects of Christianity and as a group could

agree on no single religious viewpoint, yet on the opium question they were of one opinion: opium was harmful'.⁵² In the next two chapters, Protestant Christian efforts regarding the anti-opium movement in Britain and Protestant missionary opposition to the opium trade in China will be studied in order to reinterpret missionary activities, and possibly help some Chinese people to rethink their conceptions regarding Christianity. Lastly, a critical analysis and evaluation will comprise the conclusion.

4. Literature Survey

As different scholars in various research fields point out, a literature survey/review 'must be defined by a guiding concept' such as a research objective or aim, an underlying problem or issue, or a proposed research question.⁵³ As mentioned above, the objective of this research is to build bridges between the West and China for a better and fuller understanding of Christianity in China. In order to achieve this, first we have to understand how the fourth entrance of Christian missions during the Opium Wars and the following historical events, in order for western Christians to understand why some Chinese people in mainland China have traditionally had negative conceptions of Christianity. Similarly, some Chinese people also need to revise their conceptions of missionary activities based on a fresh understanding of how many Protestant Christians and missionaries opposed the opium trade in Britain and China.

⁵² Lodwick, "Missionaries and Opium", 356.

⁵³ Onwuegbuzie, Anthony J. & Rebecca Frels. *Seven Steps to a Comprehensive Literature Review: A Multimodal and Cultural Approach* (London: SAGE, 2016), 24. Craswell, Gail & Megan Poore. *Writing for Academic Success*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE, 2012), 126. Currie, Donald. *Developing and Applying Study Skills: Writing Assignments, Dissertations and Management Reports* (London: Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, 2005), 82. Burton, Neil & Mark Brundrett & Marion Jones. *Doing Your Education Research Project*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE, 2014), 36. Coldwell, D. & F. J. Herbst. *Business Research* (NY: Juta Academic, 2004), 31. Murthy, S. N. & U. Bhojanna. *Business Research Methods*, 2nd ed. (New Delhi: Excel Books, 2008), 94. Porter, Stuart B. *First Steps in Research: A Pocketbook for Healthcare Students* (Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone Elsevier, 2008), 50. Mangal, S. K. & Shubhra Mangal. *Research Methodology in Behavioural Sciences* (New Delhi: PHL, 2013), 225.

With regards to completing the former, we need to be aware that the purpose of this research is not about finding out something new, or comparing and contrasting the similarities and differences between English and Chinese accounts of historical events, or to suggest a new methodology or historical theory. The intention behind this research is to examine how historical events have been recorded by representative Chinese scholars and understand their impact on Chinese conceptions of Christianity. These representative scholars of the history of Christianity in China include Gu Changsheng,⁵⁴ Gu Weiming⁵⁵, Yang Tianhong,⁵⁶ Wang Zhixin,⁵⁷ Yao Minquan and Luo Weihong.⁵⁸ Chinese scholars who have researched these

⁵⁴ Gu Changsheng 顾长声. 传教士与近代中国 [*Missionary and Modern China*], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1995). Gu Changsheng 顾长声. 基督教史纲 [*Missionaries and Modern China*], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1981). Gu Changsheng 顾长声. 从马礼逊到司徒雷登: 来华新教传教士评传 [*From Robert Morrison to J. Leighton Stuart: Critical Biography of Protestant Missionaries in China*], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1985). Gu Changsheng 顾长声. 马礼逊评传 [*A Critical Biography of Robert Morrison*], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 2006).

⁵⁵ Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 基督教与近代中国社会 [*Christianity and Modern Chinese Society*], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1996). Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 中国与罗马教廷关系史略 [*History of the Relationship between China and the Holy See*], (Beijing: Oriental Press 东方出版社, 2009). Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 中国天主教编年史 [*Chronicle of the Catholic Church in China*], (Shanghai: Bookstore Press 书店出版社, 2003). Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 镜头走过: 内地会在华百三十年图片集 [*Through the Lens: Photo Gallery of 130 Years of China Inland Mission in China*], (Taipei: Cosmic Light Press 宇宙光出版社, 1998). Gu Weimin 顾卫民. “近代中国的保教权问题 [The Issue of Patronage in Modern China]”, 当代宗教研究 [*Contemporary Religious Studies*], vol. 2 (2002). Gu Weimin 顾卫民. “‘以天主和利益的名义’: 早期葡萄牙海洋扩张的历史 [‘Under the Name of God and Profit’: History of Early Expansion of Portuguese Empire]”, (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press 社会科学文献出版社, 2013).

⁵⁶ Yang Tianhong 杨天宏. 基督教与近代中国 [*Christianity and Modern China*], (Sichuan: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1994). Yang Tianhong 杨天宏. 基督教与民国知识分子: 1922年—1927年中国非基督教运动研究 [*Christianity and the Intellectuals of the Republic of China: 1922-1927 Research on the Anti-Christian Movement in China*], (Beijing: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 2005). Yang Tianhong 杨天宏. “中国非基督教运动 1922—1927 [The Anti-Christian Movement in China 1922-1927]”, 历史研究 [*Historical Research*], vol. 6 (1993). Yang Tianhong 杨天宏. “世界基督教学生同盟大会与中国的反教运动关系辨析 [Differentiation and Analysis of the Relationship between the World Student Christian Federation General Assembly and the Anti-Christian Movement in China]”, 历史研究 [*Historical Research*], vol. 3 (2006).

⁵⁷ Wang Zhixin 王治心. 中国基督教史纲 [*History of Christianity in China*], (Shanghai: Ancient Books Press 古籍出版社, 2004). Wang Zhixin 王治心. 中国宗教思想史大纲 [*Survey of the History of Religious Thought in China*], (Shanghai: Zhonghua Press 中华书局, 1933).

⁵⁸ Yao Minquan & Luo Weihong 姚民权 & 罗伟虹. 中国基督教简史 [*A Brief History of Chinese Christianity*], (Beijing: Religion & Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 2000). Luo Weihong 罗伟虹. 中国基督教 [*Chinese Christianity*], (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press 五洲传播出版社, 2004). Luo Weihong 罗伟虹. “当前世界宗教发展趋势及对我国的影响 [The Current Trends of World Religions and Its Impact on China]”, 社会科学 [*Social Sciences*], vol. 3 (1999).

historical events individually will not be mentioned here due to limitations of space as numerous books and articles have been produced on Chinese modern history.

However, in order to fully understand the impact of these historical events on Chinese conceptions of Christianity, we will also study how these events have influenced church activities from the 1950s, government religious policy, and scholars' interpretation of these events during different time period due to various theories and ideologies. The literature is mainly based on writings from the following sources: Three-Self Church leaders, United Front Department directors, Religious Affairs Bureau head, and the religious journal *Tianfeng*; including materials from the research centre of the CPC centre committee, *People's Daily* newspaper, religious policy Document 19 and Document 6, and the *White Paper on Religious Freedom*. The writings of the following representative scholars in Hong Kong and Taiwan will be consulted which includes Liang Jialing,⁵⁹ Xing Fuzeng (Ying Fuk-Tsang),⁶⁰ Lin

⁵⁹ Liang Jialing 梁家麟. 中国教会的今日和明天 [*Churches in China—Today and Tomorrow*], (Hong Kong: ABS 建道神学院, 2006). Liang Jialing 梁家麟. 改革开放以来的中国农村教会 [*The Rural Churches of Mainland China Since 1978*], (Hong Kong: ABS 建道神学院, 1999). Liang Jialing 梁家麟. 他们是为了信仰—北京基督徒学生会与中华基督徒布道会 [*By Faith They Did It-- Beijing Christian Student Association and Chinese Christian Evangelistic Band*], (Hong Kong: ABS 建道神学院, 2001). Liang Jialing 梁家麟. 异象与献身 [*Vision and Dedication*], (Hong Kong: China Alliance Press 宣道出版社, 2012). Liang Jialing 梁家麟. 化妆的基督 [*The Embodiment of Christ*], (Hong Kong: China Alliance Press 宣道出版社, 2007). Liang Jialing 梁家麟. 广东基督教教育(1807-1953) [*Christian Education—Guangdong Province (1807-1953)*], (Hong Kong: ABS 建道神学院, 1993).

⁶⁰ Xing Fuzeng 刑福增. 基督教在中国的失败? —中国共产运动与基督教史论 [*Christianity's Failure in China? Essays on the History of Chinese Communist Movement and Christianity*], (Hong Kong: ISCS 汉语基督教文化研究所, 2008). Xing Fuzeng 刑福增. 当前中国社会政治处境下的宗教研究 [*Religious Studies in Contemporary China: The Social-Political Context*], (Hong Kong: CUHK 香港中文大学, 2014). Xing Fuzeng Ed. 刑福增 编. 大时代的宗教信仰--吴耀宗与二十世纪中国基督教 [*Abiding Faith for a Nation in Crisis: Y.T. We and Twentieth-Century Chinese Christianity*], (Hong Kong: CSCCRA 基督教中国宗教文化研究社, 2011). Xing Fuzeng & Liang Jialing 刑福增 & 梁家麟. 五十年代三自运动的研究 [*The Three-Self Patriotic Movement In 1950s*], (Hong Kong: ABS 建道神学院, 1996). Xing Fuzeng 刑福增. 当代中国政教关系 [*Church-State Relations in Contemporary China*], (Hong Kong: ABS 建道神学院, 2005). Xing Fuzeng 刑福增. "The CPC's Policy on Protestant Christianity, 1949-1957: An Overview and Assessment", *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 23, Issue 89 (Sep. 2014), 884-901. Xing Fuzeng 刑福增. "New Wine in Old Wineskins: An Appraisal of Religious Legislation in China and the Regulations on Religious Affairs of 2005", *Religion, State and Society*, Vol. 34, Issue 4, (Dec. 2006), 347-373.

Ruiqi (Anthony S.K. Lam),⁶¹ and Lin Zhiping.⁶²

There are a number of institutions in China where research on Christianity is carried out: The Institute of World Religions, which is part of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, publishes two journals, *Research on World Religions* and *Religious Cultures in the World*; The Christian Research Centre is one of six centres that make up the Institute of World Religions and publishes a symposium, based on its annual colloquium, entitled *Christian Religious Studies*; The Institute of Religious Studies which is part of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, publishes and distributes an internal journal called *Studies of Contemporary Religions*; and The Institute of Religious Research, which is part of the State Bureau of Religious Affairs, sponsors the internal publication of *Religion and The World*. There are other research centres, affiliated to different universities, which also carry out studies on religion/Christianity. Other useful publications include *Jinling Theological Journal* which is published by the Jinglin Theological Seminary in Nanjing; *Tianfeng* which is published by the TSPM Committee of the Protestant Churches of China and the China Christian Council; and *Tripod* which is a bilingual publication of the Holy Spirit Study Centre in Hong Kong.

After studying how these historical events have impacted on Chinese conceptions of Christianity and influenced church activities and religious policy, we will examine these

⁶¹ Lin Ruiqi 林瑞琪. 半世纪徘徊: 中共宗教政策与实施探讨 [*Decades of Vacillation: Chinese Communist Religious Policy and Its Implementation*], (Hong Kong: HSSC 圣神研究中心, 2003). Lin Ruiqi 林瑞琪. 谁主沉浮: 中国天主教当代历史反省 [*The Catholic Church in Present-Day China: Through Darkness and Light*], (Hong Kong: HSSC 圣神研究中心, 1999).

⁶² Lin Zhiping 林治平. 基督教与中国论集 [*Symposium of Christianity and China*], (Taipei: Cosmic Light Press 宇宙光出版社, 1993). Lin Zhiping 林治平. 基督教在中国本色化 [*Indigenization of Christianity in China*], (Beijing: Today's China Press 今日中国出版社, 1998). Lin Zhiping 林治平. 基督教与中国近代化 [*Christianity and Chinese Modernization*], (Taiwan: Commercial Press 商务印书馆, 1970). Lin Zhiping 林治平. 近代中国与基督教 [*Modern China and Christianity*], (Taipei: Cosmic Light Press 宇宙光出版社, 1985).

events as they are explained in Western (English) literature. The main reason for doing this is to study whether missionaries' involvement and participation in these historical events, as has been portrayed by Chinese scholars, has also been recorded in English literature. The sources drawn on for this thesis are mainly well-known western scholarly works on: the general history of Christianity in China, the significance that religion played during the Opium Wars and the historical events surrounding them, and the significance of these events with regard to how the Chinese viewed Christianity and the missionaries, both during this period and subsequently.

Eminent academics discussed within this research include: John K. Fairbank (1907-1991)⁶³ who was a prominent American historian on Chinese studies, and taught Chinese history at Harvard University from 1936 until his retirement in 1977. In the 1940s Fairbank predicted the victory of Mao and the Communist Party, and argued that American national interest should concentrate on building relations with the New China; and for that reason he was criticised by Taiwan as a tool of the Communists. The Fairbank Centre for Chinese Studies at Harvard was founded in 1955 and advanced research on China in various fields.⁶⁴ Kenneth S. Latourette (1884-1968) was involved with the Christian missions in China in the early 1920s, and was also a well-known scholar of the history of world Christianity, China, and Japan. He wrote more than eighty books on oriental history, Christianity, and theological

⁶³ Fairbank, John K. *The United States and China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948). Fairbank, John K. *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953). Fairbank, John K. *China: The People's Middle Kingdom and the U.S.A* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967). Fairbank, John K. *China Perceived: Images and Policies in Chinese-American Relations* (NY: Knopf, 1974). Fairbank, John K. *Chinese-American Interactions: A Historical Summary* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1975). Fairbank, John K. *Chinabound: a Fifty-Year Memoir* (NY: Harper & Row, 1982). Fairbank, John K. *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800-1985* (NY: Harper & Row, 1986). Fairbank, John K. *China: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992). Fairbank, John K. & Kwang-Ching Liu, *Modern China: A Bibliographical Guide to Chinese Works, 1898-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950).

⁶⁴ Evans, Paul. *John Fairbank and the American Understanding of Modern China* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 150-161.

subjects.⁶⁵ Immanuel C. Y. Hsu (1923-2005) was born in Shanghai and received his doctorate from Harvard University. He became a modern Chinese diplomat and intellectual academic, and taught at the University of California from 1959 until he retired in 1991.⁶⁶ Contemporary intellectuals include Paul A. Cohen, Jonathan D. Spence, and other scholars. In addition to these prominent academics, two series of Christianity history books are also worth consulting. One is the nine volumes of *The Cambridge History of Christianity*,⁶⁷ and the other is the two volumes of the *Handbook of Christianity in China*, especially the second volume, edited by R. G. Tiedemann.⁶⁸

In order to challenge Chinese readers to rethink their conceptions of Christianity and reinterpret missionary activities, we will study the efforts of Protestant Christians with regard

⁶⁵ Latourette, Kenneth S. *The History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784–1844* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917). Latourette, Kenneth S. *The Development of China* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917). Latourette, Kenneth S. *A History of Christian Missions in China* (NY: MacMillan, 1929). Latourette, Kenneth S. *The Chinese: Their History and Culture* (NY: Macmillan, 1934). Latourette, Kenneth S. *Missions Tomorrow* (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1936). Latourette, Kenneth S. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols. (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1945). Latourette, Kenneth S. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 5 vols. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1958-69).

⁶⁶ Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. *China's Entry into the Family of Nations: The Diplomatic Phase, 1858–1880* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960). Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. *The Ili Crisis: A Study of Sino-Russian Diplomacy, 1871–1881* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965). Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. *The Rise of Modern China*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. Ed. *Readings in Modern Chinese History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971). Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. *China without Mao: The Search for a New Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

⁶⁷ Mitchell, Margaret M. & Frances M. Young Eds. *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 1, *Origins to Constantine*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Casiday, Augustine & Frederick W. Norris Eds. *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 2, *Constantine to c.600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Noble, Thomas F. X. & Julia M. H. Smith Eds. *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 3, *Early Medieval Christianities, c.600–c.1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Rubin, Miri & Walter Simon Eds. *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 4, *Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100–c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Angold, Michael Ed. *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 5, *Eastern Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Hsia, R. Po-chia Ed. *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 6, *Reform and Expansion 1500–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Brown, Stewart J. & Timothy Tackett Eds. *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 7, *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Gilley, Sheridan & Brian Stanley Eds. *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 8, *World Christianities c.1815–c.1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). McLeod, Hugh Ed. *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 9, *World Christianities c.1914–c.2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁶⁸ Standaert, Nicolas. Ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Vol. 1, 635-1800 (Leiden: Brill, 2001). Tiedemann, R. G. Ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Vol. 2, 1800 to the Present (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

to the anti-opium movement in Britain and Protestant missionary opposition to the opium trade in China. As previously mentioned, these efforts to stop the opium trade have been forgotten in the West and neglected in China, intentionally or unintentionally. Little research has been done regarding the anti-opium movement. The first excellent study is Wu's PhD *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action* at Columbia University in 1928. It covered the period from 1773 before the Opium Wars until the end of reform from 1906 onward. Wu draws largely from primary sources such as debates at Parliament and records of missionary conferences, and his thesis is mainly focused on the development of the anti-opium movement in Britain.⁶⁹

Another valuable study is Kathleen L. Lodwick's PhD, *Chinese Missionary, and International Efforts to End the Use of Opium in China, 1890-1916*, which she completed at the University of Arizona in 1976. Twenty years later she revised it and published it as a book, *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917*. Lodwick explored the consequences of addiction to opium in China; the development of the anti-opium movement by Protestant missionaries in China and Christians in Britain; the pro-opium forces and government investigation; the anti-opium forces finally came of age, and then she concluded with the success and failures of opium suppression.⁷⁰ Her research, mainly based on published sources and supported by an extended bibliography, covered the life span of the SSOT from its establishment in 1874 to its disbandment in 1917.

One book has been written in Chinese related to the topic of the anti-opium movement

⁶⁹ Wu, Wen-Tsao. *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action* (NY: Academy Press, 1928).

⁷⁰ Lodwick, Kathleen L. *Chinese Missionary, and International Efforts to End the Use of Opium in China, 1890-1916* (PhD Dissertation: University of Arizona, 1976). Lodwick, Kathleen L. *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1996).

which was published in Hong Kong in 2004 by Huang Zhiqi (Wong Chi-Kei): *A Fight for Humanity and Justice: Missionaries' Merits in Anti-Opium Mission*. This study includes the period before 1858, which was the time when opium and Christianity were both legalised by the Treaty of Tianjin until 1907 when the China Centenary Missionary Conference was held in Shanghai and issued a memorandum to the whole world against opium. The author has based his research on primary and secondary sources both in English and Chinese.⁷¹

In addition to consulting the existing academic research, my study will also examine archived primary sources. The research is mainly focused on two aspects: one is the efforts of Protestant Christians regarding the anti-opium movement in Britain which covers the time period from the Opium Wars until the end of the opium trade; the second is Protestant missionary opposition to the opium trade in China which covers early eighteenth century pioneer missionaries' opposition to opium and how they raised awareness in Britain of the issue of opium until the termination of the trade.

5. Significance and Scope of the Research

As previously mentioned, Chinese Christians have received more attention than other Asian Christians due to the rapid expansion of Christianity in China from the 1990s and the struggles of Chinese Christians due to their special political situation. The Chinese government has been criticised by the West concerning human rights and religious freedom. The significance of the first part of this thesis is to establish how Chinese conceptions of Christianity originated and how significant historical events impacted upon its formation. In order to have a better understanding, there is a need to take into account the two Opium Wars and the subsequent historical events, and their impact on the Chinese conception of

⁷¹ Huang Zhiqi 黄智奇. 亦有仁义—基督教传教士与鸦片贸易的斗争 [*A Fight for Humanity and Justice—Missionaries' Merits in Anti-Opium Mission*]. (Hong Kong: China Alliance Press 宣道出版社, 2004).

Christianity. This historical background provides the context in which Christianity and missionaries entered into China with gunboats; and will provide the reason why Christianity was and is closely linked to imperialism in Chinese thought. It will help western Christians comprehend why Christianity bears the mark of the tool of imperialism, the opium of the people, and religious infiltration in China. Although much research has been done in China and the West on these historical events, we study them from a different angle. In doing so, we can offer a fresh perspective from which to understand why many Chinese people in mainland China are not against religions but do have negative impressions about Christianity; why the Chinese government is anti-religious but particularly anti-Christianity; and why many mainland Chinese Christians are struggling with their identity as both Chinese and Christian. However, all of these past events not only impacted upon Chinese conceptions of Christianity, but also Chinese government strategy dealing with religious issues after 1949, religious policy in the 1980s, and also foreign relations since the 1990s.

The significance of the second part of this research is to challenge the Chinese perception of missionaries, whose efforts against the opiate trade have largely been ignored in official and popular Chinese writings. Regarding the complex roles, actions and views of missionaries and merchants toward the Opium Wars will enable us to rethink and reinterpret the relationship between western missionaries and imperialism, with a view to reconsidering and changing Chinese conceptions toward Christianity. Regarding opium traffic, missionaries were among those who stood up and raised their voices for Chinese people, established hospitals and opium refuges. English missionaries denounced their own British government for its selfish opium policy, and made efforts to arouse the conscience of their own people. They initiated the anti-opium movement in Britain, and helped the Chinese government to promote its own opium edict. They brought the issue of opium traffic to international

attention, and put pressure on their government to terminate the opium trade. As such, this research marks the beginning of a challenge to Chinese stereotyping of missionary activity and Christianity by providing evidence of the positive work missionaries successfully completed, especially in combating the opium trade. This should not however cause us to capitulate and fail to acknowledge that many of the missionary endeavors went beyond the moral pale and still need to be delineated, explained and accounted for.

Regarding the time period, the scope of this research covers the historical era from the 1840s to 1940s, after the first Opium War (1838-1840) marked the beginning of China becoming a semi-colonial and semi-feudal nation, until the establishment of the New China in 1949. This historical period played an important role in Chinese modern history in general and Christian history in particular. With regards to the materials and sources, the scope of the research could only focus on the relation between Christianity and these historical events because numerous scholars have produced excellent works on each individual historical event which cannot all be incorporated into this thesis. Regarding missionary activities and contributions, the scope of the research only concentrates on Protestant Christian efforts regarding the anti-opium movement in Britain and Protestant missionary opposition to the opium trade in China. The reasons for this are that Protestants were the ones mainly involved in it; opium and Christianity was closely linked together in Chinese minds. Furthermore, it was neglected, and not being properly acknowledged in Chinese literature.

Additional work and further research are still required before a fuller understanding of the relationship between missionaries and imperialism is established. After all, this is a complex task. Archival research will play an important role in establishing not only what occurred and when, but also the motivations behind these events. A complex and sensitive

subject such as this, where issues of power and identity are at stake, requires a careful consideration of both the lesser heard voices in the dispute, and also the theological and ideological motivations which motivate the different. Now we will turn our attention to the four entrances of Christianity into China from the first entry in 635 during the Tang Dynasty to the fourth entry in the 1840s during the first Opium War.

PART ONE: THE FORMATION OF CHINESE CONCEPTIONS REGARDING CHRISTIANITY

Chapter 1 The Fourth Entrance of Christianity into China during the Opium Wars

Now we will turn our attention to the fourth entrance of Christianity into China during the Opium Wars. Although the focus is on the fourth entry, the first three entries of Christianity will be mentioned briefly, just in case there are questions in the readers' mind. For instance, if the entrance of western missionaries into China during the Opium Wars affected the Chinese conception of Christianity, then had Christianity previously come into China? If so, did it make any contribution or have a negative impact on the history of Christianity in China? Why did the entrance of missionaries into China during the Opium Wars and the Unequal Treaties affect the Chinese conception of Christianity? An effort to answer these questions, requires a brief introduction to the first three entries of Christianity into China to provide some historical background information.

The first entry attempt was made by the Church of the East in 635 during the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A. D.), in spite of the fact that the Church of the East had been condemned as heretical earlier in 431 at the First Council of Ephesus, and again in 451 at the Council of Chalcedon. It was called *Jingjiao* in China, and declined because of no external support and under internal persecution during this period.⁷² Subsequently, in the second entry the

⁷² For further information, please see: Zhu Qianzhi 朱谦之. 中国景教 [*The Nestorianism in China*], (Beijing: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1993), 96-97. Jiang Wenhan 江文汉. 中国古代基督教及开封犹太人 [*Chinese Ancient Christianity and Jews in Kaifeng*], (Shanghai: Knowledge Press 知识出版社, 1982), 21. Niu Ruji 牛汝极. “近十年海外中国景教研究综述 [Summary of the Recent Ten Years Overseas Research on Chinese Nestorianism]”, 宗教学研究 [*Religious Studies*], vol. 3 (2001). Foster, John. *The Church of T'ang Dynasty* (London: SPCK, 1939), 123. Wang, Ding. “Remnants of Christianity from Chinese Central Asia in

Franciscans reached China, and ushered in a period of prosperity among the Mongols during the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368 A. D.). With *Jingjiao* together, it collectively called *Yekeliwen*, and began to flourish in the capital city and eventually grew into a major influence in the Empire. However, the second disappearance of Christianity in China occurred after the Mongols retreated to the North, primarily due to the instability of the empire, uncertainty of transportation, Islamization of the Silk Road, and the fact that the Franciscans were heavily hit by the Black Death in 1348.⁷³

Thirdly, the Jesuits came to China during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 A. D.), Italian Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) was one of the leading figures at that time. The Jesuits introduced western science, arts, astronomy, and mathematics into China.⁷⁴ When the Manchu conquered the Ming Dynasty in 1644 and established the Qing Dynasty, the Jesuits continued to demonstrate their usefulness in the fields of astronomy, science, and technology to the new rulers. The German Jesuit Adam Schall (1592-1666) was the one who made the successful

Medieval ages”, *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, Roman Malek & Peter Hofrichter Eds. (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica 2006), 149-162. Feng Chengjun 冯承钧. 景教碑考 [*Research on Nestorian Stele*], (Shanghai: Commercial Press 商务印书馆, 1935), 54-74. Jenkins, Peter. *The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-Year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia - and How It Died*. (NY: Harper Collins, 2008), 65-66. Dorfmann-Lazarev, Igor. “Beyond Empire I: Eastern Christianities from the Persian to the Turkish Conquest, 604-1071”, *The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol. 3, Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600-c. 1100*, Thomas F. X. Noble & Julia M. H. Smith Eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 65-85.

⁷³ Foltz, Richard. *Religions of the Silk Road: Premodern Patterns of Globalization*, 2nd ed. (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 106-109. Weatherford, Jack. *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World* (NY: Crown, 2004), 28-29. Yang Sengfu 杨森富. “唐元两代基督教兴衰原因之研究 [Research on the Causes of the Rise and Fall of Christianity during the Tang and Yuan Dynasties]”, 基督教入华百七十年纪念集 [*One Hundred and Seventieth Anniversary of the Arrival of Christianity in China*], Lin Zhiping 林治平 Ed. (Taipei: Cosmic Light Press 宇宙光出版社, 1977), 31-79. Moffett, Samuel H. *A History of Christianity in Asia, Vol. I: Beginnings to 1500*, 2nd ed. (NY: Orbis, 1998), 471-475.

⁷⁴ Ebrey, Patricia B. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 212. Lin Jinshui 林金水. 利玛窦与中国 [*Matteo Ricci and China*], (Beijing: Social Sciences Press 社会科学出版社, 1996), 11-20. Spence, Jonathan. *The China Watcher: Western Advisers in China: 1620-1960* (NY: Penguin, 1980), 1-22. Cronin, Vincent. *The Wise Man from the West: Matteo Ricci and His Mission to China* (London: Fontana Books, 1961), 166-180. Wang Qianjin 汪前进. 西学东传第一师: 利玛窦 [*Western Knowledge Spreading to the East: the First Grandmaster Matteo Ricci*], (Beijing: Science Press 科学出版社, 2000), 7-15.

transition from the Ming Dynasty to the Qing. More Catholic missionaries joined mission work from different religious orders in the 1630s, and challenged to the dominant position of Jesuit mission work. The fateful Rites Controversy occurred and culminated among the European missionaries, and finally reached Rome. Pope Clement XI condemned Jesuit practices regarding Chinese rites and Confucian rituals, and issued an anti-rites decree on 20 November 1704. In 1724, Emperor Yongzheng (1678-1735) issued an edict to proscribe Christianity, and confiscated church properties.⁷⁵ Although Christianity was banned, it did not disappear and finally became a permanent part of Chinese religious life and the general landscape of Chinese society. This is the first time that Chinese Christians can be found in both western and Chinese historical records. Even though the Rites Controversy has been researched by many scholars in relation to the western and Chinese cultural clash, the Christian missions during this time period still existed within the context of an equal relationship between China and the European countries.

In 1724, Emperor Yongzheng issued an edict to proscribe Christianity which remained in place until the 1840s, after the first Opium War. Christianity was categorised in China as a heterodox ideology, and officially forbidden to be practiced for more than 120 years. Both traders and missionaries were frustrated by the Qing Dynasty's policy to restrict the expansion of trade and the scope of missionary works. In 1793, the British Ambassador McCartney attempted to establish a general trade agreement with the Qing Dynasty, but it was aborted and trade was only allowed in Guangzhou. Fourteen years later in 1807, the first British

⁷⁵ Harney, M. P. *The Jesuits in History* (NY: America Press, 1941), 230-231. Bangert, William. *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986), 242-243. Gernan, Jacques. *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 136-137. Li Lanqin, 李兰琴. 汤若望传 [*Biography of Adam Schall*], (Beijing: Oriental Press 东方出版社, 1995), 50-56. Lin Renchuang & Xu Xiaowang 林仁川 & 徐晓望. 明末清初中西文化冲突 [*The Conflict between Chinese and Western Culture in the late Ming and the early Qing Dynasty*], (Shanghai: East China Normal University Press 华东师范大学出版社, 1999), 119-122.

Protestant missionary Robert Morrison (1782-1834) arrived in China. He was sent by the London Missionary Society, and served for 27 years; but the mission work was restricted to Guangzhou and Macau. Yet, eventually, Christianity and its propagation were legalized, along with opium trade, during the Opium Wars through Unequal Treaties.⁷⁶

1.1. The First Opium War (1839-1842) and the Unequal Treaties

For opium, some hold that the poppy was first found in Asia Minor, then in Greece, and later Arabs brought it to India, Persia, and other parts of the world.⁷⁷ Others believed that the poppy was originally a native of Persia.⁷⁸ However, many botanists believed that the origin of the opium poppy was a wild plant rather than a cultivated product.⁷⁹ Opium was not an indigenous drug to China, and is not found recorded in Chinese traditional pharmacopoeia. In fact, the Chinese name *Yapian* is a transliteration of the English word opium.⁸⁰ It was first imported for medical use, but by 1838, imports exceeded 40,000 chests annually through the East India Company.⁸¹ The detrimental use of opium was recognized by the government, and in 1729 Emperor Yongzheng issued the first imperial edict to forbid the opium trade. Following this in 1796, Emperor Jiaqing (1760-1820) again promulgated an edict to prohibit importation of opium and exportation of Chinese silver which was used as a medium of exchange. Simultaneously, the British demand for tea increased greatly, and China only

⁷⁶ Bays, Daniel H. *A New History of Christianity in China* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 32-41. Lutz, Jessie G. "China and Protestantism: Historical Perspectives, 1807-1949", *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Stephen Uhalley & Xiaoxin Wu Eds. (NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2001), 179-194. Zou Mingde 邹明德. "鸦片战争前基督教传教士在华的文化活动 [Cultural Activities of Christian Missionary in China before the Opium War]", 近代史研究 [Modern Chinese History Studies], vol. 5 (1986). Guo Tingyi 郭廷以, 近代中国史纲 [History of Modern China], (Hong Kong: CUHK Press 香港中文大学出版社, 1979), 36-39.

⁷⁷ Macht, David I. "The History of Opium and Some of Its Preparations and Alkaloids", *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. LXIV, No. 6 (6 Feb. 1915), 477-481.

⁷⁸ Allen, Nathan. *The Opium Trade Including A Sketch of Its History, Extent, Effects, as Carried on in India and China* (Lowell: J. P. Walker, 1853), 6.

⁷⁹ Scott, J. M. *The White Poppy, A History of Opium* (London: Heinemann, 1969), 1.

⁸⁰ Lodwick, "Missionary and Opium", 354-360.

⁸¹ French, Paul. *Through the Looking Glass: China's Foreign Journalists from Opium Wars to Mao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 19.

accepted silver as payment, thus creating a trade imbalance unfavourable to Britain. Consequently, by 1817, Britain was increasingly using opium to counter trade deficits and increase revenue. By strategically planting tea in Indian and African colonies, the British reduced their Chinese tea imports and at the same time took advantage of the incremental consumption of non-medical opium in China; consequently, the flow of silver was reversed by 1820.⁸²

In 1825, Emperor Daoguang (1782-1850) was aware of the detrimental effects of the free opium trade to the national economy and society. He appointed Lin Zexu (1785-1850) as an imperial commissioner and sent him to Guangzhou to reduce and eliminate the opium trade. Lin wrote an extraordinary memorial to Queen Victoria in the form of an open letter, appealing to her moral sense to end the trade, but the attempt was unsuccessful. Lin urged foreign traders to relinquish their opium and return to legitimate trade; he also arrested more than 1,700 Chinese opium dealers. Charles Elliot, the British superintendent of Chinese trade at that time, persuaded the British merchants to give up trading in opium, and promised that the British government would pay compensation for their loss. Nearly 1.2 million kilograms of opium were confiscated, and destroyed by Commissioner Lin at Human beach in 1839. However, amid escalating tension, both sides banned the trade and open hostilities triggered the first Opium War. By mid-1842 China was defeated, and the British navy occupied several strategic cities on the Chinese coast. On 29 August 1842 the Treaty of Nanjing was signed, marking the end of the first Opium War.⁸³

⁸² Austin, Gregory A. *Perspectives on the History of Psychoactive Substance Use* (Rockville, MD: National Institute on Drug Abuse, 1979), 134-140. Peyrefitte, Alain. *The Collision of Two Civilisations: The British Expedition to China in 1792-4* (London: Harvill, 1993), 487-520. Yao Weiyuan & Xiao Zhiyuan 姚薇元 & 萧致治. 鸦片战争研究 [*Research on the Opium Wars*], (Wuhan: Wuhan University Press 武汉大学出版社, 1987), 65-85.

⁸³ Chang, Hsinpao. *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 134-135. Fay, Peter W. *The Opium War, 1840-1842: Barbarians in the Celestial Empire in the Early Part*

The Treaty of Nanjing became the first of what would be called the Unequal Treaties by the Chinese due to the lack of reciprocity in the negotiations. It contained thirteen articles, the general tenor of which follows:

An indemnity of \$21 million for military expense, \$6 million for the destroyed opium.

Opening of five ports to trade and residence of British consuls and merchants and their families.

Cession of Hong Kong [to Great Britain].⁸⁴

John R. Morrison succeeded his father Robert Morrison as an interpreter of the East India Company, and was involved during the Opium War on behalf of the British government to draft the Treaty of Nanjing. Charles Gutzlaff (1803-1851), a German missionary, also served as an interpreter for British diplomatic missions and assisted in negotiations during the first Opium War.⁸⁵

of the Nineteen Century and the War by Which They Forced Her Gates (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 41-44. Lovell, Julia. *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams and the Making of China* (London: Picador 2012), 53. Cassel, Par K. *Grounds of Judgment: Extraterritoriality and Imperial Power in Nineteenth-Century China and Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 46-53. Mu Anshi 牟安世. 鸦片战争 [The Opium Wars], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1982), 424-426. Mao Haijian 茅海建. 天朝的崩溃: 鸦片战争再研究 [China Collapse: Further Research on the Opium Wars], (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company 三联书店, 2005), 89-154.

⁸⁴ Hsü, *the Rise of Modern China*, 190. Li, Dun J. *The Ageless Chinese: A History*, 3rd ed. (NY: Scribner, 1978), 393-394. Fairbank, John K. & Merle Goldman. *China: A New History*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 198-201. Zou Fanlin & Wang Yini & Liang Xiaorui 邹范林 & 王旖旎 & 梁小瑞. 中国近代史纲 [History of Modern China], (Beijing: Beijing University Press 北京大学出版社, 1993), 24-28. Chen Zhenjiang & Jiang Pei 陈振江 & 江沛. 晚清民国史 [The History of the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China], (Taipei: Wunan Book Press 五南图书出版社, 2002), 18. Li Jianong 李剑农. 中国近百年政治史 [The Last One Hundred Years of Political History in China], (Shanghai: Fudan University Press 复旦大学出版社, 2002), 44.

⁸⁵ Wood, R. Derek. "The Treaty of Nanking: Form and the Foreign Office, 1842-1843", *Imperial and Commonwealth History*, (May 1996), 181-196. Lutz, Jessie G. "Karl F. A. Gutzlaff: Missionary Entrepreneur", *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, Barnett, Suzanne W. & Fairbank John K. Eds. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 61-87. Lutz, Jessie G. "The Grand Illusion: Karl Gutzlaff and Popularization of China Missions in the United States in the 1830s", *United States Attitudes and Policies toward China: the Impact of American Missionaries*, Patricia Neils & John C. Brewer Eds. (NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1990), 46-77. Ji Yaxi & Chen Weimin 季压西 & 陈伟民. 来华外国人与近代不平等条约 [Foreigners in China and the Unequal Treaties], (Beijing: Academic Press 学苑出版社, 2007), 244-269. Gu Changsheng 顾长声. 马礼逊评传 [A Critical Biography of Robert Morrison], 191. Gu Changsheng 顾长声. 从马礼逊到司徒雷登: 来华新教传教士评传 [From Robert Morrison to J. Leighton Stuart: Critical Biography of Protestant Missionaries in China], 50.

Soon after the Treaty of Nanjing, other nations, such as the United States, France, and Russia, began to complain that Britain had complete control over trade between the West and the five ports in China. Each power sent their envoys to China to impose similar treaties, and to insist on receiving similar privileges. In 1844, the United States was able to negotiate and sign the Treaty of Wangxia, which became the first formal Unequal Treaty between the Qing China and the United States. The official title of the treaty was *Treaty of Peace, Amity, and Commerce, between the United States of America and the Chinese Empire*. It followed the example of the Treaty of Nanjing, but was much longer and detailed. It contained 34 Articles and an appendix concerning tariffs. In addition to gaining all the privileges stipulated in the Treaty of Nanjing, it imposed more concrete and harsh obligations on China. Concerning extraterritoriality, China did not have the right to interfere with disputes between American citizens and the Chinese in China. Regarding fixed tariff duties, if the Chinese government wanted modifications to the tariff, it was to be deliberated only by American officials. Americans had the right to buy land to build churches and hospitals in the five treaty ports. Additional privileges included the revision of the treaty after twelve years and the entrance of warships into China's ports. However, in Article 33, there was a Chinese benefit that the opium trade was abolished, and any offenders would be handed over to the Chinese government.⁸⁶

Three missionaries participated in the Treaty of Wangxia negotiation process: Elijah C. Bridgman (1801-1861), the first American missionary to China, who later became the

⁸⁶ Stockwell, Foster. *Westerners in China: A History of Exploration and Trade, Ancient Time through Present* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2003), 77-78. Taketani, Etsuko. *U.S. Women Writers and the Discourses of Colonialism, 1825-1861* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 111-120. Hu Lizhong & Jin Guangyao & Gu Guanglin 胡礼忠 & 金光耀 & 顾关林. 从望厦条约到克林顿访华: 中美关系 1844-1996 [*From the Treaty of Wangxia to Clinton's Visit to China: the Sino-US Relations 1844-1996*], (Fujian: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1996), 54-56.

American Minister to China; Peter Parker (1804-1888), the first medical missionary to China; and Samuel W. Williams (1812-1881), an American Congregational missionary, who later became the first professor of sinology at Yale University. They were involved in the translation, and drafting of the treaty which governed the relationship between America and China until 1905. It laid the foundation for increasing erosion of Chinese sovereignty, which J. K. Fairbank called the “one-way ratchet” of the most favoured nation clause. The Treaty of Wangxia was considered as a model treaty and followed a few weeks later by France in the negotiation of the Treaty of Huangpu.⁸⁷

On 24 October 1844, the Treaty of Huangpu, the first Unequal Treaty with France, was signed by the Chinese representative Qiying in Guangzhou. It contained 36 articles, and granted to France the same rights and privileges found in the Treaties of Nanjing and Wangxia. Although Théodore de Lagrené was only authorized by the Prime Minister Guizot to negotiate a commercial treaty, he wanted to increase France’s international influence and take credit for securing a rescission of Emperor Yongzheng’s edict in 1724 prohibiting Catholicism in China; so he raised the question of legalizing Christianity. He entrusted the negotiation of this matter to his interpreter Joseph-Marie Callery, a French missionary. In the Treaty, the French were allowed to build churches and graveyards in the five open ports; and the Qing government was obligated to protect the propagation of Catholicism. In 1846, Emperor Daoguang issued an edict to repeal the ban on Catholicism and to legalize the

⁸⁷ Davids, Jules. Ed. *American Diplomatic and Public Papers: the United States and China* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1973), xliii-xlvi. Liu, Daren. *A History of Sino-American Diplomatic Relations, 1840-1974* (Taipei: China Academy, 1978), 23-26. Gan Kaipeng 甘开鹏. “美国来华传教士与晚清鸦片贸易 [American Missionaries in China and the Opium Trade in Late Qing]”, *美国研究 [American Studies]*”, vol. 3 (2007). Chen Caijun 陈才俊. “早期美国来华传教士与美国对华鸦片贸易政策 [Early American Missionaries in China and the American Opium Trade Policy]”, *世界宗教研究 [Studies in World Religions]*, vol. 1 (2011). Li Pingye 李平晔. *以史为鉴: 中国近代史论文集 [Taking History as Guidance: Symposium of Modern Chinese History]*, (Beijing: Religion Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 2001), 45.

practice of Christianity in China. He also promulgated another edict to restore confiscated church property to Chinese Catholics.⁸⁸

Other nations studied carefully the clauses within the Treaty of Nanjing. An “Unequal Treaty System” developed gradually, and each of these nations obtained various advantages from subsequent treaties. However, the trade of opium remained as an unsolved issue in the Treaty, and provided the tinder for the second Opium War.⁸⁹

1.2. The Second Opium War (1856-1860) and the Treaties of Tianjin and Beijing

The Treaty of Nanjing after the first Opium War only resulted in a truce, not in an end of hostilities between China and Britain. The British merchants were not satisfied with the treaty because of the illegalization of the opium trade. The Chinese were addicted to the drug physically, and the British were addicted to opium financially. Officially it was not legal to import or use it; but unofficially it continued to be big business and provided the motivation for the second Opium War. British authorities attempted to force a renegotiation of the treaty with the Chinese government in 1854, but the beleaguered Qing opposed; and the British joined with the Americans and the French to compel a treaty revision. Finally, the British took advantage of the famous case of a boat named *Arrow*; a fast Chinese sailing vessel, as a *casus belli*, to justify a war. A Chinese boat owner registered his boat as a British vessel, and flew the British flag. The boat engaged in piracy, and its annual registration was expired.

⁸⁸ Cady, John F. *The Roots of French Imperialism in Eastern Asia* (NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), 52-60. Johnston, Douglas M. *The Historical Foundations of World Order: The Tower and the Arena* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008), 580-582. Grosse-Aschhoff, Angelus F. J. *The Negotiations between Ch'i-Ying and Lagrené, 1844-1846* (NY: Franciscan Institute, 1950), 39-42. Yang Yuanhua 杨元华. 从黄埔条约到巴拉迪尔访华: 中法关系 1844-1994 [*From the Treaty of Huangpu to Ballardur's Visit to China: the Sino-French Relations 1844-1994*], (Fujian: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1995), 12-16.

⁸⁹ Wang, Zheng. *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2012), 65-66. Guo Weidong 郭卫东. 转折: 以早期中英关系和《南京条约》为考察中心 [*Transition: the Early Sino-British Relations and the Treaty of Nanjing as the Centre of Investigation*], (Hebei: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 2003), 179.

Accordingly, the boat was searched by four Chinese officials and six soldiers; twelve members of the Chinese crew were arrested, and in the turmoil the British flag was hauled down. The British held that their national flag had been insulted, and British rights had been infringed. Therefore, the British recommenced military actions at Guangzhou in 1856. France also joined, prompted by the execution of a French missionary in Guangxi. Russia and America also sent reinforcements.⁹⁰

In June 1858, foreign forces moved northwards to Tianjin, which forced the Qing government to sign the Treaty of Tianjin with Britain, France, Russia, and the United States. The Treaty of Tianjin was even more dictated and less negotiated than the previous treaties. The important items included:

- Opening of ten new ports.
- Foreign travels in all parts of China under passport issued by the consul and countersigned by Chinese authorities, but no passport required for travel within 100 li (33 miles) of the ports;
- Inland transit dues (likin) for foreign imports not to exceed 2.5 percent ad valorem;
- Indemnity of 4 million taels for Britain and 2 million taels for France;
- Freedom of movement in all China for missionaries, Catholics and Protestant alike.⁹¹

The first phase of the second Opium War ended with the signing of four Treaties of Tianjin with four different foreign powers; and the treaties were severely punitive and intrusive on the Qing government, diminishing Chinese sovereignty. Although, the opium trade was not

⁹⁰ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 179-184. Wong, J. Y. *Deadly Dreams: Opium, Imperialism, and the Arrow War (1856-1860) in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 262-282. Fairbank, John K. "The Creation of the Treaty System", *The Cambridge History of China Vol. 10: Late Ch'ing 1800-1911*, Part 1, John K. Fairbank & Denis Twitchett Eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 213-263. Yin Shilin 尹世霖. 鸦片战争和第二次鸦片战争 [*The Opium Wars and the Second Opium War*], (Beijing: China Society Press 中国社会出版社, 1990), 45-76.

⁹¹ Hsü, *the Rise of Modern China*, 211. Wang, Dong. *China's Unequal Treaties: Narrating National History* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005), 16-19. Mao Haijian 茅海建. 近代的尺度: 两次鸦片战争军事与外交 [*Modern Scale: Military and Diplomacy of the Two Opium Wars*], (Shanghai: SDX Joint Publishing Company 三联书店, 1998), 188-198. Chen Zhenjiang & Jiang Pei 陈振江 & 江沛. 晚清民国史 [*The History of the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China*], 45.

directly addressed in the Treaty of Tianjin, W. Travis Hanes and Frank Sanello described how ‘Taxes on imported goods were set during follow-up negotiations at Shanghai, where they agreed to a 5 percent tax. Listed among the taxable goods, which included silk and brocades, was opium. The tax agreement represented de facto legalization of opium without explicitly bringing the subject up’.⁹²

Because the Qing government was reluctant to accept foreign ambassadors in Beijing after signing the Treaties of Tianjin, the British, French, and American ministers came to Tianjin a year later to ratify, and then enforce them. The Anglo-French envoys bombarded the Dagou forts, and encountered fierce resistance. After a day and night of fighting, four British warships were lost and two were severely damaged. A negotiation team was sent to Beijing, but they were arrested, and some were executed. Following this in 1860, the British and French sent a large expeditionary force to Beijing, and occupied the Emperor’s Summer Palace, Yuan Ming Yuan. They spent several days looting, and then burned all the palace buildings to the ground.⁹³ Noted French writer Victor Hugo wrote,

All the treasure of our cathedrals could not equal this fabulous and magnificent oriental museum.... One day two bandits entered the Summer Palace. One pillaged and the other set fire... One filled his pockets and the other filled his coffers, and they left arm in arm, laughing. When this goes down in history, one of the bandits will be called France and the other Britain.⁹⁴

⁹² Hanes, William T. *The Opium Wars: the Addiction of One Empire and the Corruption of Another* (Naperville, Ill.: Sourcebooks, 2002), 222. Hou Jie 侯杰. 紫禁城下之盟 [*Treaties under the Forbidden City*], (Beijing: People’s University Press 人民出版社, 1993), 148-149.

⁹³ Lee, Haiyan. “The Ruins of Yuanmingyuan”, *Modern China*, Vol. 35 (March 2009), 155-190. Wright, David C. *The History of China* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001), 106-107. Pei Guangqiang 裴广强. “英法联军第一次火烧圆明园诸问题再考 [Further Research on the British and French Troops Burned the Old Summer Palace]”, 北京社会科学 [*Social Science of Beijing*], vol. 6 (2014).

⁹⁴ Ringmar, Erik. *Liberal Barbarism: The European Destruction of the Palace of the Emperor of China* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 10.

The burning of the Summer Palace was the last action of the second Opium War, and became the symbol of China's national wound and shame.

The Treaty of Beijing with Britain and France was signed by Prince Gong, the Emperor's younger brother, and brought the second Opium War to an end. The main terms were as follows:

Foreign envoys were to reside in Peking [Beijing];
Tientsin [Tianjin] was to become a Treaty Port;
The indemnities were increased to 8 million taels each: an additional sum of 500,000 for the British and 200,000 for the French as a special indemnity for the dead prisoners was stipulated;
A part of Kowloon peninsula was ceded in perpetuity to England;
All the property of the Catholic Church, which had been confiscated since 1724, was to be restored (the French translator secretly added to the Chinese, but not the French text, a clause regarding the right to buy land and build churches anywhere in China).⁹⁵

The translator Louis-Charles Delamarre who added the final sentence unilaterally in the Chinese version of Article VI was a French missionary, 'permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure'.⁹⁶ A Chinese priest and mission historian expressed forthrightly the feelings of most Chinese, 'that fraudulent act, work of a Catholic missionary, had rather unfortunate consequences: it incurred the indignation and a general distrust of the messengers of Christianity and French diplomats in China'.⁹⁷ Because of the most favored nation clause, America and Russia also obtained the same privileges as Britain and France. Finally, the opium trade was legalized because a Supplementary clause stated: 'Opium will henceforth pay thirty taels per picul

⁹⁵ Rodzinski, Witold. *A History of China*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Pergamon, 1983), 300. Chen Zhenjiang & Jiang Pei 陈振江 & 江沛, 晚清民国史 [*The History of the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China*], 46-47.

⁹⁶ *The Baptist Missionary Magazine* (June 1861), 171.

⁹⁷ Wei, Tsingssing. *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine 1842-1856. L'ouverture des cinq ports chinois au commerce étranger et la liberté religieuse* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1960), 458. Cited in R. G. Tiedemann ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume 2, 1800 to the Present*, 300.

[approximately £130] Import Duty'.⁹⁸

1.3. The Impact of Opium on Chinese Society

The poppy was apparently unknown to the Chinese before the eighth century, and had been used for medical purpose in China during the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A. D.). Chinese physicians were able to produce a more powerful drug by extracting the sap from poppy heads during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.).⁹⁹ Before the seventeenth century, opium was used as a remedy, and not viewed as a social vice nor caused any health concerns to the imperial court.¹⁰⁰ The transfer of opium from medical merchandise to revenue because of its large profit marked the beginning of the opium problem. Warren Hastings, the first governor-general of India, laid a general principle in 1773 which became the keynote of the opium trade ever since. Hastings famously stated, 'Opium is not a necessary of life, but a pernicious article of luxury which ought not to be permitted except for purpose of foreign commerce only, and which the wisdom of the government should carefully restrain from internal consumption'.¹⁰¹ Hastings' principle was always being commented on by other writers criticising the opium traffic.

It does not regard the welfare of other individuals. The highest standard is "Have I a credit balance?" Trade has no ideal. The demoralizing standard of trade upon individuals is revealed in the attitude of Warren Hasting to the opium traffic between India and China. He forbade its use in India, but sanctioned its export to China.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Elleman, Bruce A. *Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795-1989* (London: Routledge, 2001), 51. Chen Zhenjiang & Jiang Pei 陈振江 & 江沛. 晚清民国史 [*The History of the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China*], 47-48.

⁹⁹ Edkins, Joseph. *Opium: Historical Note or the Poppy in China* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1898), 5. Baumlér, Alan. *The Chinese and Opium under the Republic: Worse than Floods and Wild Beasts* (NY: State University of New York, 2007), 14.

¹⁰⁰ Booth, Martin. *Opium: A History* (London: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 103-105.

¹⁰¹ Mann, John. *Turn on and Tune in: Psychedelics, Narcotics and Euphorants* (Cambridge: Royal Society of Chemistry, 2009), 33.

¹⁰² Macdonald, Allan J. *Trade Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East* (London: Longmans Green Co., 1916), 3-4. Blakeslee, George H. *China and the Far East* (NY: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1910), 162.

The opium trade was ‘instrumental in integrating China into the world market’,¹⁰³ but also resulted in a huge overflow of silver and had a heavy blow to China’s economy. This was evidenced by ‘falling prices and the recession during the second quarter of the nineteenth century’.¹⁰⁴ By the 1800s, foreign selling and consuming methods spread broadly in China, and recreational consumption of foreign opium touched every corner of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912 A. D.).¹⁰⁵ Opium became ‘a cure which was far worse than the disease—with increasing corruption, a criminal underclass, and the rising popularity of replacements for opium including heroin and morphine’.¹⁰⁶ Chinese opium smokers were described as pathetic and degenerate creatures with ‘lank and shrivelled limbs, tottering gait, sallow visage, feeble voice and death-boding glance of eye’.¹⁰⁷

Although, opium was brought to China during the Tang and Song Dynasties, domestic cultivation was rare. Opium smoking became a concern during the Qing period, but the first royal edict issued in 1729 only banned opium imports, until Emperors Qinglong issued an edict in 1796 banning the domestic cultivation of opium. No records existed on the amount of indigenous opium in China until 1830, when the opium harvest reached 10,000 chests, a similar amount to the opium imports at the time. Domestic cultivation surged from the 1850s and gained popularity by the 1860s. The domestic opium was estimated at about 50,000 chests in 1866, reaching 70,000 chests by 1870 and surpassing the amount of opium imports. By 1880, most of the provinces in China cultivated opium, and the amount was at least twice

¹⁰³ Blue, Gregory. “Opium for China: The British Connection”, *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839-1952*, Timothy Brook & Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi (eds.) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 31-54.

¹⁰⁴ Hao, Yen-p’ing. *The Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth-Century China: The Rise of Sino-Western Mercantile Capitalism* (Berkeley: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 121-123.

¹⁰⁵ Smith, Norman. *Intoxicating Manchuria: Alcohol, Opium, and Culture in China’s Northeast* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 16.

¹⁰⁶ Smith, *Intoxicating Manchuria*, 20. Dikötter, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China*, 106.

¹⁰⁷ Newman, R. K. “Opium Smoking in Late Imperial China; A Reconsideration”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 29, Vol. 4 (1995), 765-794.

and perhaps even four times more than imported opium.¹⁰⁸ Domestic cultivation flourished in China and reached 300,000 piculs¹⁰⁹ by the turn of the twentieth century, and it was about six times more than imported opium. During the 1920s and the 1940s, except for Tibet, Qinghai, and Inner Mongolia, all other provinces in China cultivated the poppy to some degree.¹¹⁰

Because the opium poppies cultivated in the south and north west regions and became the main sources of supply, so some valuable land for food crops was used for poppy cultivation, and it became a major crop in some areas of China.¹¹¹ Famine occurred in north China between 1876 and 1878; about nine million people died, five and a half million in Shanxi province alone. The Qing court, reformist elites, and western missionaries believed that the domestic opium cultivation had an impact on the agricultural economy and caused such an ecological tragedy.¹¹² ‘After a maximum import in 1879, however, foreign opium began to give ground to China’s domestic production’.¹¹³ Much of the opium poppy was cultivated in Sichuan and Yunnan provinces because of the ideal climate, and Suchuang became the largest producer and consumer of domestic opium by the turn of the twentieth century. In 1904, Sichuan produced more than four times of imported opium, and then reached the amount of 40 percent of domestic opium in 1906. However, Sichuan also excelled in its efforts to eradicate opium during the opium suppression campaign at the late Qing

¹⁰⁸ Lu, Hong & Terance D. Miethe & Bin Liang. *China’s Drug Practices and Policies: Regulating Controlled Substances in a Global Context* (London: Routledge, 2016), 36-37. Su, Z. & C. Zhao. *Treaties of War on Drugs* (Beijing: China Democracy and Law Publishing House, 1998), 144-145.

¹⁰⁹ 1 picul = 60.48 kg.

¹¹⁰ Candlin, A. H. *Psycho-Chemical Warfare—The Chinese Communist Drug Offensive against the West* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1973), 45-47. Slack, Edward R. *Opium, State, and Society: China’s Narco-Economy and the Guomindang, 1924-1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 7.

¹¹¹ Zheng, Yangwen. *The Social Life of Opium in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 101-103. Hao, *The Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth Century China*, 68-69

¹¹² Howard, Paul W. *Opium Suppression in Qing China: Responses to A Social Problem, 1729-1906* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1998), 202. Bohr, Paul R. *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1972), 13-26. Austin, Alvyn. *Pilgrims and Strangers: The China Inland Mission in Britain, Canada, the United States and China, 1865-1900* (North York, Ont.: York University 1996), 57-78.

¹¹³ Fairbank, H. B. *Morse, Customs Commissioner and Historian of China*, 91.

period.¹¹⁴ Wright described the 1906-1917 Opium Suppression Campaign as ‘the largest and most vigorous effort in world history to stamp out an established social evil’.¹¹⁵

Although opium was not originally discovered in China, the Chinese people ‘refined its recreational use into an art and craft of unparalleled sophistication’.¹¹⁶ Opium smoking became popular and part of social recreation, and was attributed enhancing sexual pleasure.¹¹⁷ Opium galvanised the sex industry, and became much an attraction as a courtesan’s beauty and talent. Because opium ruined many men, so women had to take responsibility for the family. Some sold their girls, even at very young age, for opium. It became common to sell girls for opium smoking in the late Qing Dynasty and Republican eras. Sex and opium became tools for women to make a living and provide for their families. The sex trade and opium also became central to some criminal activities. Some women also used opium to commit suicide in difficult situations because it was less painful.¹¹⁸ Missionaries noticed that especially in poorer areas, ‘the opium habits reduced the victims to extremities more rapidly, and that selling their daughters was one resource to get money in order to procure the drug’.¹¹⁹

As Zheng described, ‘Opium smoking raged like a wildfire in cities and villages alike’.¹²⁰ In south and west areas in China in 1882, the percentage of addictions was very high: merchants 80%, officials and their staff 90%, actors, prostitutes, vagrants, thieves

¹¹⁴ Wyman, Judith. “Opium and the State in Late-Qing Sichuan”, *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839-1952*, Timothy Brook & Bob T. Wakabayashi, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 212-227.

¹¹⁵ Wright, Mary C. “Introduction: The Rising Tide of Change”, *China in Revolution: The First Phase, 1900-1913*, Mary C. Wright ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 1-63.

¹¹⁶ Lee, Peter. *The Big Smoke: The Chinese Art and Craft of Opium* (Thailand: Lamplight Books, 1999), 7.

¹¹⁷ Driscoll, Mark. *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2010), 191.

¹¹⁸ Zheng, *The Social Life of Opium in China*, 116-129. Zheng, Yangwen. “The Social Life of Opium in China, 1483-1999”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (2003), 1-39.

¹¹⁹ Royal Commission on Opium. *First Report of the Royal Commission on Opium with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*. Vol. I, 519.

¹²⁰ Zheng, *The Social Life of Opium in China*, 114.

95%.¹²¹ It weakened officials' ability to carry on their responsibilities and destabilized the empire. Arguments arose whether recreation opium consumption should be eradicated because of the fatal consequences among the lower classes.¹²² However, more than 1,700 opium dens were in Shanghai in 1872, and the French Concession alone had more than 8,000 by 1928.¹²³ By the early twentieth century, opium smoking became part of large Chinese culture; at some parties, the opium couch with all smoking accessories were provided.¹²⁴ As Spence described it, opium use was a 'phenomenon that radically affected all levels of Chinese society'.¹²⁵

When the importation of opium was legalized by the treaty of 1858 which was ratified in 1860, the opium tax was stipulated as 30 taels silver per picul when it arrived at the port cities, and then transit duties were added when it travelled inside China. It was called *Lijin*, and could be twice the import tax. In 1879, 89,501.95 piculs of opium were imported, which generated 2,685,058.70 taels revenue for the imperial treasury plus 5,370,117.60 taels *Lijin* in transit duty for local governments. So foreign opium provided a total of 8,055,176.40 taels for central and local governments in 1880. Opium became one of the 'new forms of money', the opium-money system had been established, and very welcomed in the interior. Opium value was stable, so opium money was standardised in circulation.¹²⁶ Opium played an important role in the Chinese economy in three major areas for at least the last fifty years of the

¹²¹ Royal Commission on Opium. *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Royal Commission on Opium between 18th November and 29th December 1893 with Appendices*. Vol. II, 304-305.

¹²² Zhou, *Anti-Drug Crusades in Twentieth-Century China: Nationalism, History, and State Building*, 171.

¹²³ Shen Bao, (19 April 1897), 163.

¹²⁴ Little, Mrs Archibald. *Intimate China* (London: Hutchinson, 1899), 179.

¹²⁵ Spence, Jonathan D. *Chinese Roundabout: Essays in History and Culture* (NY: W.W. Norton, 1992), 119. McMahon, Keith. *The Fall of the God of Money: Opium Smoking in Nineteenth-Century China* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), 12. McAllister, William B. *Drug Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century: An International History* (London: Routledge, 2000), 13.

¹²⁶ Zheng, *The Social Life of Opium in China*, 151-152.

nineteenth century: 'it served as a substitute of money, it helped local officials meet taxation quotas, and it helped finance the self-strengthening program'.¹²⁷

During the late Qing and early Republican eras between 1906 and 1917, the opium poppy was eliminated from China, but the domestic cultivation reoccurred and 'opium made a rapid comeback during the Warlord Era and continued to be China's leading cash crop until the early years of Communist rule'.¹²⁸ The Nationalists established the Shanghai Opium Suppression Bureau and the National Opium Suppression Committee, and the head was their paramount leader, Jiang Jieshi.¹²⁹ However, regarding the Nationalists' 'narco-economy',¹³⁰ they 'attempted, with considerable success, to profit both politically and economically from control of the opium trade and avoid the loss of legitimacy that came with involvement in the trade'.¹³¹ The six-year plan of the 1935 opium suppression campaign was initiated by the Nationalists. Wakeman denounced it as 'a cynical conspiracy to cover an opium monopoly', Mayer and Parssinan acknowledged 'a certain seriousness of reform efforts without explaining the contradiction', and Slack pointed out that 'the tremendous financial needs that drove the Nationalists to a policy at once morally abhorrent and fiscally imperative'.¹³²

However, no political regime was free of opium, and it was same with the Communists. They came across opium during the Long March in 1934, and the Red Army

¹²⁷ Trocki, Carl A. *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy: A Study of the Asian Opium Trade, 1750-1950* (London: Routledge, 1999), 128. Spence, "Opium Smoking in Ching China", 143-173.

¹²⁸ Slack, *Opium, State, and Society: China's Narco-Economy and the Guomindang, 1924-1937*, 6.

¹²⁹ Finch, Percy. *Shanghai and Beyond* (NY: Scribner, 1953), 294.

¹³⁰ Slack, Edward R. Jr. "The National Anti-Opium Association and the Guomindang State, 1924-1937", *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839-1952*, Timothy Brook & Bob T. Wakabayashi eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 248-269.

¹³¹ Baumlér, Alan. "Opium Control Versus Opium Suppression: The Origin of the 1935 Six Year Plan to Eliminate Opium and Drugs", *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839-1952*, Timothy Brook & Bob T. Wakabayashi eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 270-291.

¹³² Baumlér, *The Chinese and Opium under the Republic: Worse than Floods and Wild Beasts*, 6. Wakeman, Frederic. *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 274. Meyer, Kathryn & Terry Parssinen. *Webs of Smoke: Smugglers, Warlords, Spies and the History of International Drug Trade* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), 280. Slack, *Opium, State, and Society*, 156.

confiscated opium for money and supplies. The route of the Long March passed some areas of the major opium producer such as Guizhou and Yunnan.¹³³ A common saying was that Guizhou was ‘famous for three things: hills, rain and opium’, and in Yunnan ‘out of ten men, eleven smoke opium’.¹³⁴ The threat by Japan and the opium problem alerted the Chinese people and became a wake-up call to the nation. The whole nation had strong anti-Japanese feeling, and was strongly against imperialists in general and opium in particular. ‘The sick man of Asia, sickened by opium was now awakened by opium, and it became a symbol of resistance during the wartime’.¹³⁵ The Chinese people fought to free themselves from imperialists and opium, and as Zheng acknowledged, the Communists should be ‘credited for stamping out opium after 1949... Opium, seen through the designs and doings of the imperialists, was sentenced to political death’.¹³⁶

Conclusion

After the first Opium War, even though no provision in the Treaty of Nanjing was specifically related to missionaries, they benefited from the treaty clauses naturally as foreigners. Missionaries were able to build places for worship within the five open ports, and were immune to Chinese laws due to extraterritoriality. This fourth entrance of Christianity into China, after 120 years of prohibition instituted by Emperor Yongzheng, marked a new era of Christian missions in China. Western churches greatly desired to send missionaries to China and made strenuous efforts to do so. However, opium abuse in China had a depraving influence on the Chinese and greatly impacted on the efficacy of Christian missions. Even

¹³³ Zheng, *The Social Life of Opium in China*, 198.

¹³⁴ Bertram, James. *Shadow of a War: A New Zealander in the Far East 1939-1946* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947), 24. Rattenbury, Harold B. *China-Burma Vagabond* (London: F. Muller, 1946), 83.

¹³⁵ Zheng, *The Social Life of Opium in China*, 195. Eykholt, Mark S. “Resistance to Opium as a Social Evil in Wartime China”, *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839-1952*, Timothy Brook & Bob T. Wakabayashi eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 360-379.

¹³⁶ Zheng, *The Social Life of Opium in China*, 195-198.

though missionaries preached about the moral, cultural, social, and spiritual benefits of Christianity, the Chinese remained skeptical because of the gunboat diplomacy of foreign powers. From the Chinese perspective, missionaries came to China with the opium traders, so they were all regarded as agents of western imperialism; the two groups were inseparable in Chinese thought.¹³⁷

After the second Opium War, missionaries were permitted to travel and reside in China's interior, and guaranteed freedom to propagate their faith. They were granted extraterritorial rights, and benefited from specific tariffs and indemnities. For the first time, China was compelled to allow foreigners to travel throughout the entire country. The nineteenth century was, subsequently, considered the great century of Christian missions. The Evangelical Revival in Britain and the Great Awakening in America brought new life and energy into all denominations of Protestantism. British and American missions increased and were predominated in world evangelization. Although Protestantism was introduced to China much later than Roman Catholicism, it grew rapidly. After the Treaty of Tianjin, the Christian mission movement was increased and reinforced by the arrival of new societies, and additional staff to the societies already in China, and by the expansion of activities throughout the country. In 1858 only 81 Protestant missionaries represented twenty societies in China, but thirty years later in 1889, 1,298 missionaries represented 41 societies. Among them, 56.5% were British, 39.5 % were Americans, and the remaining 4% were from the European continent. After the second Opium War, the Roman Catholics increased their number of

¹³⁷ Cohen, Paul A. "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900", *The Cambridge History of China Vol. 10: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part I*, John K. Fairbank Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 543-590. Thompson, Roger R. "Twilight of the Gods in the Chinese Countryside: Christians, Confucians, and the Modernizing State, 1861-1911", *Christianity in China: from the Eighteen Century to the Present*, Daniel H. Bays Ed. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), 53-72. Wang Yousan 王友三. 中国宗教史 [*History of Religions in China*], vol. 2 (Jinan: Qilu Press 齐鲁书社, 1991), 972-980.

missionaries and sent additional representatives. Most of these missionaries were from France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, and Germany; their chief intention was to win converts and to build churches. By 1896, the total number of Catholic missionaries was 759 with 532,448 Chinese converts.¹³⁸

However, the Opium Wars and the Unequal Treaties had a significantly negative impact and effect on Christian missions. In a general conference of Protestant missionaries in 1877, missionaries recognized that opium was the chief hindrance to the progress of the gospel. It closed the hearts of the Chinese people, setting them resolutely against the Christian message more than anything else. A Chinese Christian writer described the Chinese thought on this subject,

It is clear, say they,--the Chinese—that our country is being ruined. These mission schools and hospitals are not really established with a good intention. Why do they not put an end to the sale of Opium? Would not this be better than ten thousand hospitals, and ten thousand preaching halls? The hindrance presented by Opium to the Missionaries, whether physicians or preachers, renders fruitless their efforts.¹³⁹

A military attaché, Tchong-Ki-Tong, at the Chinese embassy in Paris charged, ‘Ask a Chinese what he calls Englishmen and he’ll tell you they’re opium merchants. Ask the same about Frenchmen and he’ll tell you they’re missionaries. The former ruin his health at the expense of his finances, and the later overturn his ideas’.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 405-406. Latourette, K. S. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity: Northern Africa and Asia, the Great Century, A. D. 1800-A. D. 1914*, vol. 6 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1944), 29. Latourette, K. S. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: The Nineteenth Century outside Europe: the Americas, the Pacific, Asia, and Africa*, vol. 3 (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1961), 434-438. Zhou Xiefan 周燮藩. 中国的基督教 [Christianity in China], (Beijing: Commercial Press 商务印书馆, 1997), 123-128.

¹³⁹ Moule, Arthur E. “The Use of Opium and Its Bearing on the Spread of Christianity in China”, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877*. (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878), 352-361.

¹⁴⁰ Tong, Tchong-Ki. “La Chine et les Chinois”, *La Revue des deux mondes* 63, (Paris, 1884), 278-305. “China Speaks for Herself”, *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 56, Issue 333 (July 1885), 74-85. Charles, Robert.

In Brown's article 'Opium War and Unequal Treaties', he states, 'Events of this era cast a long shadow into the future, affecting the reputation of the Christian mission in China for the next hundred years'.¹⁴¹ This sentiment was captured by one famous Chinese scholar, 'When Buddha came to China, he was riding on an elephant but Jesus was riding on gunboats'.¹⁴² The departure of two remaining staff of the China Inland Mission, Rupert Clarke and Arthur Mathews, marked the end of Christian missions in China.¹⁴³ The fourth entrance of Christian missions into China was a difficult time that did not begin, or end, well. In the next chapter, we will study the five resulting historical events which led to the end of the fourth entrance of Christian missions in China and how they impacted upon Chinese conceptions of Christianity, right up to the present day.

"Olyphant and Opium: A Canton Merchant who 'just said 'NO''", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 16, No.2 (April 1992), 66-69.

¹⁴¹ Brown, George T. *Christianity in the People's Republic of China* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1983), 24.

¹⁴² Jiang Menglin 蒋梦麟. 西潮 [*Tiding from the West*], (Tianjin: Education Press 教育出版社, 2008), 3-4.

¹⁴³ Thompson, Phyllis. *China: The Reluctant Exodus, the Story of the Withdrawal of the China Inland Mission from China* (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979), 169-183.

Chapter 2 Historical Events Impacting on Chinese Conceptions of Christianity after the Opium Wars

The four entrances of Christianity into China have been studied in the previous chapter. During the Opium Wars and the Unequal Treaties, we discovered that Christianity came into China when missionaries and opium traders arrived together following western gunboats. Because of the inauspicious entrance by the missionaries, Christianity and opium have been linked together in Chinese minds. However, this was just the beginning; subsequent historical events occurred with even more of a negative impact on the Chinese conceptions of western missionaries and Christianity. Next we will turn to few selected, and significant historical events between the Opium Wars and the early 1950s to understand they have negatively influenced Chinese conceptions of Christianity. In order to better understand how some Chinese people in mainland China perceive Christianity in relation to these historical events, we will examine a selection of Chinese literature to see how these historical events have been recorded by representative Chinese scholars, especially in terms of their religious aspects.

Section one will study the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom to see how the founder, Hong Xiuquan, had been influenced by western missionaries; established his regime; occupied more than half the territory of China; and almost overthrew the Qing government. Section two will examine the religious cases (jiao'an), and we will investigate the incidents of opposition to western missionaries and Chinese Christians. These occurred almost two thousand times throughout the country, over a period of seventy years from the first incident in 1842 to the Revolution of 1911 during the late Qing Dynasty. The incidents themselves are evidence of Chinese sentiment toward Christianity at that time. However, the main reasons for them and the resulting consequences for the Chinese will be studied in order to understand why

Christianity and western missionaries were hated even more after these incidents, leading to the nationwide movement referred to as the Boxer Uprising.

In section three on the Boxer Uprising, the political and social situations preceding it will be given attention in order to understand its background. This will be followed by examining its characteristics, slogans, and main purpose; and finally its consequences during the expedition and aggression of the Eight Power Allied Forces and the resulting Unequal Treaty, the Boxer Protocol. Because missionary strategies changed after the Boxer Uprising, and Chinese people also realized that self-strengthening was a better way to save the nation, Christian missions experienced a golden period of twenty years from 1900 to 1920. This was followed by the Anti-Christian movement that took place under the direct influence of the May Fourth Movement.

In section four's discussion of the Anti-Christian movement in the 1920s, we will explore the three stages of the movement, and its trigger point. The first stage occurred during the 11th World Student Christian Federation Conference, was ideological in nature, and lasted only for several months. In contrast, the second stage of the movement, with the participation of the Nationalist and Communist Parties, was more organized and more political in nature. During the third stage of the movement, due to the Massacre of May 30 in Shanghai, nationalist sentiment rose to an all-time high. This Anti-Christian movement had a great impact on Christian missions in China. At this time the Chinese Church sought to sever relations with western imperialism, and the indigenous Chinese Church movement began.

In section five, we will exam Vatican decisions taken during the vexed and violent times before the Communist Party took power in China in 1949. As background to this section, we will briefly study the history of the relationship between the Vatican and China, and then

explore Vatican attitudes during the Japanese invasion of China, and its establishment of the Puppet Manchurian Regime in the Northeast of China before the Eight Year War of Resistance against Japan from 1937 to 1945. We will also look at the Communist Party's religious policy regarding Christianity before and during the Anti-Japanese War. Lastly, we will explore what approaches Vatican and western missionaries took towards the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party during the Civil War from 1945 to 1949 which lead to an end of the fourth Christian mission in China when the Communist Party took power in 1949.

2.1. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom

After the first Opium War 1838-1840, western missionaries were able to move freely in the five trading ports, but they still encountered hindrance and opposition from the Chinese populace. Unexpectedly, hundreds of thousands of people formed religious groups, as a result of the seed of the Gospel planted by clandestine missionary activities before the Opium War.

2.1.1. Hong Xiuquan, the Founder of the Taiping

Hong Xiuquan, the founder of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, was born in 1814 in Hua county Guangdong province. He studied Confucianism beginning in his childhood, and was prominent in scholarly-official circles in his hometown. Hong was eager to attend the imperial examination in order to obtain a successful career, and at 15 years old he ranked first in the exam in his county, but failed the provincial exam. In 1836, Hong went to Guangzhou to take the examination again, but still failed. Outside the examination centre, Yale-educated missionary Edwin Stevens of the ABCFM handed him a Christian tract *Good Words to Admonish the Age*. It was written by an early Chinese Christian, Liang Ahfa, who was a woodblock printer to the first two Protestant missionaries in China, Robert Morrison and

William Milne. Hong glanced over the tract, and put it aside.¹⁴⁴

In 1837, after Hong failed the exam a third time, he was bedridden for forty days. In his illness, he saw himself in a dream being transported to heaven and taken to a palace. His heart was transformed, and he met a black-robed, blond-haired patriarch whom he regarded later as the Heavenly Father. The patriarch lamented in Hong's dream, 'All human beings in the world are created and provided by me, but not one of them remembers and venerates me; instead they rebel against me and take of my gifts to worship demons; they purposely rebel against me, and arouse my anger. Do not imitate them'.¹⁴⁵

In 1843, Hong participated one last time in the imperial examination in Guangzhou, but this attempt again resulted in failure. At this time he was reminded of the tract *Good Words to Admonish the Age*, and he read it carefully with his cousin Li Jingfang. Hong discovered that it was very much in accordance with the dream he had seven years earlier, so they baptised each other according to the teaching of the tract. After painstaking perusal of the tract and other materials with his friend Feng Yunshan and his clansman Hong Rengan, Hong decided to proclaim the sin of idolatry and the essence of worshipping the true God. Hong established the God Worshippers Society in 1843, and went to Guangxi and other counties with Feng to preach about it. In the spring of 1847, Hong went to Guangzhou with Hong Rengan to study Christianity under the Southern Baptist missionary Issachar Jacox Roberts (1802-1871). Hong

¹⁴⁴ Cui Zhiqing & Hu Chengyou 崔之清 & 胡臣友. 洪秀全评传 [*A Critical Biography of Hong Xiuquan*], (Nanjing: Nanjing University Press 南京大学出版社, 1994), 31-36. Su Shuangbi 苏双碧. 太平天国人物论集 [*Symposium of the Figures of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*], (Fujian: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1984), 20-28.

¹⁴⁵ "China: The Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864)", *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450-1990: A Documentary Sourcebook*, Klaus Koschorke & Frieder Ludwig & Mariano Delgado Eds. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 81. Meadows, Thomas T. *The Chinese and Their Rebellions: Viewed in Connection with Their National Philosophy, Ethics, Legislation, and Administration* (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1856), 77. Yang Biyu 杨碧玉. 洪秀全: 政治人格之研究 [*Hong Xiuquan: Study on Political Personality*], (Taipei: Xiuwei Press, 秀威出版, 2009), 118-141.

was given a copy of the Medhurst/Gutzlaff Bible translation, and asked to memorize it, which was his first time exploring the entire Bible. After three months, Hong requested water baptism, but Roberts refused it, so Hong left to rendezvous with Feng in Guangxi. By that time, they already had about 3,000 members. Hong took charge of the God Worshippers Society again in 1847 with Feng who was baptised by Karl Gützlaff.¹⁴⁶

2.1.2. Hong's Belief and the Establishment of the Taiping

Hong's indigenous theology and belief was primarily based on *Good Words to Admonish the Age*. The tract and additional materials had nine volumes, about 10,000 words, and contained more than sixty articles. Twenty-six of the articles were passages from the 1823 Morrison-Milne Bible, another thirty-five were passages accompanied with Liang's own commentaries, and the rest were accounts of his own conversion experience and clandestine evangelism. The materials began by depicting humanity's original sin and God's evangelical activity after the Fall as a loving Heavenly Father; then Liang attacked Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. He also established God's sovereignty by depicting God as the Creator of heaven and earth with omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient attributes. Liang proclaimed all humans equal before God, that the poor should be content, and unquestionable obedience to authority.¹⁴⁷

The Heavenly Kingdom was portrayed as a moral and orderly world characterised by justice, brotherhood, and great peace. The God Worshippers destroyed idols, ancestral tablets,

¹⁴⁶ Mao Jiaqi 茅家琦. 太平天国史研究 [*Research on History of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*], (Nanjing: Nanjing University Press 南京大学出版社, 1989), 117-119. Zhong Wendian 钟文典. 太平天国开国史 [*The History of the Founding of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*], (Guangxi: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1992), 70-75. Guo Yunshen 郭蕴深. 洪秀全 [*Hong Xiuquan*], (Haerbing: Haerbing Press 哈尔滨出版社, 1996), 38-39.

¹⁴⁷ Gu Changsheng 顾长声. 传教士与近代中国 [*Missionary and Modern China*], 69-72. Guo Yuming 郭豫明. 洪秀全 [*Hong Xiuquan*], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1978), 10-15. Gao Fei 高芾. 野史记: 传说中的近代中国 [*Wild Records: Legend of the Modern China*], (Beijing: Social Sciences Press 社会科学出版社, 2005), 76-78.

temples, and religious images, and pledged not to worship evil spirits, but to keep the Ten Commandments. *Good Words to Admonish the Age* was written to propagate Christianity, not to advocate revolution; therefore there was a definite process from the establishment of the God Worshippers Society to the launch of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom uprising. Hong also wrote several pamphlets and distributed them along with the New Testament. He proclaimed himself as God's son and Jesus' younger brother, who came to rescue people and exterminate all evils. His contemporaries Yang Xiuqing and Xiao Chaogui practiced spirit possession in the name of the Trinity in order to convey God's words, prophecy and heal the sick.¹⁴⁸

Hong launched the Jintian Uprising in 1851 with about one million members of the God Worshippers Society. They captured Nanjing in 1853 and established the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. In the following years, the Taiping's footprint covered more than eighteen provinces, and they conquered more than 600 cities. Hong proclaimed himself as the Heavenly King, and Nanjing as the 'New Jerusalem' where he established Taiping's regime. Feng fashioned a solar calendar at that time to highlight the Sabbath, and the best room in the city became the Heavenly Father's Hall for services of worship. Hong claimed that he met the Heavenly Mother and Heavenly Sister-in Law in heaven, and gave his own son to his old brother Jesus as an adoptive son. The Sacred Treasury System was established, and all property was turned over to it. The Land System was promulgated to promote egalitarianism based on Hong's belief of theocratic state power. Hong abolished foot-binding, arranged marriage, prostitution, and prohibited opium-smoking. He printed the Taiping Bible which included the first six books from the Old Testament and the complete New Testament. The Taiping Bible and Hong's doctrinal pamphlets became the basis for the education and civil

¹⁴⁸ Li Zhiguang 李志刚. 基督教与中国近代文化论文集 [*Symposium of Christianity and Chinese Modern Culture*], (Taipei: Cosmic Light Press 宇宙光出版社, 1992), 154-155. Tian Yuan 田原. 洪秀全传 [*Biography of Hong Xiuquan*], (Hubei: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1982), 19-20.

service examination in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom.¹⁴⁹

2.1.3. Missionaries' Attitude and the Taiping's Failure

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom became another Chinese regime apart from the Beijing Manchu government, and attracted the attention of western countries. In the beginning, western nations took a neutral stand, however, the British and American authorities forbade missionaries to openly contact the Taiping. Missionaries expected that if the revolution was successful, the maritime boycott would end, easing trade and missionary work. In more than ten years of the Taiping reign, missionaries visited Nanjing about twenty times. They were excited, as they expected and hoped to see the Christianisation of China.¹⁵⁰

In 1856, Hong instigated the assassination of Yang Xiuqing because of his arbitrary decisions and despotism, and 20,000 members of Yang's court were slaughtered. Hong Rengan had escaped to Hong Kong earlier in 1854, studied Christianity from a Swedish missionary Theodore Hamberg under the Basel Mission, and been baptised. He was subsidised by the LMS and finally arrived in Nanjing in 1859 which was a time filled with difficulties and contradictions. He held the position of Prince Gang, similar to the role of a Prime Minister, and in charge of internal affairs and foreign relations. Hong Rengan intended to reform Taiping Christianity, and also composed an Administrative Programme to advocate learning from the West and promote economic, political and cultural reform. With Hong Rengan's help, Welsh missionary Griffith John obtained an imperial edict from the Heavenly

¹⁴⁹ Guo Yisheng 郭毅生. 太平天国历史与地理 [*History and Geography of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*], (Beijing: Sino-Map Press 中国地图出版社, 1989), 13-15. Hua Gang 华岗. 太平天国革命战争史 [*History of the Revolutionary War of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1955), 33-52. Zhang Yiwen 张一文. 太平天国军事史 [*The Military History of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*], (Guangxi: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1994), 3-23.

¹⁵⁰ Tang Qing 汤清. 中国基督教百年史 [*A Hundred Year History of Christianity in China*], (Hong Kong: Tao Sound Press 道声出版社, 1987), 154-157. Huang Xinxian 黄新宪. 基督教教育与中国社会变迁 [*Christian Education and Social Changes in China*], (Fujian: Education Press 教育出版社, 2000), 80-83.

King, allowing him to take an extensive missionary journey into the Chinese interior. During this time the British Bible Society decided to publish one million copies of the New Testament in Chinese, and raised funding for the next twenty years of ministry in China.¹⁵¹

Beginning in 1860, many missionaries after visiting Nanjing altered their attitude negatively towards the Taiping. They considered Taiping beliefs as heresy because of their mixture of Christianity with Chinese traditional rituals. Missionary Issachar J. Roberts was invited to Nanjing in October 1860 by Hong, and appointed as a high official. However, Roberts left in disappointment after fifteen months because he could not achieve the expected missionary purpose. Additionally, Catholic priests were against the Taiping and gave negative reports to the Vatican and the French government because the Taiping destroyed Virgin Mary images while ravaging idols in their territory. Western powers were also concerned that the Taiping regime would abrogate the commercial privileges they had extracted through the Unequal Treaties from the Qing government after the first Opium War in 1840; and possibly negate the settlement regarding travelling and trading freedom in the entire country set up through the Beijing Convention in 1860. The western nations were already supplying the Qing Dynasty with foreign forces and materials, and L. G. Godon helped the Manchu in the fight with the Taiping. Zeng Guofan also called on the Chinese scholar-officials and populace to preserve the Chinese traditional culture and established his Xiang Army with the Emperor's permission. Eventually, because of its own blunders and infighting, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom perished in 1864.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Qiu Yuanyou 邱远猷. 太平天国法律制度研究 [*Study on the Legal System of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*], (Beijing: Normal University Press 师范学院出版社, 1991), 129-138. Hai Enbo 海恩波. 圣经与中华 [*The Bible and China*], (Hong Kong: China Alliance Press 宣道出版社, 1951), 74-76. Luo Weihong & Yao Minquang & 罗伟虹 & 姚民权. 中国基督教简史 [*A Brief History of Chinese Christianity*], 112-115.

¹⁵² Mao Jiaqi 茅家琦. 太平天国对外关系史 [*History of Foreign Relations of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*], 304-314. Mu Zhongjian & Zhang Jian 牟钟鉴 & 张践. 中国宗教通史 [*Religious History of China*],

Because of the Taiping Uprising, the Qing government was suspicious and prohibitive towards the church and western missionaries. After the Taiping established its capital city in Nanjing, British and American missionaries went there to visit and observe, and the leaders of the Taiping considered them as their “foreign brothers”. Issachar J. Roberts was appointed as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1860, and stayed at Nanjing until 1862. The close relationship between foreign missionaries and the Taping has intensified Chinese suspicions towards all westerners. Because of the Taiping, Chinese people have complicated views and feelings. From one side, Chinese people considered the Taping Uprising as a national revolutionary movement in China, and believed that the change of missionaries’ attitudes influenced western powers to interfere and caused its failure. From another side, Aikman pointed out that ‘it must have etched in the minds of Chinese officialdom that Christianity could become an ingredient in a revolt against the ruling dynasty’.¹⁵³

2.2. The Religious Cases (Jiao'an) in the late Qing Dynasty

After the Opium Wars, the door to China was blasted open by western cannons. Western missionaries took advantage of extraterritoriality and, accompanied by the forces of aggression, travelled across the whole of China for the first time. Backed by aggressive imperialist forces, they entered into inland China, building churches, hospitals, schools, and parishes. However, from the first Opium War in 1840 to the Revolution of 1911 in the late Qing Dynasty, incidents in opposition to Christianity occurred frequently throughout the entire time period. During the seventy years from the first religious case in 1842 to 1911, almost two thousands incidents of opposition to Christianity took place. These anti-

vol. 2 (Beijing: Social Sciences Press 社会科学出版社, 2000), 1007-1010. Gu Changsheng 顾长声. 传教士与近代中国 [*Missionary and Modern China*], 81-97.

¹⁵³ Aikman, David. *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity Is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power* (Washington: Regnery Publishing, 2003), 39.

missionary incidents which were called religious cases (Jiao'an) in China involved members of the Chinese gentry, officials, and soldiers as well as the general populace against foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians. Many incidents involving western missionaries, foreign consuls, and ambassadors, were officially recorded by magistrates.¹⁵⁴

These Anti-Christian incidents had distinctive features and significant effects upon modern Chinese history. Their significant impact at the time had effects that have coloured Chinese conceptions of Christianity, right up until the present day. Four of the main causes for negative Chinese attitudes towards Christianity, which Chinese scholars attribute to these incidents, are discussed here: restoring confiscated properties to the Catholic Church; attacking Confucianism; harbouring believers and intervening in litigations; and finally rumours and libellous posters.

2.2.1. Restoring Confiscated Properties

The restoration of confiscated properties to the Catholic Church was the first cause of religious incidents related to Chinese opposition to Christianity. After Emperor Yongzheng issued an edict to ban Christianity in 1724, church properties were confiscated. Following the first Opium War, France forced the Qing government to protect Christianity in 1844. Under French pressure, the Emperor Daoguang issued an edict that legalized Christianity and restored the confiscated churches to the Catholics in 1846. The 1860 Treaty of Beijing with France expanded the scope of restoration of the confiscated church properties from church buildings to include schools, graveyards, farms, and annexes. As interpreters in the negotiation of the Treaty, the French missionaries Louis Delmarre and Baron de Meritens

¹⁵⁴ Zhao Shuhao 赵树好. “晚清教案发展阶段新探 [New Analysis of the Development and Stages of the Religious Cases in the late Qing]”, *历史研究* [Historical Research], vol. 1 (2001). Xue Xiaodong 樊孝东. “晚清直隶教案诱因分析: 以 1860 年 11 月--1898 年 10 月为中心 [The Analysis of the Religious Cases in Zhili: Centred on Nov. 1860 to Oct. 1898]”, *史学月刊* [Journal of Historical Science], vol. 3 (2005).

added unilaterally in the Chinese version ‘并任法国传教士在各省租买田地, 建造自便 *French missionaries had the right to rent or buy lands and build churches anywhere in China*’.

France also obtained the right of Far East patronage from Portugal.¹⁵⁵

These treaties required that all property confiscated from the Catholic Church since 1724 had to be restored. French missionaries rushed to different properties and requested that they be returned. However, after more than one hundred years, many properties had been resold several times, destroyed, dismantled and rebuilt, or otherwise changed. Consequently, some missionaries demanded restoration without consideration of the practicalities of their demands.¹⁵⁶

Four different types of incident arose from the restoration of the confiscated properties. The first involved property that had been converted to other uses, and local officials acquiesced to the missionaries’ demands to return the property. In one case in Beijing, the property had become housing for a number of people; the residents were forced to move out and the local government had to spend money to repair and expand the buildings before returning them. In another case in Jiangzhou Shanxi province, the property was originally the mansion of a prince of the Ming Dynasty and had become a Catholic Church in the early Qing Dynasty. After confiscation, the local officials used it as Dongyong Academy, built additional housing, and repaired it several times. However, the officials were forced to return it to

¹⁵⁵ Zhang Li & Liu Jiantang 张力 & 刘鉴唐. 中国教案史 [*History of Religious Cases in China*], (Chengdu: Social Sciences Press 社会科学院出版社, 1987), 280-286. Wang Tieya Ed. 王铁崖编. 中外旧约章汇编 [*Compilation of the Old Foreign and Chinese Treaties*], vol. 1 (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company 三联书店, 1957), 147. Ji Pingzi 季平子. 从鸦片战争到甲午战争 [*From the Opium War to the Sino-Japanese War*], (Taipei: Knowledge House Press 知书房出版社, 2001), 484. Jiang Guoxiong & Chen Fangzhong 江国雄 & 陈方中. 中梵外交关系史 [*History of the Sino-Vatican Diplomatic Relations*], (Taiwan: Commercial Press 商务印书馆, 2003), 92.

¹⁵⁶ Ding Mingnan 丁名楠. “关于中国近代史上教案的考察 [Research on the Religious Cases in the Modern History of China]”, 近代史研究 [*Study of Modern History*], vol. 1 (1990). Zhao Shuhao 赵树好. 教案与晚清社会 [*Religious Cases and the Late Qing Society*], (Beijing: China Literary Federation Press 中国文联出版社, 2001), 57.

French missionaries.¹⁵⁷

In the second type of incident, returning a particular property was not convenient, so missionaries would choose a different property in its place. In a case in Nanjing, the confiscated property had become a government warehouse, so French missionaries chose another piece of land in the city centre, and the local government also bought a townhouse for the missionaries. The third type of incident involved missionaries using the restoration of property as an excuse to extort without justification. In a case in Nanyang city in Henan province, missionaries identified the Zhejiang Assembly Hall as Catholic property. However, they could not provide records to substantiate their claim and were met with fierce opposition. This case lasted thirty five years (1861-1895), until the Qing government finally spent 10,210 taels of silver to build a church for the missionaries.¹⁵⁸

In the fourth type of incident, missionaries demanded restoration of the property confiscated from Chinese Christians. In a case in Chengdu city in Sichuan province, a Chinese Christian's house had been destroyed and the local government was made to pay 1,600 taels of silver to French missionaries, so they could build a new church. During the restoration of the confiscated properties to the Catholic Church, the French missionaries were backed by powerful politicians. These envoys threatened to send gunboats if the missionaries' demands were not met, and such actions aroused resistance and hatred among the Chinese people.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Lü Shiqiang 吕实强. 中国官绅反教原因, 1860-1874 [*The Reasons Why the Chinese Officials and Gentries were Anti-Christian, 1860-1874*], (Taipei: ASIMH 中央研究院近代史研究所, 1968), 64-71. Huang Yinong 黄一农. “明清天主教在山西绛州的发展及其反弹 [The Development and Rebound of Catholics in Jiangzhou Shanxi during the Ming and Qing Dynasties]”, 近代史研究所集刊 [*Collections of the Institute of Modern History*], vol. 26 (Dec. 1993).

¹⁵⁸ Zhao Shuhao 赵树好. 教案与晚清社会 [*Religious Cases and the Late Qing Society*], 59-62.

¹⁵⁹ Lü Shiqiang 吕实强. 中国官绅反教原因, 1860-1874 [*The Reasons Why the Chinese Officials and Gentries were Anti-Christian, 1860-1874*], 74-80.

2.2.2. *Attacking Confucianism*

Attacking Confucianism was the second cause of anti-Christian incidents. After the Chinese Rites Controversy, the Vatican prohibited missionaries from accommodating Chinese rites and Confucian rituals. The rituals of respecting heaven; ancestor worship; serving God; and the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues, represented Chinese national traditions, culture, beliefs, and customs. However, the Vatican considered those rituals as pagan practices and banned their missionaries from permitting Chinese Christians to practice them. This attitude led to the prohibition of Christian missions in China in 1724 and anti-missionary incidents more than one century later.¹⁶⁰

In 1869, Chinese Protestant Christians numbered about 6,000, and by the end of the century, about 58,000. In the sixty years from the first Opium War in 1840 until the end of the 1800s, the number of Chinese Catholics only doubled. Missionaries attributed their ineffectiveness to the widespread practice of Confucianism as an obstacle. Their solution was to criticize Confucianism and propose that people accept either Confucius or Jesus but not both. They took a stand against Confucianism and its influence in order to establish and propagate Christianity. Many missionaries placed Confucianism and Christianity in completely opposite positions and attempted to introduce Christianity as a substitute for Confucianism. This tactic greatly offended the Chinese intelligentsia and was strongly resisted. Consequently, some intellectuals wrote and distributed anti-Christian brochures. Eight hundred thousand copies of one of the booklets, *The Evil Religion Should Be*

¹⁶⁰ Guo Hanmin & Zhou Xiaozhan 郭汉民 & 邹小站. “全国第四次近代中国教案学术讨论会综述 [Overview of the Fourth National Symposium on Religious Cases in Modern China]”, 求索 [Search], vol. 1 (1993). Xu Zongze 徐宗泽. 中国天主教传教史概论 [An Introduction to Chinese Catholic Mission History], (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore 上海书店, 1990), 255-257. Chen Xulu 陈旭麓. 近代中国社会的新陈代谢 [Metabolism of Modern Chinese Society], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1991), 15.

Extinguished, were published in Hunan province, and the booklet was copied in other provinces quickly. Members of the gentry and intellectuals played an important role in the anti-Christian incidents around the issue of Confucianism.¹⁶¹

2.2.3. *Harbouring Believers and Intervention in Litigations*

The third main reason for anti-missionary incidents was the harbouring of believers and intervention in litigations. Missionaries wanted fast-growing churches, so they did not discriminate between good and bad converts; they just widely recruited believers to join their church. Many of the converts were poor people who came primarily for food and money; they have been called “rice Christians”. However, some brigands and ruffians joined churches for other reasons. Some lawbreakers hid in church to escape from punishment; some debtors fled into church to avoid repayment of loans; some longed to vent their personal spite on others. Because missionaries had consular jurisdiction, they extended extraterritoriality to Chinese believers.¹⁶²

Because the ideas of the missionaries about state, society, and law sometimes differed from those of the Chinese, conflict with Chinese political structures and social customs was common. Missionaries often listened only to one side of a story and shielded believers from Chinese laws. Some missionaries spared no expense to appear and intervene in litigations, and

¹⁶¹ Wang Minglun 王明伦. 反洋教书文揭帖选 [*Selection of Anti-Christian Posters*], (Jinan: Qilu Press 齐鲁书社, 1984), 78, 96, 162. Li Shiyue 李时岳. 近代中国反洋教运动 [*The Anti-Christian Movement in Modern China*], (Beijing: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1985), 21-22. Cheng Xiao & Zhang Ming 程歆 & 张鸣. “晚清教案中的习俗冲突 [Custom Conflicts in the Religious Cases during the Late Qing Dynasty]”, 义和团运动-华北社会-直隶总督 [*The Boxer Movement- North China Society- Zhili Governor*], Li Renkai & Cheng Xiaojun & Chi Zihua & Heng Zhiyi Eds. 黎仁凯 & 成晓军 & 池子华 & 衡志义 主编 (Hebei: Hebei University Press 河北大学出版社, 1997), 67-78. Lin Huaguo 林华国. “关于近代反洋教斗争的几个问题 [Several Issues of Modern Anti-Christian Struggle]”, 义和团运动-华北社会-直隶总督 [*The Boxer Movement- North China Society- Zhili Governor*], Li Renkai & Cheng Xiaojun & Chi Zihua & Heng Zhiyi Eds. 黎仁凯 & 成晓军 & 池子华 & 衡志义 主编 (Hebei: Hebei University Press 河北大学出版社, 1997), 79-87.

¹⁶² Gu Changsheng 顾长声. 传教士与近代中国 [*Missionary and Modern China*], 133-134. Qi Qizhang & Wang Ruhui 戚其章 & 王如绘. 晚清教案纪事 [*Chronicle of the Religious Cases in the Late Qing Dynasty*], (Beijing: Oriental Press 东方出版社, 1990), 7-11.

Chinese officials could not safeguard their judicial sovereignty. Local officials were not respected, and missionaries could request to see the governor of a province in person and negotiate directly. Because of missionary interference, Chinese law could not regulate Chinese Christians and became powerless against them, and some believers created havoc in towns and tyrannized the weak. Missionaries were accepted as the protectors of Chinese Christians' faith, but the practice of protecting them from Chinese law separated believers from their own countrymen and built a state within a state. Chinese Christians were exempted from the general power of the government and its jurisdiction, and this exception was a serious blow to the prestige and sovereignty of the Chinese state. It caused many of the Chinese gentry, officials, and the masses to abhor western missionaries and Chinese Christians.¹⁶³

2.2.4. Rumours and Libellous Posters

Rumours and libellous posters were the fourth main cause of the incidents of opposition to foreign religion. In the Anti-Missionary Incident in Tianjin in 1870, twenty foreigners were killed, and this incident shocked the whole country and the world. The incident originated in rumours about abducting and trafficking in children, and obtaining abdominal organs and limbs from which to extract medicines for Catholic churches. After Christianity entered China during the Opium Wars, rumours of this kind spread continually. Because missionaries followed the aggressive imperialist powers into China, the Chinese viewed Christianity as an evil religion. The Chinese assumed that Christianity followed evil practices similar to those of ancient Chinese secret religions. In addition to this, the unfamiliar environment in Christian churches and the strange actions and behaviours raised many suspicions. For instance, the

¹⁶³ Zhangli & Liu Jiantang 张力 & 刘鉴唐. 中国教案史 [*History of the Religious Cases in China*], 363-373.

Catholic founding and operation of hospitals and orphanages observed strict secrecy, with high walls and gates that were always closed. Furthermore, Catholic churches accepted dying babies and baptized them; and death occurred frequently in China during the time of the missionaries. Dead bodies were buried at night, and several corpses were placed in one coffin. All of these facts seemed to support people's suspicions that these negative rumours were true. These suspicions were reinforced by the fact that child abductions were also taking place. Under the cloak of charity, some lawless men abducted children and deceptively presented them as abandoned to churches for their financial benefit. If they were arrested, they slandered the church by saying the church instigated the abduction. Moreover, some members of the gentry and intellectuals fabricated rumours and displayed libellous posters to arouse public indignation. Subsequently, because consuls and missionaries sometimes harboured lawless believers whom suppressed the poor, the rumours and posters fed the resentment towards foreigners that was already present. As a result, twenty foreigners including thirteen French, three Russians, two Belgians, one Italian, and one Irish were killed in the incident. The Qing government paid 500,000 taels of silver, punished twenty Chinese by death, and exiled twenty five people.¹⁶⁴

Of the anti-Christian incidents, more than seventy five percent happened in the Catholic Church, most with missionaries of French or German backgrounds. Missionaries from different denominations had varying goals and practices. Missionaries of the Eastern Orthodox Church, which was under Russian authority, were interested in collecting

¹⁶⁴ Su Ping 苏萍. 谣言与清代教案 [*Rumour and Religious Cases in the Qing Dynasty*], (Shanghai: Far-East Press 远东出版社, 2001), 221. Zhao Shuhao 赵树好. “英国与天津教案 [England and Tianjin Massacre]”, 人文杂志 [*The Journal of Humanities*], vol.3 (1997). Huang Bo 黄波. “天津教案: 谣言揭开文明冲突的序幕 [Tianjin Massacre: Rumours Opened the Prelude to Civilizations Conflict]”, 百家讲坛 [*Lecture Room*], vol. 24 (2010). Dong Conglin 董丛林. “‘迷拐’, ‘折割’传闻与天津教案 [Rumours about ‘Abduction’, ‘Getting Organs’ and Tianjin Massacre]”, 近代史研究 [*Study of Modern History*], vol. 2 (2003).

information for studies of sinology, and most of their contacts were diplomatic officials and emigrants. Protestant missionaries were more open than Catholics, focusing their missionary work in cities, and their converts were primarily among intellectuals and businessmen. Their financial support came from the societies that sponsored the missions, not the government, and so they had less political interference. They also founded medical and educational undertakings in China, and accelerated the modernisation of the country, which the people saw as beneficial. However, the Catholic missionaries were more traditional and aggressive, and they relied on the government for their funding. They were under the patronage of France and therefore under French control. They concentrated on the countryside, and their converts were landlords, tenant farmers, and sometimes hoodlums. Catholic missionaries were the only ones to whom the issue of the restoration of confiscated properties applied.¹⁶⁵

2.3. The Boxer Uprising

From the beginning, the Anti-Christian incidents occurred in local settings, where the targets were foreign invaders, western missionaries, and Chinese believers. However, every incident resulted in severe suppression from foreign forces and the Qing government. Usually, the Chinese government would be pressured into concessions such as ceding territory or/and paying indemnities, punishing Chinese people or/and recalling their officials. Moreover, foreign powers used the incidents as excuses to extort and send more military forces. The situation became increasingly intense and finally caused a nationwide movement in 1900, the Boxer Uprising, with the slogan ‘Eliminate foreigners with the aid of the Qing dynasty

¹⁶⁵ Mu Zhongjian & Zhang Jian 牟钟鉴 & 张践. 中国宗教通史[*Religious History of China*], vol. 2, 1010-1015. Zhangli & Liu Jiantang 张力 & 刘鉴唐. 中国教案史 [*History of the Religious Cases in China*], 389-390.

government'.¹⁶⁶

2.3.1. *The Origin of the Uprising*

In the first Sino-Japanese War in 1894, the Qing government was defeated and forced to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Taiwan, Penghu, and subsidiary islands were ceded to Japan, various ports and rivers were opened to international entry and trade, and China paid a war indemnity of 230 million taels of silver to Japan. After this, western imperialists intensified the carving up of China. These increasing incursions into Chinese territory intensified Chinese feelings of anger towards outsiders, culminating in the Juye Anti-Missionary Incident in Shandong province in 1897, in which two German missionaries were killed. Germany occupied Jiaozhou Bay under the pretext that it was an important ancient military fortification. The Germans demanded the right to build two railways in Shandong and exploit mineral resources within 30 miles of both sides of the railways, so Shandong became German territory. The other western powers took notice of Germany's action, and today the Chinese regard this incident as the beginning of the carving up of China by western imperialists.¹⁶⁷

In the rural areas of Shandong and Hebei provinces, the traditional economic structures and lifestyles revolved around agriculture, cottage industries, and the handwork textile industry. This traditional economy was under great pressure from exorbitant taxes and levies, landlord exploitation, a vast population, and limited farmland. However, the importation of foreign machine-woven cloth and machine-spun cotton yarn had a fatal impact on the economy. Common traditional transportation carriers lost their jobs to railway transportation

¹⁶⁶ Sun Changlai 孙长来. “反洋教斗争和义和团运动关系略论 [Brief Discussion on the Relations between the Struggles against Christianity and the Boxer Uprising]”, 社会科学辑刊 [Social Science Journal], vol. 3 (1996).

¹⁶⁷ Yu Dahua 喻大华. “义和团运动与近代社会研究 [The Boxer Uprising and the Study of Modern Society]”, 义和团研究一百年 [One Hundred Years Research on the Boxer Uprising], Su Weizhi & Liu Tianlu Eds. 苏位智 & 刘天路 编 (Jinan: Qilu Press 齐鲁书社, 2000), 126-143. Zhou Xirui 周锡瑞. 义和团运动的起源 [The Origin of the Boxer Movement], (Jiangsu: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1992), 202.

and the new shipping industry. Foreign goods were dumped into China and her raw materials were plundered. Large numbers of people were unemployed and bankrupted, and their way of life diminished drastically. In addition, catastrophic floods, severe droughts, and famine struck Shandong, Hebei, Henan, and Jiangsu provinces. The uprising began in Shandong and Hebei provinces, and spread quickly to Tianjin and other areas.¹⁶⁸

The Boxer Uprising, was mobilized by peasants spontaneously and then joined by the gentry and landlords under the slogan “Eliminate foreigners with the aid of the Qing government”. Organized violence and armed conflict was directed against foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians, but the uprising ended when the eight-power allied forces invaded China.

2.3.2. The Development of the Uprising

The three most important characteristics of the Boxers were: animosity toward Christianity, expressed through anti-imperialist activities; the practice of rituals to attain invulnerability to weapons; and secret religious colours. Their driving forces were anti-Christianity, xenophobia, and anti-imperialism. In addition to the difficulties arising from the country’s economic condition and natural disasters, the Boxers saw Catholic missionaries and Chinese Catholics as the new force oppressing the Chinese people. On 15 March 1899, the Qing government had been forced to confer Chinese official titles on foreign missionaries, giving them the same rights as Chinese magistrates and establishing a new rights structure.

¹⁶⁸ Zhang Si 张思. “直鲁农村手工纺织业的破产与义和团运动 [Rural Manual Textile Bankruptcy in Zhili and Shangdong and the Boxer Uprising]”, 义和团运动与近代中国社会 [*The Boxer Uprising and Modern Chinese Society*], Institute of Study on the History of the Boxer Movement Eds. 中国义和团运动史研究会 编 (Sichuan: Social Sciences Press 社会科学院出版社, 1987), 62-84. Cheng Hong 程洪. “直鲁豫社会的结构变动与义和团运动 [Changes of Social Structure in Zhili, Shangdong and Henan and the Boxer Uprising]”, 义和团运动与近代中国社会 [*The Boxer Uprising and Modern Chinese Society*], Institute of Study on the History of the Boxer Movement Eds. 中国义和团运动史研究会 编 (Sichuan: Social Sciences Press 社会科学院出版社, 1987), 26-61.

The missionaries had established a new authoritative system through their interference in judicial proceedings, and they could contact the high ruling class in the Qing court to protect church members. The new system had multiple sovereign rights, and this became one of the main causes of the Boxer Uprising. In 1886, the Big Sword Society hoisted the flag of 'ejecting and eliminating foreign religion'; the group used the rallying cries 'kill all the Catholics', and 'destroy all the Catholic Churches'.¹⁶⁹ Prince Kung of the Qing Imperial Court, the brother of Emperor Xianfeng, expressed the Chinese position succinctly to Sir Rutherford Alcock in 1869, 'Take away your missionaries and your opium and you will be welcome', and this sentiment was even stronger thirty years later during the Boxer Uprising.¹⁷⁰

Beginning in the spring of 1900, the Boxers arrived in Tianjin and Beijing in great numbers. Embassy personnel and missionaries sent requests to their governments for protection. The joint forces of eight nations and 432 marine personnel set out for Beijing on 31 May. They arrived in Beijing by railway from Dagu and provided assistance in defending and protecting embassies. The situation worsened, and the legation quartered in Beijing lost telecommunications and other contact with the outside world. More than 2,000 international forces, both navy and Marine Corps, marched to Beijing on 10 June under the command of British Vice-Admiral Edward Seymour. However, the railway from Tianjin to Beijing had been destroyed by the Boxers, and Seymour decided to move forward on foot while repairing

¹⁶⁹ Zhou Xirui 周锡瑞. "论义和拳运动的社会成因 [Discussion on Social Causes of the Boxer Uprising]", 文史哲 [*Literature, History and Philosophy*], vol. 1 (1981). Dong Qing & Da Song 冬青 & 大松. "如何看待清政府支持利用义和团 [How to Treat the Qing Government to Support and Use the Boxers]", 史学月刊 [*Journal of Historical Science*], vol. 3 (1981). Mu Anshi 牟安世. 义和团抵抗列强瓜分史 [*The Resistance of the Boxers against the Western Power Carving up China*], 199-203. Lu Jingqi 陆景琪. 义和团在山东 [*The Boxers in Shandong*], (Jinan: Qilu Press 齐鲁书社, 1980), 20-66. Chen Guizong 陈贵宗. 义和团的组织和宗旨 [*Organization and Aim of the Boxer Uprising*], (Jilin: Jilin University Press 吉林大学出版社, 1987), 161-186.

¹⁷⁰ Thompson, *William Scott Ament and the Boxer Rebellion*, 12.

the railway. Seymour's army was attacked by the Boxers and Chinese irregulars, and driven back with heavy losses.¹⁷¹

The foreign powers demanded the Qing government hand over the emplacement at Dagou, and then attacked Dagou on 17 June. On 21 June, the Empress Dowager Cixi called on the imperial army to fight the Eight-Nation Alliance and instructed all embassy personnel and their families to leave for Tianjin within 24 hours. The Eight-Nation Alliance ultimatum was refused, the Boxers and the imperial army besieged and attacked the foreign legations. In the southern and eastern provinces, the governors came to the agreement of Southeast Mutual Protection and took neutral ground. More than 30,000 allied troops marched to Tianjin, fought with the Qing army and the Boxers, and occupied the city on 14 June. The international force reached Beijing in the early morning of 14 August, and gained control of the city gates after two days of severe fighting with the Qing troops and the Boxers. The international force occupied Beijing on 16 August, and the foreign legations were relieved after being besieged for 56 days.¹⁷²

During the Boxer Uprising in 1900, the German army came too late to participate in the

¹⁷¹ Jin Jiarui 金家瑞. 义和团运动 [*The Boxer Movement*], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1962), 56-67. Su Weizhi & Liu Tianlu 苏位智 & 刘天路. 八国联军侵华史 [*History of the Eight-Power Allied Forces Invaded China*], (Shandong: Shandong University Press 山东大学出版社, 1990), 93-130. Lin Huaguo 林华国. 义和团史事考 [*Research on the History of the Boxer Uprising*], (Beijing: Beijing University Press 北京大学出版社, 1993), 103-138. Lin Huaguo 林华国. 历史的真相: 义和团运动的史实及其再认识 [*The Truth of History: the Historical Facts and Re-Thinking of the Boxer Movement*], (Tianjin: Ancient Books Press 古籍出版社, 2002), 151-199.

¹⁷² Li Renkai 黎仁凯. “直隶中部地区义和团运动与清廷的宣战决策 [The Boxer Movement in the Central Region in Zhili and the Qing Court's Decision to Declare War]”, 义和团廊坊大捷 [*The Great Victory of Langfang during the Boxer Movement*], Wang Guanyuan Ed. 王广远 编 (Beijing: Chinese Literature and History Press 中国文史出版社, 1992), 282-290. Jin Jiarui 金家瑞. “论东南互保 [Discussion on Southeast Mutual Protection]”, 义和团运动与近代中国社会 [*The Boxer Uprising and Modern Chinese Society*], Institute of Study on the History of the Boxer Movement Eds. 中国义和团运动史研究会 编 (Sichuan: Social Sciences Press 社会科学院出版社, 1987), 368-382. Liu Lianlu 刘天路. “东南互保述论 [Discussion on Southeast Mutual Protection]”, 义和团运动与近代中国社会 [*The Boxer Uprising and Modern Chinese Society*], Institute of Study on the History of the Boxer Movement Eds. 中国义和团运动史研究会 编 (Sichuan: Social Sciences Press 社会科学院出版社, 1987), 383-396.

war, but it occupied Beijing, Tianjin, and other cities for more than a year and went to the countryside to fight against the Boxers. Germans ravaged villages around Beijing and collected indemnities on behalf of the Catholic Churches. Russia took the opportunity to invade and occupy Manchuria. The Japanese were notorious for beheading people who were Boxers or suspected of being Boxers. The British had loot auctions in their legation every afternoon. Many Chinese women were raped and mutilated, and thousands of Chinese women committed suicide to avoid rape. The Catholic Churches became the storage houses for looted and stolen properties, and an American missionary guided the American army to different villages to punish the Boxers and confiscate their properties.¹⁷³

Journalist George Lynch said, ‘There are things that I must not write, and that may not be printed in England, which would seem to show that this western civilization of ours is merely a veneer over savagery’.¹⁷⁴ In the *Review of Reviews*, the news from China was

calculated to make Europeans hang their head for shame. . . We have flung aside the garb of civilization, and are acting like our piratical ancestors in the days of Vikings. Civilization is but skin deep, and the restraints that conscience endeavours to place upon the human brute have snapped under the strain of events in China.¹⁷⁵

2.3.3. *The End of the Uprising*

¹⁷³ Ebrey, Patricia B. & Walthall, Anne. *East Asia: A Cultural, Social, and Political History* (Boston, MA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2008), 301. Thompson, William Scott *Ament and the Boxer Rebellion*, 204-214. Chamberlin, Wilbur J. “Letter to His Wife (11 December 1900)”, *Ordered to China: Letters of Wilbur J. Chamberlin: Written from China While Under Commission from the New York Sun during the Boxer Uprising of 1900 and the International Complications Which Followed* (NY: Frederick A. Stokes, 1903), 191. Luo Weihong & Yao Minquang 罗伟虹 & 姚民权. *中国基督教简史 [A Brief History of Chinese Christianity]*, 121-127. Gu Weiming 顾卫民. *基督教与近代中国社会 [Christianity and Modern Chinese Society]*, 339-350. Wang Shuhuai 王树槐. “拳乱期间联军的抢劫行为 [Looting and Robbery of the Allied Forces during the Boxer Uprising]”, *中国近代现代史论集: 庚子拳乱 [Chinese Modern and Contemporary History Essays: the Boxer Uprising]*, vol. 13 (Taiwan: Commercial Press 商务印书馆, 1986), 263-280.

¹⁷⁴ Lynch, George. *The War of the Civilisations: being the Record of a “Foreign Devil’s” Experiences with the Allies in China* (London: Longmans & Green Co., 1901), 142. Preston, Diana. *The Boxer Rebellion: The Dramatic Story of China's War on Foreigners that Shook the World in the Summer of 1900* (NY: Berkley, 2000), 284. Waley-Cohen, Joanna. *The Sixtants of Beijing: Global Currents in Chinese History* (NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000), 201.

¹⁷⁵ Hevia, James L. “Looting and Its Discontents: Moral Discourse and the Plunder of Beijing, 1900-1901,” *The Boxers, China, and the World*, Robert A. Bickers & R. G. Tiedemann Eds. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 93-115. (f54).

The Boxer Protocol was signed between the Qing government and eleven nations on 7 September 1901, and it was considered a national humiliation. It had German and Chinese versions, but the German version prevailed which contained twelve articles and nineteen annexes. Due to the individual interests and ambitions of the various nations, the final agreement contained no ceding of territory, but extorted huge war indemnities. The total amount of the Boxer Indemnity was 450 million taels of silver as war reparations. The figure, which equalled the number of people in the Chinese population, was selected in order to insult and humiliate the Chinese people. The principal and interest together, which had to be paid within 39 years, totalled more than 982 million taels. However, the reparations were only part of the humiliation. China was not allowed to import weapons for two years, and the officials and chancellors who supported the Boxers were punished by death or exile. No Chinese were allowed to reside in the legation quarters in Beijing, and the foreign governments could garrison to protect themselves. All the emplacements in Dagu and from Tianjin to Beijing had to be knocked down. No Chinese army could quarter within twenty miles of Tianjin, and foreign troops could be stationed from Tianjin to Beijing. Chinese were prohibited forever, under penalty of death, from establishing or joining any anti-western organization.¹⁷⁶

The terms of the Final Protocol were called the Big Indemnity, and the governors and gentry of seventeen provinces came to an agreement with foreign consuls, missionaries, and Chinese Christians about a local indemnity of 16,873,000 taels of silver, which was called the Small Indemnity. Additionally, in the looting of China carried out by the alien forces, the Qing government lost about six to seven million taels of silver. In Beijing, under the French

¹⁷⁶ Hu Bing 胡滨. “义和团运动时期帝国主义列强在华的矛盾和斗争 [Contradiction and Struggle of the Imperialist Powers in China during the Boxer Movement]”, 义和团运动史论文选 [*Selected Papers on History of the Boxer Movement*], Association of the Boxer Movement Eds. 义和团运动史研究会 编 (Beijing: Zhonghua Press 中华书局, 1984), 393-408. Mu Anshi 牟安世. 义和团抵抗列强瓜分史 [*The Resistance of the Boxers against the Western Power Carving up China*], 445-457.

Bishop Pierre-Marie-Alphonse Favier, Chinese Catholics plundered up to 50 taels of silver within 8 days after the relief of the church on 18 August. The Boxer Indemnity was considered by the Chinese to be a vast debt imposed by western imperialists in an Unequal Treaty that constituted the most ferocious robbing of China.¹⁷⁷

During the Boxer Uprising, 241 foreign missionaries were killed: 53 Catholic missionaries, and 188 Protestant missionaries, including 53 children. More than 20,000 Chinese Christians (approximately 18,000 Catholics and 5,000 Protestants) were massacred in 1900.¹⁷⁸ Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission, refused to accept compensation in an attempt to demonstrate ‘the meekness and gentleness of Christ’ and show ‘such a clear-cut distinction between the motives of the secular power and those of missionaries as witness to Christ and the Gospel’.¹⁷⁹

2.3.4. *The Impact of the Uprising*

After the Boxer Uprising, France gave up its patronage of the Catholic missions and only dealt with incidents between China and France. The Americans used part of the indemnity to provide scholarships to support Chinese students studying in America and to build Qinghua University. Britain used their share of the indemnity to build railways in China. Beginning in

¹⁷⁷ Wang Shuhuai 王树槐. “庚子赔款 [Boxer Indemnity]”, 中央研究院近代史研究所专刊 [Monograph of Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History], vol. 31 (1974). Wang Shuhuai 王树槐. “民国时期的庚子赔款 [Boxer Indemnity in the Republic of China]”, 中国近代现代史论集: 庚子拳乱 [Chinese Modern and Contemporary History Essays: the Boxer Uprising], vol. 13 (Taiwan: Commercial Press 商务印书馆, 1986), 383-397. Wang Shuhuai 王树槐. “庚子地方赔款 [Local Boxer Indemnity]”, 中国近代现代史论集: 庚子拳乱 [Chinese Modern and Contemporary History Essays: the Boxer Uprising], vol. 13 (Taiwan: Commercial Press 商务印书馆, 1986), 335-382. Cheng Xiao & Zhang Hong 程歆 & 张宏. 十亿白银无量血: 辛丑条约 [One Billion Silver Immeasurable Blood: the Boxer Protocol], (Beijing: People’s University Press 人民大学出版社, 1992), 90-93.

¹⁷⁸ Spence, *In Search of Modern China*, 230–235. Schoppa, Keith. *Revolution and Its Past: Identities and Change in Modern Chinese History* (London: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006), 118–123. Gu Weiming 顾卫民. 基督教与近代中国社会 [Christianity and Modern Chinese Society], 341-342.

¹⁷⁹ Broomhall, A. J. *Hudson Taylor & China’s Open Century, Vol. 7, It Is Not Death to Die!* (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989), 469-470.

1902, Britain, America, and other nations made an agreement with the Qing government instructing their missionaries to respect Chinese culture and customs. For example, missionaries were not allowed to intervene in litigations. Chinese Christians were expected to respect government officials and obey Chinese law; they were given no exoneration from accusations simply because they were church members and no exemptions from customary dues and taxes. The agreement was very similar to the Missionary Clause which the Qing government had formulated in 1871 to soothe anti-Christian sentiment. Missionaries adjusted their mission strategies, establishing a formula of Confucius and Jesus instead of Confucius or Jesus. Missionaries also engaged vigorously in medical and educational undertakings and devoted efforts toward scientific and technological advancement.¹⁸⁰

Through the failure of the Boxer Uprising, the Chinese gentry and intellectuals discerned the importance of striving for prosperity and the development of policy, the economy, the military, and education in order to wipe out the disgrace and the struggle for existence. These policies were no longer based in antipathy towards Christianity but in a desire for self-reliance. The Qing dynasty was overthrown during the Revolution of 1911, and the May Fourth Movement, announced the beginnings of what would become the anti-Christian movement of the 1920s. It was well organized by the intelligentsia and students and later joined by the Nationalist and Communist Parties, which meant that the movement can be said to have had a more negative impact on Chinese conceptions of Christianity and Christian missions in China than the Boxer Uprising.

2.4. The Anti-Christian Movement in the 1920s

¹⁸⁰ Zhao Shuhao 赵树好, “晚清教案发展阶段新探 [New Analysis of the Development and Stages of the Religious Cases in the late Qing], 义和团运动 100 周年: 国际学术讨论会论文集 [*One Hundred Years Anniversary of the Boxer Uprising: Symposium of the International Academic Colloquium*], vol. 1, Su Weizhi & Liu Tianlu Eds. 苏位智 & 刘天路 编 (Shandong: Shandong University Press 山东大学出版社, 2002), 568-586. Zhao Shuhao 赵树好, 教案与晚清社会 [*Religious Cases and the Late Qing Society*], 174-191.

In a narrow sense, the May Fourth Movement was primarily a student protest demonstration in Beijing on 4 May 1919. Its origins seem to lie the Paris Conference of 1919, following World War I, when Germany turned over the rights and benefits of Shandong province in China to Japan. The Chinese felt that western imperialist powers wantonly trampled on the sovereignty of China; and the Northern Warlords Government of China failed to safeguard national interests and territorial integrity. This aroused great resentment among the Chinese people, and they demonstrated on the streets with the slogan of “Fighting against Encroachment of Right of the Western Powers, Inflicting Punishment on National Traitors”. In the end, three main officials were deposed, and the representatives of China refused to sign the agreement at the Conference in Paris.¹⁸¹

In a broader sense, the May Fourth Movement covered the period from the Unequal Treaty of Twenty-One Clauses between Japan and China in 1915 to the Northern Expedition in 1926. The Chinese intelligentsia and students were rethinking Chinese traditions and culture, following democracy and science, and were on a quest for a road to a stronger nation. The Movement was also called the New Culture Movement or the May Fourth Enlightenment Movement. The main stream attitude of the May Fourth Movement opposed Christianity, and under its direct influence the anti-Christian movement occurred in the 1920s. This had a great impact on Christian missions and led to the Christian indigenization movement in China.¹⁸²

2.4.1. The First Phase of the Movement

¹⁸¹ Ying Junhao 应俊豪. 公众舆论与北洋外交: 以巴黎和会山东问题为中心的研究 [*Public Opinion and Beiyang Diplomacy: Research Centred on the Issue of Shandong at the Paris Peace Conference*], (Taiwan: Department of History National Political University 国立政治大学历史学系, 2001), 185-188. Chen Sanjing 陈三井. 中国跃向世界舞台: 从参加欧战到出席巴黎和会 [*China Came to the World Stage: from Participating in WWI to Attending the Paris Peace Conference*], (Taipei: Xiuwei Press 秀威出版, 2009), 188-200.

¹⁸² Lü Shiqiang 吕实强. “五四爱国运动的发生: 从历史背景到立即因素 [The May Fourth Patriotic Movement: from the Historical Background to the Immediate Factors]”, 五四研究论文集 [*Symposium of Research on May Fourth*], Wang Rongzu Ed. 汪荣祖 编 (Taipei: Joint Publishing Company 联经出版事业公司, 1980), 21-56. Duan Qi 段琦. 奋进的历程: 中国基督教的本色化 [*Journey of Endeavour: Indigenization of Christianity in China*], (Beijing: Commercial Press 商务印书馆, 2004), 140-142.

The trigger of the anti-Christian movement was the 11th World Student Christian Federation Conference which was scheduled from 4th to 9th April 1922 at Qinghua University in Beijing. Before the Conference, a survey and report of Christian missions in China of the previous twenty years, *The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China*, was published. The statistical data in the report showed the rapid increase of mission schools, which was considered as a great accomplishment by western missionaries, but as a threatening crisis by the Chinese people because of the expansion of Christianity in China. The Non-Christian Students League was established in Shanghai on 26 February 1922, and the *Declaration of Non-Christian Students League* was published on 9 March. The main content of the declaration was that Christianity and churches were regarded as a vanguard of imperialist economic aggression. To establish the Young Men's Christian Association in China was regarded as merely fostering lackeys for imperialists, according to the League's logic, anti-imperialists must be anti-Christianity and anti-Christian churches. *Special Version of Non-Christian Students League* was published on 15 March which contained the League's declaration of intent, organization, and regulations; and their claim that religion was incompatible with science. Christianity was not only anti-science, but was also a tool of imperialists to invade weaker nations.¹⁸³

On 21 March, 77 people from different universities published a declaration including some determined words 'Having Religion, then no Humanity; Having Humanity, then no Religion; No Coexistence of Religion and Humanity', and they slated 22 to 27 December as

¹⁸³ “非基督教学生同盟宣言及通电 [Declaration of Non-Christian Students League]”, 先驱 [*Pioneer*], (Shanghai), (3 March 1922). Yang Jianlong 杨剑龙. 基督教文化对五四新文学的影响 [*The Influence of Christian Culture on New Literature in the May Fourth Movement*], (Taiwan: Xinrui Wenchuang 新锐文创, 2012), 9-12. Shi Jinghuan & Wang Lixin 史静寰 & 王立新. 基督教教育与中国知识分子 [*Christian Education and Chinese Intellectuals*], (Fujian: Education Press 教育出版社, 1998), 230-232.

the Week of Anti-Christianity.¹⁸⁴ On 4 April, the same day of the opening of the 11th World Student Christian Federation Conference, *Declaration of Non-Religion* was published. In June, a book *Analects of Anti-Religion* was published which contained 31 articles and speeches of different influential figures, who were not only Communists, but also Nationalists. The book aroused resentment and, nationwide, there was a negative response toward churches from student circles.¹⁸⁵ However, shortly after the Conference on 4 April, the anti-Christian movement came to a standstill during the summer vacation of 1922.

During the silence of one and a half years, in between the first and second stage of the anti-Christian movement, the situation changed dramatically in China. These tremendous changes included the formation of a united front between the Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party; widespread dissemination of Lenin's anti-colonial doctrine of the invasion of imperialists; rescinding the Unequal Treaties and regaining education rights movement; tilting of the foreign policy of the Southern Revolutionary Government towards the Soviet Union; and new insights about the function of education serving the state and the nation.¹⁸⁶

2.4.2. The Second Phase of the Movement

The anti-Christian movement was revived in April 1924 when several student leaders

¹⁸⁴ Yang Tianhong 杨天宏. 基督教与民国知识分子: 1922 年-1927 年中国非基督教运动研究 [*Christianity and the Intellectuals in the Republic of China: Research on the Anti-Christian Movement in China from 1922 to 1927*], 109. Liu Xiaofeng 刘小枫. 道与言: 华夏文化与基督文化相遇 [*Dao and Yan: Encounter of Chinese Culture and Christian Culture*], (Shanghai: SDX Joint Publishing Company 三联书店, 1995), 109.

¹⁸⁵ “非宗教者宣言 [Declaration of Non-Religion]”, 北京晨报 [*Beijing Morning Post*], (4 April 1922). Yang Jianlong 杨剑龙. 基督教文化对五四新文学的影响 [*The Influence of Christian Culture on New Literature in the May Fourth Movement*], 70-77.

¹⁸⁶ Xu Suhua 徐素华. 三大思潮鼎立格局的形成: 五四后期的思想文化论战 [*Pattern Formation of Three Thoughts: Ideological and Cultural Debate in the Late May Fourth Movement*], (Jiangxi: Baihuazhou literature and Art Press 百花洲文艺出版社, 2008), 407-408. Yang Tianhong 杨天宏. 基督教与民国知识分子: 1922 年-1927 年中国非基督教运动研究 [*Christianity and the Intellectuals in the Republic of China: Research on the Anti-Christian Movement in China from 1922 to 1927*], 196-198.

were expelled from the Anglican Trinity College in Guangzhou for organizing a student union and joining the National Humiliation Memorial. Regaining education rights was the main aim of the anti-Christian movement during its second stage, and the dramatic changes that had occurred in China since the first stage made the movement appeal to more than the narrow circle of intelligentsia and students who had supported the first. Under the direction, support, and participation of the Communist and Nationalist Parties, the Anti-Christianity League was established in Shanghai in August 1924. A pamphlet, the *Anti-Christianity Special Issue*, was published, and a week of Anti-Christianity was implemented in December, which took place in more than ten cities. Anti-Christianity crowds flocked to the streets to demonstrate, making speeches and distributing leaflets. Some facilities and equipment were destroyed in churches and mission schools.¹⁸⁷

The political purpose of the anti-Christian movement this time was very obvious, and the ideological and cultural tone was less prominent. The former anti-Christian movement in 1922 was more a movement of secular culture against Christian culture, and was part of the Enlightenment Movement in modern China. However, for the anti-Christian movement in 1924, the nationalistic sentiment was expressed frequently in speeches and articles, and “Down with Imperialism” was the resounding political slogan. Christianity was criticised not because of its doctrine, dogma or ritual, but because of its relationship with western imperialists and the Unequal Treaties. The rights of establishing mission schools had been obtained through the Unequal Treaties, and was considered as cultural aggression and an

¹⁸⁷ Yang Cuihua 杨翠华. “1922-1930 非宗教教育与收回教育权运动 1922-1930 [Non-Religious Education and Re-Gain Educational Right Movement], 中国现代史论集 第六辑 五四运动 [Symposium of the Chinese Modern History vol. 6 the May Fourth Movement], Zhang Yufa Ed. 张玉法 编 (Taiwan: Linking Publishing 聊经出版, 1981), 235-275. Chen Zhengmao 陈正茂. 理想与现实的冲突: 少年中国学会史 [The Conflict between Ideal and Reality: the History of the Youth Chinese Society], (Taipei: Xiuwei Press 秀威出版社, 2010), 153-179.

insult to China.¹⁸⁸

The official newspaper of the CPC, *Guide*, was a major source of public opinion directing the anti-Christian movement. The official publication of the Chinese Communist Youth League, *China Youth*, published great amounts of anti-Christian articles and opinions. The centre of gravity of this movement was Christian education and taking back educational rights from the church. In July 1924, the motion to regain education rights was passed during the annual meeting of the Chinese Educational Reform Society in Nanjing. In October 1924, during the tenth annual conference of the National Educational Union, the involvement of foreigners in educational enterprise was banned. Furthermore, the propagation of Christianity in schools was prohibited. The country was unanimous in its support of the regaining educational movement.¹⁸⁹

2.4.3. The Third Phase of the Movement

On 30 May 1925, several thousand students and workers went to a British concession in Shanghai to hold a demonstration. The British policemen suppressed them by firing on the crowds; 13 died, and dozens of people were injured. It was called the Massacre of May 30th Movement, and resulted in an unprecedented upsurge in nationalist sentiment. The anti-Christian movement came to its third stage, and became the anti-imperial aggression movement. Demonstrations and strikes of workers, students and shopkeepers took place in more than sixty cities and towns, and developed into a tremendous national patriotic anti-imperialist movement. More than seventeen million people from various circles of society

¹⁸⁸ Guo Ruoping 郭若平. “国共合作与非基督教运动的历史考察 [Historical Investigation of the KMT-CPC Cooperation and the Anti-Christian Movement]”, 中共党史研究 [Study on the History of the Chinese Communist Party], vol. 2 (2008).

¹⁸⁹ Huang Xinxian 黄新宪. 基督教教育与中国社会变迁 [Christian Education and Social Changes in China], 244-247. Wang Zhongxin 王忠欣. 基督教与中国近现代教育 [Christianity and Modern Chinese Education], (Hubei: Education Press 教育出版社, 2000), 114-120.

were directly involved in this movement; many were educationalists and even Christians joined the movement. The slogan “Down with Christianity” was shouted out by students during a demonstration in Beijing.¹⁹⁰

In July 1925, the National Student Federation convened their 7th national conference. Its declaration and resolution stated that Christianity was the tool of the imperialist invasion in China. The Communist and Nationalist Parties cooperated and led the movement. Many newspapers and magazines continually published anti-Christian articles, and the agitation caused student to dropout in many mission schools. The Committee of Provincial Education sent a resolution to the Ministry of Education and requested that mission schools be banned. The Government in Beijing issued an edict that all foreign schools in China were required to register with the Chinese government, and to obey the educational law in China.¹⁹¹

The Northern Expedition in 1926 advanced the development of the anti-Christian movement. Some mission schools and churches were adversely affected by the Northern Expeditionary Army. Some church buildings, schools, and hospitals were commandeered as places of garrison. In March 1927, some churches, hospitals, and foreign residences were pillaged and destroyed in Nanjing. On 24 March, the city was under heavy artillery fire from British and American warships for more than half an hour, which resulted in heavy losses. However, after the failure of the Communist and Nationalist Parties to cooperate in 1927, and with the changing of foreign policy of the Nationalist Party, the anti-Christian movement

¹⁹⁰ Ren Jianlin & Zhang Quan 任建林 & 张铨. 五卅运动简史 [*A Brief History of the May Thirtieth Movement*], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1985), 125. Xue Xiaojian 薛晓建. “非基督教运动始末 [Beginning and End of the Anti-Christian Movement]”, 中国青年政治学院学报 [*Journal of China Youth College for Political Sciences*], (March 2001).

¹⁹¹ Xi Wuyi 习五一. “简论近代中国的非基督教运动 [A Brief Discussion on the Anti-Christian Movement in China]”, 科学与无神论 [*Science and Atheism*], vol. 2 (2007).

came to an end after six years.¹⁹²

2.4.4. The Effect of the Movement

The Japanese scholar Yamamoto pointed out, ‘during the half century before the Communist take-over of 1949, there occurred twice in China a large scale opposition to Christianity: the Boxer Uprising of 1900 and the anti-Christian movement of 1922-1927. Both these movements were crises of East-West contact, and Chinese reactions against foreign culture’.¹⁹³ However, the anti-Christian movement in the 1920s, organized by intelligentsia and students, and later joined by different parties, had a heavier impact on Christian missions in China than the Boxer Uprising.

The twenty years, from the Boxer Uprising in 1900 to 1920, became the golden age of Christian missions in China. Foreign missionary societies increased from 61 to 130; the number of foreign missionaries increased fourfold from 1,500 to 6,636; and the total number of Chinese Christians increased from 80,000 to 360,000. Churches also grew during this period from 300 to 10,000, and fourteen missionary universities were established. All levels of mission schools totalled 7,328, with the enrolment of 214,254 students. Including inland primary schools, the total number of students was more than 300,000. However, the dominant direction of the opposition was primarily against Protestant missions rather than Catholic missions. The main reasons were that Catholic missions were predominately in the countryside, far away from the centre of the movement, and had only established three universities in the 1920s. At the same time, Protestant missionaries focussed on cities, and had thirteen well-equipped universities. Many Catholic and Protestant missionaries evacuated

¹⁹² Guo Ruoping 郭若平. “国共合作与非基督教运动的历史考察 [Historical Investigation of the KMT-CPC Cooperation and the Anti-Christian Movement]”, 49-57.

¹⁹³ Yamamoto, Tatsuro and Sumiko. “The Anti-Christian Movement in China 1922—1927”, *Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol . XII, Issue 2 (Feb. 1953), 133-148.

from China during the anti-Christian movement. In 1923, 398 missionaries resided in Hunan province, but only thirty to forty remained by 1927. After the Nanjing Incident in March 1927, only 800 missionaries remained in inland China.¹⁹⁴

During the anti-Christian movement, more and more Chinese Christians became reflective about the church's own faults, and strived for renovation. Different denominations existed within the churches and there were no identical viewpoints. However, they reached a consensus about seeking to sever relations with western imperialists and the Unequal Treaties, and to advance the Chinese Church indigenization movement. The National Christian Council was the initiator and main impetus of the movement. The National Christian Assembly convened from 2 to 12 May 1922 in Shanghai, and the idea of the indigenous Chinese Church was officially presented. The National Christian Council became the representative of the indigenous Chinese Church. In order to advance the indigenization movement, the Standing Committee of the Indigenous Church was established. Its purpose was to specialize in Chinese culture; investigate the modern movements of different religious organizations; study the situation of the independent churches; research the relationship between the Chinese Church and society; and to explore Chinese Church rituals, hymns, and funerals. The Three-Self Patriotic Movement prompted Chinese churches to be self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating in order to free themselves from the control of western missionaries and to build independent Chinese churches.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Luo, Weihong, *Christianity in China*, trans. Zhu Chengming (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2004), 45-47. Wu Xiaolong 吴小龙. “理性追求与非理性心态: 20 年代中国非基督教运动平议 [Rational Pursuit and Irrational Mentality: Discussion on the Anti-Christian Movement in China in the 1920s]”, *浙江社会科学* [*Zhejiang Social Sciences*], vol. 3 (2003). Yang Sengfu 杨森富. *中国基督教史* [*History of Christianity in China*], (Taiwan: Commercial Press 商务印书馆, 1968), 271-282.

¹⁹⁵ Li Zhigang 李志刚. 百年烟云 沧海一粟: 近代中国基督教文化掠影 [*Century Clouds A Drop in the Ocean: Glimpse of Modern Chinese Christian Culture*], (Beijing: Today's China Press 今日中国出版社, 1997), 123-147. Cheng Jingyi 诚静怡. “本色教会之商榷 [Discussion on the Indigenous Churches]”, 本色之探: 20 世纪中国基督教文化学术论集 [*Inquiry into Indigenisation: Symposium of the Twentieth Century Chinese*

2.5. *Vatican Decisions during the 1930s to 1950s*

While the anti-Christian movement in the 1920s negatively affected Chinese conceptions regarding Christianity, the Vatican decisions in the chaotic times from the 1930s to 1950s, led to the end of the fourth entrance of Christianity in China, both Catholic and Protestant missions. Significant events during this time period include the Eight Years War of Resistance against Japan (1937 to 1945) and the second Civil War between the Nationalists and the Communists (1947 to 1949), before the Communist Party took over the nation in 1949.

2.5.1. *A Brief History of the Relations between the Vatican and China*

The relationship between the Vatican and the Chinese Churches has a long history. The first historical records of the relationship are from the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368). The Italian Franciscan friar Jean de Plan Carpin (1182-1252) was appointed by Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254 on the throne) as Legate to Mongolia with two edicts; and arrived on 22 July 1246. He returned to Europe with a letter from Khan Gui Youhan to the Pope on 9 May 1247, arriving in Lyon on 24 November. Later, the Mongolian Khan Arghon sent Bar Sawma to visit Europe, who had an audience with Pope Nicholas IV in 1288. The Vatican sent the first official Legatus Apostolicus, Giovanni da Mortecorvino (1247-1328), to China in 1294, and he built the first episcopate in China.¹⁹⁶

During the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447) issued Etsi

Christian Culture], Zhang Xiping Ed. 张西平 编 (Beijing: China Radio and Television Press 中国广播电视出版社, 1998), 256-264. Wang Zhixin 王治心. “中国本色教会的讨论 [Discussion on the Indigenous Church in China]”, 本色之探: 20 世纪中国基督教文化学术论集 [*Inquiry into Indigenisation: symposium of the Twentieth Century Chinese Christian Culture*], Zhang Xiping Ed. 张西平 编 (Beijing: China Radio and Television Press 中国广播电视出版社, 1998), 236-244.

¹⁹⁶ De Lixian 德礼贤. 中国天主教传教史 [*History of Catholic Mission in China*], (Shanghai: Commercial Press 商务印书馆, 1934), 33. Fang Hao 方豪. 中国天主教史人物传 [*Biography of Chinese Roman Catholic Historical Figures*], (Beijing: Zhonghua Press 中华书局, 1988), 28. Zuo Furong 左芙蓉. “罗马天主教与蒙元的关系试析 [Discussion of the Relations between Roman Catholicism and the Yuan Dynasty]”, 天主教研究论辑 [*Symposium of Research on Catholicism*], vol. 4 (2007).

Suscepti to grant Patronage to Portugal in 1443. Pope Nicholas V (1397-1455) issued the bull of Dum Diversas in 1452, sanctioning Portugal to conquer foreign lands and affirming its patronage.¹⁹⁷ During the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667 on the throne) issued an edict to establish China and other Far East nations as apostolic vicariates in 1658. Luo Wenzao (1616-1691) was promoted and consecrated to the episcopate in 1673. Pope Clement X issued an edict to consecrate Luo as bishop and Vicar Apostolic in 1674. However, the ceremony of consecrating the first Chinese bishop in history and the only Chinese bishop before 1926 did not take place until 8 April 1685, eleven years after the promulgation of the edict, because of opposition from the Portuguese and the Spanish.¹⁹⁸

During the Chinese Rites Controversy, Pope Clement XI issued an important encyclical in 1715 condemning and prohibiting Christians from practicing Chinese rites and Confucian rituals. Consequently, Emperor Yongzheng proclaimed an edict banning Christianity in 1724.¹⁹⁹ After 120 years, in 1844, the ban was lifted by the Treaty of Huangpu, which was signed between China and France after the first Opium War. France subsequently gained powers of patronage from Portugal through the Treaty of Tianjin in 1860 after the second Opium War.²⁰⁰

As the Official of Foreign Affairs for the Qing government, Li Hongzhang began

¹⁹⁷ Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 中国天主教编年史[*Chronicle of the Catholic Church in China*], 49.

¹⁹⁸ Zhang Fengzhen 张奉箴. 罗公文藻晋牧三百周年纪念[*Three Hundred Years Anniversary of Luo Wenzao's Ordination*], (Tainan: Catholic Window Press 闻道出版社, 2010), 16-20. Zheng Tianxiang 郑天祥. 罗文藻史集 [History of Luo Wenzao], (Taiwan: Kaohsiung Parish Office 高雄教区主教公署, 1973), 80-85.

¹⁹⁹ Yan Kejia 晏可佳. 中国天主教简史 [A Brief History of Catholics in China], (Beijing: Religion & Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 2001), 95-112. Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 中国与罗马教廷关系史略[*History of the Relationship between China and the Holy See*], 52-88.

²⁰⁰ Gu Yulu 顾裕禄. 中国天主教述评 [A Review of the Chinese Catholic Church], (Shanghai: Academy of Social Sciences Press 社会科学院出版社, 2005), 70-72. Gu Yulu 顾裕禄. 中国天主教过去和现在 [The Past and Present of the Chinese Catholics], (Shanghai: Academy of Social Sciences Press 社会科学院出版社, 1989), 51-54.

attempts in 1881 to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican, but the attempts finally failed in 1886 due to French opposition. In 1918, the Republic of China attempted again to establish relations with the Vatican, but these attempts did not progress well for the same reason. The Vatican sent the Italian Celso Costantini to China as the first apostolic delegate in 1922, and recognized the government of the Republic of China in 1928. Subsequently, Mgr. Mario Zanin was appointed as the second apostolic delegate and served in China from 1933 to 1946.²⁰¹

2.5.2. Vatican Decisions during the Second Sino-Japanese War

After the 18th September Incident in 1931 which was engineered by Japan as a pretext to invade China, Japan occupied three provinces in the northeast of China and established the Puppet Manchuria Regime (1932-1945). Japan supported the last emperor Puyi of the Qing Dynasty as the head of the regime who abdicated the throne in the Revolution of 1911, and proceeded to march on Beijing. Other than Japan, the Vatican was the first country to recognize the regime. The Vatican established diplomatic relations with the Manchuria Regime in 1934, and assigned Bishop A. Gaspais as apostolic delegate to the regime.²⁰²

On 19 March 1937, Pope Pius XI issued a special encyclical opposing Communism. In July 1937, Japan launched an all-out war of aggression against China, and the 7 July Incident of 1937 was considered as the starting point of the Eight-Year War of Resistance against Japan. The Nationalist Party and the Communist Party reached a consensus to initiate a general mobilization of the nation's military against Japan. When the anti-Japanese war

²⁰¹ Yang Dachun 杨大春. “晚清政府与罗马教廷的外交历程 [Diplomatic History of the Late Qing Government and the Holy See]”, 史学月刊 [Journal of Historical Science], vol. 1 (2001). Luo Guang 罗光. 教廷与中国使节史 [History of the Holy See and the Chinese Envoys], (Taiwan: Guangqi Press 光启出版社, 1967), 193-209.

²⁰² Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 中国与罗马教廷关系史略 [History of the Relationship between China and the Holy See], 155-176.

reached its climax in 1939, Mario Zanin issued an official letter instructing bishops and other members of the clergy to focus on sacred affairs, and avoid ostensible actions in the current dangerous situation.²⁰³

An important event in 1939 affected the relationship between China and the Vatican; the Holy See lifted the ban of the Chinese Rites Controversy. In December 1941, Japan launched the War of the Pacific. China formed an alliance with America, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France to oppose the Axis powers of Japan, Germany, and Italy. The Vatican established diplomatic relations with Japan in 1942, and encountered strong opposition from America, Britain, and some Asian countries. In the Japanese-occupied areas, many American and British missionaries were imprisoned in concentration camps. According to statistics, about 1,200 missionaries were confined by the Japanese army and many others went back to their home countries. Consequently, Chinese church ministries were jeopardized and nearly came to a halt. Even though prisoners were repatriated on two occasions, 766 missionaries were still held in concentration camps until June 1945. About 1,000 missionaries left China, and Christian missions suffered heavy losses. On 15 August 1945, Japan announced its unconditional surrender, which brought an end to the Eight-Year War of Resistance against Japan in China, the War of the Pacific, and World War II, which was the deadliest and worst blood bath in human history.²⁰⁴

2.5.3. *The Changes of the CPC's Religious Policy*

²⁰³ Gu Weiying 古伟瀛. “中国地方教会的萌芽与挫折: 烽火中的中梵关系(1945-1950) [Germination and Frustration of the Chinese Local Church: the Sino-Vatican Relations during the Flames of War]”, 中梵外交关系史国际学术研讨会论文集 [*Symposium of International Academic Colloquium on the History of Sino-Vatican Diplomatic Relations*], History Department of Furen Catholic University Eds. 天主教辅仁大学历史学系 编 (Taipei: History Department of Furen Catholic University 天主教辅仁大学历史学系, 2002), 209-237.

²⁰⁴ Luo Weihong & Yao Minquang 罗伟虹 & 姚民权. 中国基督教简史 [*A Brief History of Chinese Christianity*], 234-244. Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 基督教与近代中国社会 [*Christianity and Modern Chinese Society*], 505-530. Duan Qi 段琦. 梵蒂冈的乱世抉择 (1922-1945) [*The Vatican's Choices in Troubled Times (1922-1945)*], (Beijing: Jincheng Press 金城出版社, 2009), 222-231.

Before and during the Anti-Japanese War, the CPC's policy regarding Christianity underwent significant changes. The earliest official document that mentioned the Christian Church was the Draft of the Communist Party Platform. It was formulated during the Third National Congress of the CPC in June 1923. The draft abrogated the Unequal Treaties and restricted foreign nations and individuals from establishing churches in China.²⁰⁵ During the Agrarian Revolutionary War (1927-1937), the movement toward abolishing the system of feudal land ownership touched on church property. On 14 August 1930, The CPC made explicit its intention to confiscate lands from churches and temples as well as common lands in "A Statement on the Present Situation".²⁰⁶ In June 1931, in the "Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC on Reinforcing Anti-Imperialism in Soviet Regions", the Party advised that anti-Christian policy was not only about expelling missionaries, but also about mobilizing the masses to become involved in its anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle.²⁰⁷ On 25 December 1935, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee passed "the Decisions of Wayaobao Meeting", which made the changes in policies and strategies toward religions official.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Chen Junfeng 陈俊凤. 中共三大学术研讨会论文集 [*Symposium of the Third National Congress of the Communist Party of China*], (Guangzhou: Guangzhou Press 广州出版社, 2006), 72-73. Editorial Board of the Major Events Documentary of the CPC Eds. 中国共产党重大事件纪实编委会 编. 中国共产党重大事件纪实 [*The Major Events Documentary of the CPC*], vol. 1 (Neimenggu: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 2001), 111-116.

²⁰⁶ Institute of Archival Research on the History of the CPC Eds. 中共中央档史研究室 编. 共产国际, 联共(布)与中国革命档案资料丛书 [*Series of Archival Materials of the Communist International (Bolshevik) and the Chinese Revolution*], vol. 9 (Beijing: Library Press 图书馆出版社, 1999), 312, 456. Wang Debao & Sun Qimin 王德宝 & 孙其明. 中国革命史辞典 [*Dictionary of the History of the Chinese Revolution*], (Beijing: Archive Press 档案出版社, 1988), 10-11.

²⁰⁷ Central Archive Eds. 中央档案馆 编. 中共中央文件选集, 1931 [*The CPC Central Committee Document Selection, 1931*], (Beijing: CPC Central Party School Publishing House 中央党校出版社, 1991), 258-259. Tao Feiya 陶飞亚. 边缘的历史: 基督教与近代中国 [*The History of the Edge: Christianity and Modern China*], (Shanghai: Ancient Books Press 古籍出版社, 2005), 84-89.

²⁰⁸ Li Xin & Chen Jiantie 李新 & 陈铁健. 中国新民主革命通史: 第6卷, 从内战到抗战 (1935-1937) [*The General History of the New Democratic Revolution in China: vol. 6, From the Civil War to the War of Resistance*], (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 2001), 292-297. Zhang Ling 张玲. 变奏: 共产国际对中国革命的影响, 1926-1935 [*Variation: The Influence of the Communist International on the Chinese revolution, 1926-1935*], (Shanghai: Jiaotong University Press 交通大学出版社, 2007), 162-165.

In April 1936, before the Anti-Japanese War, the Central Committee of the CPC made an appeal to Christian churches and other organizations to work together to save the nation in the national crisis without distinction of belief and religion. Foreign missionaries were given property rights and permitted to carry out missionary works, teach, and set up schools. In the areas where the Nationalist party withdrew, religious freedom was granted, and churches, pastors, and missionaries were protected. After the 7 July Incident of 1937, protecting foreign missionaries was emphasized and viewed as a way of building friendly relationships with the western anti-Fascist nations. In the promulgations of different “Administrative Programs” in 1941, all contained permissions for Christian missions.²⁰⁹

During the War of the Pacific, the CPC instructed its members to cooperate cordially and frankly with American and British missionaries as America and Britain were allies in the war against Japan. The CPC also formulated new measures and worked positively to gain the support of western missionaries and Chinese churches. Those new measures concerned adjusting land policy, safeguarding ecclesiastical possessions, and protecting foreign missionaries.²¹⁰

On 15 February 1942, an editorial “the CPC’s Attitude toward Religions” was published

²⁰⁹ Tao Feiya 陶飞亚. 边缘的历史: 基督教与近代中国 [*The History of the Edge: Christianity and Modern China*], 92-93. Central Archive Eds. 中央档案馆 编. 中共中央文件选集 [*The CPC Central Committee Document Selection*], vol. 13 (Beijing: CPC Central Party School Publishing House 中央党校出版社, 1986), 18. Mao Zedong 毛泽东. 毛泽东选集 [*Mao’s Selected Works*], vol. 2 (Beijing: People’s Publishing House 人民出版社, 1991), 394. Central Archive Eds. 中央档案馆 编. 中共中央文件选集 [*The CPC Central Committee Document Selection*], vol. 19 (Beijing: CPC Central Party School Publishing House 中央党校出版社, 1986), 644.

²¹⁰ Tao Feiya 陶飞亚. 边缘的历史: 基督教与近代中国 [*The History of the Edge: Christianity and Modern China*], 93-95. Central Archive Eds. 中央档案馆 编. 中共中央抗日统一战线文件选编 [*Selected Documents of the Anti-Japanese United Front of the CPC Central Committee*], vol. 2 (Beijing: Archival Press 档案出版社, 1986), 582. Central Archive Eds. 中央档案馆 编. 中共中央文件选集 [*The CPC Central Committee Document Selection*], vol. 11 (Beijing: CPC Central Party School Publishing House 中央党校出版社, 1986), 788-789.

in *Xinhua Daily*. The editorial refuted the perception that Communism was anti-religious and the enemy of Christianity. It admitted that Communism was based on materialism and atheism, but asserted that the CPC advocated detaching religions from the state, not taking the side of any religion, not compelling others to follow its Communist beliefs, and granting religious freedom to everyone. In 1945 during the Seventh National Congress of the CPC, Mao's report "On Coalition Government", further explained the Party's basic policy regarding freedom of belief and protection of religions.²¹¹

2.5.4. Vatican Decisions during the Civil War

However, soon after the Eight-Year War of Resistance against Japan, civil war broke out between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party. It lasted from 1946 until the CPC established the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949. The Nationalist Party withdrew to Taiwan in December 1949.

Pope Pius XII (1876-1958) declared that the recovery program for Catholic churches in China after the war was to be more sinological. Tian Genxin was consecrated as the first cardinal-bishop in China and the Far East on 18 February 1946. The Vatican announced the establishment of a hierarchy in China in April 1946, which was a significant event in the history of the Chinese Catholic Church. Pope Pius XII issued an encyclical to establish an apostolic internunciature on 6 July 1946, and appointed Archbishop Antonio Riberi as the first apostolic internuncio in China. From the beginning of 1946 to the end of 1947, the number of foreign missionaries in China increased to 3,500, and Christian missions enjoyed a

²¹¹ Tao Feiya 陶飞亚. 边缘的历史: 基督教与近代中国 [*The History of the Edge: Christianity and Modern China*], 95-96. 新华日报 [*Xinhua Daily*], (15 Feb. 1942). 新华日报 [*Xinhua Daily*], (25 Dec. 1944). Central Archive Eds. 中央档案馆 编. 中共中央抗日统一战线文件选编 [*Selected Documents of the Anti-Japanese United Front of the CPC Central Committee*], vol. 2, 720. Mao Zedong 毛泽东. 毛泽东选集 [*Mao's Selected Works*], vol. 3 (Beijing: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1991), 1086.

short revival.²¹²

After World War II, the world order changed, and the international situation developed into a confrontation between two great camps: the US-led western capitalist nations and the Eastern Socialist states with the Soviet Union at its head. During the Anti-Japanese War, many missionaries stood with the Chinese people, and helped them during the national crisis. However, in the Civil War that followed, the Vatican and western missionaries were more pro-American, allying themselves with the Chinese Nationalists against the Chinese Communists. Jiang Jieshi, the head of the Nationalist Party, converted to Christianity and was baptised in 1930; and some high officials in the Nationalist Party became Christians likewise. Therefore, Christian enterprise enjoyed good relations with the Nationalist Party, and Jiang also strengthened his ties with America, one of the principal supporters of Christianity in China. At the end of the Civil War, because of the changing political situation in China, both Catholic and Protestant missions began to develop measures for meeting likely emergencies and planning for withdrawal.²¹³

In July 1949, the Vatican issued an emergency encyclical “How Catholics Deal with the Communist Party”. The letter explained that Chinese Catholics were not allowed to join the Communist Party and could not read or publicize books or magazines which supporting Communist theory. If anyone violated these orders, the punishment would be denial of participation in the sacred sacraments or even the possibility of excommunication.²¹⁴ After the

²¹² Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 中国天主教编年史 [Chronicle of the Catholic Church in China], 512-518. Luo Guang 罗光. 教廷与中国使节史 [History of the Holy See and the Chinese Envoys], 230. Gu Changsheng 顾长声. 传教士与近代中国 [Missionary and Modern China], 413.

²¹³ Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 中国与罗马教廷关系史略 [History of the Relationship between China and the Holy See], 184. Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 基督教与近代中国社会 [Christianity and Modern Chinese Society], 534-538.

²¹⁴ Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 基督教与近代中国社会 [Christianity and Modern Chinese Society], 427.

establishment of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949, the Vatican refused to recognize it as the legal government of China.²¹⁵ Consequently, Antonio Riberi was expelled from China on 5 September 1951, and temporarily stayed in Hong Kong for one year. He then relocated to Taiwan in 1952, and re-established the apostolic internunciature there.²¹⁶ On 20 July 1953, the departure of Rupert Clarke and Arthur Mathews, the remaining staff of the China Inland Mission, marked the end of the fourth period of Christian missions in China.²¹⁷

Conclusion

Christianity is commonly viewed by the Chinese as the opium of the people; a tool of imperialism; or religious infiltration used by hostile foreign forces. Building from earlier works in the field, the researcher proposed the tentative hypothesis that the Chinese view of Christianity is greatly influenced by the events surrounding the Opium Wars, when missionaries entered China following the warships and opium traders. However, the perception of Christianity formed at that time was just the beginning of an increasingly negative conception of Christianity by many Chinese people in mainland China. These negative conceptions were intensified during the approximately 2,000 incidents that occurred within a seventy year period of the late Qing Dynasty and then developed into a nationwide movement that broke out in the 1900 Boxer Uprising against foreigners, western missionaries, and Chinese Christians. In the 1920s, an anti-Christian movement, initiated by the intelligentsia and university students with the participation of the Communist and the Nationalist Parties, heavily influenced Christian missions and had a significant negative impact on Chinese conceptions of Christianity. In the chaotic and violent time from the 1930s

²¹⁵ Yan Kejia 晏可佳. 中国天主教 [*The Catholics in China*], (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press 五洲传播出版社, 2004), 122.

²¹⁶ Gu Yulu 顾裕禄. 中国天主教的过去和现在 [*The Past and Present of the Chinese Catholics*], 120.

²¹⁷ Thompson, *China: The Reluctant Exodus, the Story of the Withdrawal of the China Inland Mission from China*, 169-183.

to the 1950s, during the Eight Years War of Resistance against Japan, and especially the second Civil War between the Nationalists and the Communists, Vatican decisions finally led to the end of the fourth era of Christian missions in China.

The purpose of this chapter is to establish how the Chinese conception of Christianity originated and how its formation was being impacted by the Opium Wars and the Unequal Treaties, and the following significant historical events. The events chronicled here not only influenced Chinese conceptions of Christianity, but also affected the Communist Party's attitude, strategy, and religious policy towards Christianity, western missionaries, Chinese churches and Christians, after the Communists took power in China. Studying these historical events will help us understand: why many mainland Chinese people are not against religions but do have negative impressions about Christianity; why the Chinese government is anti-religious, but particularly anti-Christianity; and why Chinese Christians are struggling with their Christian identity. In the next chapter we will study contemporary Chinese views on the interrelationship of Christianity, missionaries, and imperialism from three different perspectives: the Chinese church, the Chinese government, and academia.

Chapter 3 Contemporary Chinese Perspectives regarding the Interrelationship between Christianity, Missionaries and Imperialism

We have studied the historical events that followed the Opium Wars in the previous chapter, and now we will exam how these events have significantly impacted upon how some Chinese people and state perceive Christianity. This chapter will look at contemporary Chinese conceptions regarding the interrelationship between Christianity, missionaries and imperialism from three different representative perspectives: the Chinese Church's, the Chinese government's and academia's. It will consider the writings from a range of Chinese scholars, each of whom represents a different perspective within Chinese history and culture. Each offers their own distinctive insights into the complex relationship between Christianity, missionaries, and imperialism.

In the first section we will look at the Chinese Church's perspective in regard to the Protestant Three-Self Church. We shall begin by examining the history and writings of and about Wu Yaozong, whose life and work were highly influential in the establishment of the official church. The focus of this section will be on the Three-Self Patriotic Movement which has been of central importance as the largest official ecclesial movement in post-revolution China. This will be followed by examining how the Catholic Church within China has responded to accusations of imperialism and oppression. Central to the discussion is an evaluation of the Independent and Three Autonomy Movement, which challenged the authority of the Vatican by consecrating their own bishops and advocating loyalty to the new Chinese State. With regard to the perspective of the unregistered church, not much academic research has been done on the underground church in China and in the West. Moreover, the existing research is not directly related to the interrelationship between Christianity,

missionaries and imperialism. However, the historical background and development of the unregistered churches will be studied, helping us to understand how the Opium Wars and the following historical events have impacted on Chinese conceptions of Christianity and affected the development of the Chinese unregistered church.

After delineating the views of both the official Protestant and Catholic churches and the unregistered churches with respect to how the Opium Wars and the following events have impacted upon formation of Christianity in China, we next turn our attention to the official documents published by the Chinese government. Documents 19 and 6 of the government's religious policy and the government's *White Paper on the Freedom of Religions* will be the prominent resources in this section, as they are among the most important papers expressing the Chinese government's diverse discussions regarding Christianity and its religious policy.

The final perspective to be considered in this section relates to how the varying academic discourses have discussed and evaluated the interrelationship of Christianity, missionary activity, and imperialism. This section will include not only academic perspectives from the Chinese mainland, but also Chinese scholars from Hong Kong and Taiwan. The latter have been specifically selected as voices that are considered more sympathetic and friendly to the West, and because they are not influenced by the same factors that have influenced the Chinese scholars in mainland China, their insights are particularly significant.

3.1. The Chinese Churches' Perspectives

3.1.1. The Protestant Three-Self Church

After the founding of New China on 1 October 1949, the CPC faced a new challenge about how to transform within a socialist society the Chinese churches which were closely tied to western imperialists. Under the guidance of the three-self principles of self-

propagation, self-administration and self-support, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement was carried out successfully in Chinese churches through severing its contact with western churches and missionaries. Shortly before the movement's founding, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was convened from 21 to 30 September 1949, Wu Yaozong and seven other religious democratic representatives were invited to attend the meeting, and Wu gave a report. The *Common Programme* was passed, and it made explicit provisions that citizens of the PRC enjoy freedom of religious belief. After the Conference, the Delegation of Christianity was formed by Christian representatives of the CPPCC, the Christian Council of China, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Young Women's Christian Association. Wu was elected as the main leader, and the delegation planned to visit eighteen cities within five big regions. The purpose was to convey the spirit of the conference to the churches all over the country; propagandize the religious policy; find out the churches' practical situation, and implement religious freedom.²¹⁸

In March 1950, the National United Front Work Conference was held for the first time in Beijing, and it formulated the basic principles of their work regarding Catholicism and Protestantism. Prime Minister Zhou stressed the Central Committee's concern when he stated, 'the biggest problem of Christianity is its relations with imperialism... religions must sever the connection with imperialism... adhering to the principle of independence and self-administration'.²¹⁹ The head of the United Front Work Department, Li Wei-Han, divided

²¹⁸ Wu Yaozong 吴耀宗. "我们参加人民政协的经过 [Experience of Our Participation in the CPPCC]", 天风 [Tianfeng], (Oct. 1949). Wu Yaozong 吴耀宗. "基督教访问团华中访问记 [Interviews of the Christian Delegation Visiting Central China], 天风 [Tianfeng], (March 1950). Central Archive Eds. 中央档案馆编, 中共中央文件选集: (一九四九年一月至九月) [The CPC Central Committee Document Selection: (January to September 1949)], vol. 18 (Beijing: CPC Central Party School Publishing House 中央党校出版社, 1992), 584-596. Luo Weihong & Yao Minquang 罗伟虹 & 姚民权. 中国基督教简史 [A Brief History of Chinese Christianity], 253-258.

²¹⁹ Zhou Enlai 周恩来. "发挥人民民主统一战线积极作用的几个问题 [Several Issues of Playing an Active Role of the People's Democratic United Front]", 建国以来重要文献选编 [Selection of Important

Chinese Christians into three categories according to their political background: 1) progressive and patriotic people; 2) intermediate people and the broad masses; 3) imperialists. The strategy of accomplishing the goal of self-administration, self-supporting, and self-propagating was to depend on the first category, unite the second, and isolate the imperialists among these three categories.²²⁰

Wu was considered as a progressive and patriotic Christian leader. Wu and the delegation ended their visit in April 1950, returned to Beijing, and convened a symposium. In May, Prime Minister Zhou granted Wu, and other Christian leaders, four interviews to discuss various religious issues. Wu asked the government to issue a command to implement religious freedom, and protect the religious activities of Christian churches. Zhou made the perceptive observation that the root of the Chinese people's opposition to Christianity was its long utilization by imperialists. Therefore, if Chinese Christians wanted to free themselves from the current predicament, they must effectively sever their relations with western imperialists externally and eliminate imperialist power and influence internally. Christian leaders were shocked by Zhou's viewpoint, but Wu considered it as an impressive and vibrant inspiration. Wu realized that the crux of the difficulties that the Chinese Churches were encountering was their long association with western imperialists, which caused hatred and resentment among the Chinese people. Therefore, if Chinese Christians wanted to gain the Chinese people's understanding and recognition, this could not be achieved through the

Documents since the Founding of the Nation], vol. 1, Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee Eds. 中共中央文献研究室 编 (Beijing: Central Party Literature Press 中央文献出版社, 1992), 186. Zhao Xiaoyang 赵晓阳. “割断与帝国主义的联系: 基督教三自革新运动的初始 [Sever Ties with Imperialism: the Initial Reason of the Christian Three-Self Reform Movement], 中共党史研究 [Study on the History of the CPC], vol. 3 (2009).

²²⁰ Li Weihai 李维汉. “人民民主统一战线的新形势与新任务 (1950年3月21日) [New Situation and New Tasks of the People's Democratic United Front (21 March 1950)], 建国以来重要文献选编 [Selection of Important Documents since the Founding of the Nation], vol. 1, Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee Eds. 中共中央文献研究室 编 (Beijing: Central Party Literature Press 中央文献出版社, 1992), 152.

orders of the government. Chinese Christians themselves would have to seek ways to obtain the trust of the Chinese people. Therefore, the churches would need to eliminate the strength and influence of imperialism within them.²²¹

During the Third Plenary of the Seventh Conference of the CPC from 6 to 9 June 1950, Zhou gave a report which made recommendations to help religious figures to cut off the relations with imperialism, and support them to manage their own religious affairs without foreign missionaries.²²² On 28 July 1950, after eight revisions, Wu and forty other Christian leaders jointly issued *Christian Manifesto*. It was written and issued by the Chinese Christian leaders to prevent imperialists using Chinese churches to carry on their activities against the interests of the Chinese people and State. The declaration was published on the front page of the *People's Daily* on 23 September 1950 with a special editorial. It was considered as the beginning of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in the Chinese Protestant Church, and a day of commemoration. The declaration included the following passage:

Christianity came into China more than 140 years ago, and it has made contributions within Chinese society. However, unfortunately, not only did imperialists start their activities in China very soon after this time, but also the ones who spread Christianity were from imperialist states. Therefore, Christianity and imperialism had relations directly or indirectly, knowingly or unknowingly. Now the Chinese revolution triumphed, and New China was

²²¹ Wu Yaozong 吴耀宗. “展开基督教革新运动的旗帜 [Unfolding the Banner of Christian Reform Movement]”, 天风 [*Tianfeng*], (Sep. 1950). Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee Eds. 中共中央文献研究室 编. 周恩来统一战线文选 [*Zhou Enlai: Anthology of the United Front*], (Beijing: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1984), 182. Zhou Enlai 周恩来. “关于基督教问题的四次谈话 (1950年5月2日-20日) [Four Conversations about the Issues regarding Christianity (2-20 May 1950)]”, 建国以来重要文献选编 [*Selection of Important Documents since the Founding of the Nation*], vol. 1, Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee Eds. 中共中央文献研究室 编 (Beijing: Central Party Literature Press 中央文献出版社, 1992), 220-222. Shen Derong 沈德溶. “一位坚贞爱国的宗教界领袖: 吴耀宗 [A Faithful & Patriotic Religious Leader: Wu Yaozong]”, 统战工作史料选编 [*Selected Historical Data of the United Front Work*], vol. 4, Data Collection Group of the United Front Work in Shanghai Eds. 上海市统战部统战工作史料征集组 编 (Shanghai: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1985), 50. Luo Weihong 罗伟虹, 中国基督教 [*Chinese Christianity*], 65-66.

²²² Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee Eds. 中共中央文献室 编. 周恩来年谱 (1949-1976) [*A Chronicle of Zhou Enlai's Life*], vol. 1 (Beijing: Central Party Literature Press 中央文献出版社, 1997), 46.

founded. However, imperialists did not easily accept their defeat, and would try their best to sabotage. They would use Christianity to sow dissension and create reactionary forces. With the greatest efforts and effective ways, Chinese churches would lead Christians to know imperialism's sins in China, realize the fact that imperialism used Christianity, and sweep up imperialistic influences from Chinese churches. Therefore, all Chinese churches and organizations who received human resources and financial support from imperialists, must draw up specific plans to achieve the goal of self-independence.²²³

The Chinese Christian leaders claimed in the declaration to advocate the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, and were strongly against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. Wang Zuoan, who worked at the State Administration for Religious Affairs from 1987 and became its director and Party secretary from 2009, pointed out that this Declaration called on Chinese Christians to clearly understand the iniquities which the imperialist has committed through Christianity in China in the past, purge imperialistic influence from Chinese churches, and guard against the imperialist, especially the American imperialist's conspiracy of cultivating reactionary forces under the pretext of religion.²²⁴

By the second half of 1950, the international situation had changed dramatically because of the outbreak of the Korean War. Aid and support to Chinese churches had been blocked by America and a meeting was held by the Department of Religious Affairs from 16 to 21 April 1951 in Beijing to address this issue. 154 representatives attended on the behalf of 31 denominations and Christian organizations, and adopted a declaration to call on all Chinese Christians to thoroughly sever relation with American mission societies and all other missionary societies forever. Cui Xianxiang, the director of the Christian Council of China, made a complaint against American missionary Frank W. Price. During the last two days of

²²³ “中国基督教在新中国建设中努力的途径 [Direction of Endeavour for Chinese Christianity in the Construction of New China]”, 人民日报 [*People's Daily*], (23 Sep. 1950). Chen Derong 沈德溶. 吴耀宗小传 [*Wu Yaozong: A Biography*], (Shanghai: National Committee of the TSPM of the Protestant Churches in China 中国基督教三自爱国运动委员会, 1989), 54.

²²⁴ Wang Zuoan 王作安. 中国的宗教问题和宗教政策 [*Religious Issues and Policies in China*], (Beijing: Religion & Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 2010), 194.

the meeting, eighteen people accused foreign missionaries of being imperialists under the cloak of religion and their co-workers as Christian scum and imperialist lackeys. It was considered to be the beginning of the Denunciation Movement.²²⁵

The Denunciation Movement was regarded as an important way to promote the Three-Self Reform Movement and the most effectual means of liquidating the imperialist's influence in Chinese churches. Many articles were published on the topic of how to carry on the Campaign, and the movement spread nationwide.²²⁶ Accusation Meetings were held more than 169 times in 124 cities from April 1951 to September 1952. Their purpose was mainly to accuse American imperialists and missionaries of: using Christianity to destroy the Chinese Christian Patriotic Movement; encouraging Chinese Christians to be anti-Communist under the pretext of being extra-political and spiritual; despising Chinese culture and looking down on Chinese ministers; and collecting information and engaging in espionage work. The Complaint Campaign had a great impact on Christianity, and changed the image of Protestant and Catholic Churches and the moral stature of foreign missionaries.²²⁷

²²⁵ Wu Yaozong 吴耀宗, “中国基督教的新生: 出席‘处理接受美国津贴的基督教团体会议’ [The Rebirth of Christianity in China: To Attend the Meeting of the Christian Groups Receiving Allowance of the United States]”, 中国基督教三自爱国运动文选(1950-1992) [*Anthology of the Chinese Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement (1950-1992)*], Luo Guanzong Ed. 罗冠宗 主编 (Shanghai: National Committee of the TSPM of the Protestant Churches in China 中国基督教三自爱国运动委员会, 1993), 25-27. “开展基督教徒对美国帝国主义的控诉运动 [To Carry out Christian's Indictment against American Imperialism Movement]”, 人民日报 [*People's Daily*], (24 April 1951). Shen Derong 沈德溶, “中国基督教的新生: 忆 1951 年召开的‘北京会议’ [The Rebirth of Christianity in China: Recalling the Beijing Conference held in 1951]”, 纵横 [*Latitude*], (July 1997).

²²⁶ Liu Liangmo 刘良模, “怎样开好教会控诉会 [How to Have a Good Church Complaint Meeting]”, 人民日报 [*People's Daily*], (21 May 1951). Ying Yuandao 应元道, “控诉的宗教意义 [Religious Meaning of the Complaint Meeting]”, 天风 [*Tianfeng*], (May 1951). Chen Chonggui 陈崇桂, “我控诉美帝国主义利用宗教侵略中国 [I Accuse the US Imperialists Use Religion to Invade China]”, 天风 [*Tianfeng*], (May 1951). Chen Chonggui 陈崇桂, “为什么要控诉? [Why the Complaint Meeting?]”, 天风 [*Tianfeng*], (June 1951). Luo Weihong 罗伟虹, 中国基督教 [*Chinese Christianity*], 68-72.

²²⁷ Wu Yaozong 吴耀宗, “中国基督教三自革新运动两周年 [The Two Years Anniversary of the Chinese Christian Three-Self Reform Movement]”, 天风 [*Tianfeng*], (Sep. 1952). Liu Jianping 刘建平, “抗美援朝时期中国基督教界的控诉运动 [Chinese Christian's Complaint Meeting during the Campaign to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea]”, 二十一世纪双月刊 [*Twenty-First Century Bimonthly*], (Oct. 2010). Luo Guangwu

The signature campaign of supporting the Three-Self Declaration was launched in churches. From its publication in September 1950 to April 1951, the total number of subscribers reached more than 400,000. The first National Christian Conference convened from 22 July to 6 August 1954 in Beijing, and 232 representatives attended from 62 different denominations and groups. Wu fully confirmed the achievements of the Anti-Imperialism and Patriotic Movement, and laid out his views about the principles, tasks and orientation for the church. In the Conference, the National Committee of the TSPM of the Protestant Churches in China was established, the general regulations were formulated, and 139 members of the committee were elected. The Second Conference of the TSPM was held in Beijing from 15 to 23 May 1956, and Wu summarised the new developments from 1954, and put forward principles and policies for the church.²²⁸

However, because of the ultra-Left policies from the end of the 1950s, churches suffered obstruction, and all church activities were suspended at one point because of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The Third Chinese Christian National Conference was convened again on 6 October 1980 in Nanjing and all religious (not just Christian) activity was recommenced. Regulations of the TSPM were amended, and Ding Guangxun (1915-2012) was elected as chairman. The Christian Council of China was established during the Conference, and Ding was elected as the president. It officially joined the World Council of Churches, and provided help through theological education and publications such as the Bible, hymns, and religious literature. It discussed the system and structure of Chinese churches, and encouraged local churches to exchange information about pastoral ministry,

罗广武. 新中国宗教工作大事概览, 1949-1999 [*Overview of New China's Religious Affairs, 1949-1999*], (Beijing: Sino-Culture Press 华文出版社, 2001), 46-54.

²²⁸ Wu Yaozong 吴耀宗. “中国基督教全国会议 [National Conference of the Chinese Christian Church]”, 天风 [*Tianfeng*], (Sep. 1954). Luo Weihong & Yao Minguang 罗伟虹 & 姚民权. 中国基督教简史 [*A Brief History of Chinese Christianity*], 274-279.

evangelism, and administration. Its function was to adhere to the three-self principles, and unite and lead Chinese Christians to love their country and religion.²²⁹

In the foreword to the book, *Past Experience as a Guide for the Future: Comments on Historical Facts about Imperialists Making Use of Christianity to Invade China*, which was published in 2003, the chairman of the TSPM Luo Guangzong claimed that the most important event of Christianity in China in the twentieth century was the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. Its greatest achievement was to lead Chinese churches in severing relations with imperialism and throwing off the control of foreign mission organizations. Luo stated that imperialist aggressors used Christianity against China and claimed that it had become widespread. The concrete implementation of policies of aggression was closely related to western missionary organizations. According to Luo, missionaries were an integral component of imperialist aggression, and had been so from the onset of the invasion of western powers. Luo further claimed that foreign missionaries were either directly or indirectly involved in the opium trade, collected information for foreign governments, and encouraged wars against China. Almost all mission societies and missionaries rejoiced over the victory of the war, and the development of new political, especially, economic interests. In Luo's opinion, even though religion is not politics *per se*, religions, and especially Christianity, can never be separated from the political, economic, cultural, and social sphere.²³⁰

²²⁹ Wang Zuohan 王作安. 中国的宗教问题和宗教政策 [*Religious Issues and Policies in China*], 196-197. Ding Guangxun 丁光训. “回顾与展望 [Retrospect and Prospect]”, 中国基督教三自爱国运动文选, 1950-1992 [*Anthology of the Chinese Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement, 1950-1992*], China Christian Council Eds. 中国基督教协会 主编 (Shanghai: National Committee of the TSPM of the Protestant Churches in China 中国基督教三自爱国运动委员会 1993), 93-106. Gu Yvlu 顾裕禄. 中国天主教述评 [*A Review of the Chinese Catholic Church*], 212-217.

²³⁰ Luo Guanzong 罗冠宗. “前言 [Preface]”, 前事不忘后事之师: 帝国主义利用基督教侵略中国史实评述 [*Past Experience as a Guide for the Future: Comments on Historical Facts about Imperialists Making*

3.1.2. *The Chinese Catholic Church*

Because of historical as well as contemporary considerations, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in the Chinese Catholic Church was much more complicated. The Opium War was considered as a watershed moment in the history of Christianity in China. Even though Catholicism entered China several times, it began its most sustained period of development after the Opium Wars. When the Qing Dynasty was defeated during the first Opium War, it was forced to sign a series of Unequal Treaties with western powers. It was not only the beginning of the modern history of China, but also marked a new era for the Catholic Church in China. The Unequal Treaties included provisions for the protection of the freedom of missionaries. The Catholic growth in China was tremendous in respect of the numbers of converts, church buildings, and social programs. However, the development and dissemination of Chinese Catholicism was clearly branded with the mark of western colonialism, imperialism, and cultural infiltration, especially with regards to its relations with the Vatican.²³¹

In 1943, the Vatican and the Republic of China formally established diplomatic relations. On 6 July 1946, Pope Pius XII appointed Archbishop Antonio Riberi as the Holy See's first Nuncio to China. Before the Communist Party took over China in 1949, the Vatican strongly supported the Nationalist Party in the Civil War. After 1949, the Vatican refused to recognize the government of the PRC as the sole legal government of China, and kept a diplomatic relationship with Taiwan. As a Vatican diplomatic envoy, Riberi gave out

Use of Christianity to Invade China], Luo Guanzong Ed. 罗冠宗 主编 (Beijing: Religion & Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 2003), 1-18.

²³¹ Yan Kejia 晏可佳. 中国天主教简史 [*A Brief History of Catholics in China*], 139, 223. Xian Tuijie 项退结. 黎明前的中国天主教 [*The Chinese Catholic Church before Dawn*], (Tainan: Zhengxiang Press 征祥出版社, 1963), 14-15.

an order for bishops of the different dioceses to pass on orally to their congregations that Chinese Catholics were not allowed to support the Communists, read Communist books and magazines, or join the Communist Party. American bishop James Edward Walsh, who was in charge of the Administrative Commission of the Chinese Catholic Church, wrote many pamphlets about how theism and atheism cannot co-exist. Riberi also established the Legion of Mary in China in 1948, which was incorporated into most Chinese Catholic churches and whose mission was to prevent Christian students being patriotic. Groups for studying Catholic dogma were also set up at Zhengdan University, then extended to other church schools. The purpose was to spread the message that love of one's country and loving one's religion were contradictory, and the Principle of Nots: Not reading Communist newspapers; not listening to patriotic speeches; not talking about imperialists in church.²³²

Despite the Anti-Imperialist Campaigns in China, which arose with such intensity due to the Oppose America—Aid Korea movement, the Catholic's response came later than that of Protestant church leaders. Furen University, formerly the Catholic University of Beijing, was accepted and subsidized by the state in October 1950, and it was considered a prelude to the anti-imperialism movement. On 30 November 1950, some Catholics under Wang Liangzuo, a Chinese priest in Guangyuan County of Sichuan province, published their own manifesto. It was a declaration that all churches should sever their ties with the imperialist powers and found an independent Chinese Catholic Church. In this document, it condemned the imperialists who had used churches as a tool of colonial aggression, and called on the Chinese

²³² Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 中国与罗马教廷关系史略 [*History of the Relationship between China and the Holy See*], 177-188. Gu Weimin 顾卫民. 中国天主教编年史 [*Chronicle of the Catholic Church in China*], 511-525. Yan Kejia 晏可佳. 中国天主教简史 [*A Brief History of Catholics in China*], 238-240.

Catholic Churches to sever their connection with imperialism and establish their own version of the Three Autonomy policy.²³³

In order to encourage the Chinese Catholics' patriotic movement, an editorial was published in the *People's Daily* on 8 January 1951. Prime Minister Zhou also met Catholic leaders on 17 January, and clearly expressed that he wanted to support the patriotic movement in Catholic churches. A joint declaration was published in Nanjing in March 1951, which had 793 signatures from priests, nuns, and believers. On the same day, Riberi wrote a letter to the different bishops to disapprove of the declaration. Riberi was expelled, and some other missionaries were arrested and expelled for spying and attempting to destroy the patriotic movement.²³⁴ Riberi was considered by the Communist Party to be the head of the western missionaries and a representative of the imperial powers. After Riberi was expelled from China in 1951, he stayed in Hong Kong for one year, and arrived in Taiwan in 1952. The Chinese government severed its ties with the Vatican in 1951, and has never re-established official diplomatic relations.²³⁵

On 18 January 1952, Pope Pius XII issued an encyclical to defend the people who were considered as imperialists and expelled by the Chinese government. On 7 October 1954, Pope Pius XII issued another encyclical to accuse the Chinese government of vilifying and attacking the people who were loyal to the Vatican and the Holy See. The original encyclical was in Latin and passed to the bishop Gong Pinmei in Shanghai, and Gong encouraged other

²³³ *New China New Agency*, Beijing (13 Dec. 1950). “四川广元天主教徒发表宣言坚决与帝国主义者割断关系 [Sichuan Guangyuan Catholics Issued A Declaration Strongly Sever Relations with the Imperialists]”, 人民日报 [*People's Daily*], (12 Dec. 1950). Yan Kejia 晏可佳. 中国天主教简史 [*A Brief History of Catholics in China*], 242-244.

²³⁴ Gu Yulu 顾裕禄. 中国天主教述评 [*A Review of the Chinese Catholic Church*], 159-161.

²³⁵ Gu Yulu 顾裕禄. 中国天主教的过去和现在 [*The Past and Present of the Chinese Catholics*], 106-114.

priests in Shanghai to preach it. Altogether 183 people were arrested on 8 September 1955 including: Bishop Gong, over thirty priests, and some congregation members.²³⁶

The first National Chinese Catholic Conference convened in Beijing from 17 June to 2 August 1957. 241 Catholic bishops, priests, clergy, and believers from more than one hundred dioceses attended the Conference. The delegates discussed issues surrounding the relationship between the Chinese Catholics and the Vatican and religious policies. They also laid down the principal guidelines for the self-administration of church affairs. On 2 August, the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CCPA) was founded, and the Archbishop Pi Laishi was elected as chairman. In the Conference, the Vatican's interference in the establishment of New China was also discussed, and Chinese Catholic churches decided to free themselves from the Vatican's control, and sever their political and economic relations with the Vatican, guided by the principle of independence, and taking the initiative to manage their own churches. Some Chinese scholars described it as a demonstration that Chinese Catholics desired to manage their own church affairs.²³⁷

Because of the great needs in the church and the wider social situation, the CCPA expressed a desire to select and consecrate their own bishops in 1958. Dong Guangqing in Hankou diocese and Yuan Wenhua in Wuchang diocese were selected, and two telegraphs were sent to the Vatican on 24 and 26 March. However, the Vatican refused to officially recognize them, not only did they declare the selection invalid and without merit, but they also subsequently threatened them with excommunication. An interrogatory letter was sent to the Vatican on 9 April from Wuchang diocese, and then the first two bishops, Dong and Yuan

²³⁶ Yan Kejia 晏可佳. 中国天主教简史 [*A Brief History of Catholics in China*], 245-246.

²³⁷ Sha Baili 沙百里. 中国天主教指南 [*Guidance for the Chinese Catholics*], (Singapore: China Catholic Communication 中华公教联络社, 1997), 10-11. Gu Yulu 顾裕禄. 中国天主教的过去和现在 [*The Past and Present of the Chinese Catholics*], 141-143. .

were consecrated by Bishop Li Daonan of Puxi diocese on 13 April 1958. In June 1958, Pope Pius XII issued another encyclical to declare the consecration invalid, which provoked further opposition to Catholicism among the Chinese. From May 1958 to April 1960, more than forty bishops were consecrated.²³⁸

The government's religious policies were disrupted during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), and the government began to allow religious activities from 1979. The third National Catholic Conference convened in May 1980 in Beijing, and the Chinese Catholic Bishops College was established. To this day, the Chinese Catholic Church has continued to consecrate its own bishops and independently manage the churches. 126 bishops were selected and consecrated from 1958 to 1995. This can be seen as a result of the Chinese governments clearly expressed position that whatever the relations between China and the Vatican are, the Chinese government will, as always, support Chinese Catholicism which holds aloft the banner of patriotism, adheres to the principle of independence and self-management, and stands for selection and consecration of bishops by themselves.²³⁹

However, one of the main issues which the Chinese Catholic Church faced was 'having to live down the negative pages of her history in connection with imperialism'.²⁴⁰ As we noted above, the Independent and Three-Autonomy Movement in the Chinese Catholic Church arose several years later than the Protestant Three-Self Patriotic Movement. One reason was that the Catholics could not accept the Communist critique of the Pope as an imperialist or a

²³⁸ Yan Kejia 晏可佳. 中国天主教简史 [*A Brief History of Catholics in China*], 250-251. Ren Yanli Ed. 任延黎 主编. 中国天主教基础知识 [*Chinese Catholic Basic Knowledge*], (Beijing: Religion & Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 1999), 260. Gu Yvlu 顾裕禄. 中国天主教述评 [*A Review of the Chinese Catholic Church*], 201-211.

²³⁹ Gu Yvlu 顾裕禄. 中国天主教述评 [*A Review of the Chinese Catholic Church*], 212-228. . Gu Yulu 顾裕禄. 中国天主教的过去和现在 [*The Past and Present of the Chinese Catholics*], 162-177.

²⁴⁰ Chu, Theresa. "Post-Vatican II Spirituality and the Catholic Church in China Today", *China Study Project Journal*, vol. 5 (Dec. 1990), 15-18.

tool of imperialism, and consequently shunned the movement. However, many priests were arrested and a fierce campaign was launched to carry on the movement and establish the national Catholic Church in the 1950s.²⁴¹

3.1.3. The Unregistered Chinese Church

When the New China was established in 1949, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement was carried on in Chinese churches in order to sever its relations with western missionaries and mission societies. However, not every church and Christian joined the Three-Self Church, so the Chinese Church was divided into the registered church (official church or Three-self Church), and the unregistered church (housechurch or underground church). However, there is a saying in China, “everything you said about China is true; and everything you said about China is not true”. This can also be applied to Chinese churches to the extent that it is very difficult to generalize about the unregistered churches in China or provide a definitive analysis. What is true about some Chinese unregistered churches is not true for others. There are many reasons for this apparent dilemma, including the vast geographical area of mainland China, the dissimilar historical and cultural contexts of the various Chinese provinces, the diverse developmental stages of those provinces, the constantly-changing and dynamic social and political situation, the different emphases in different church ministries, and the fluctuating relationships between the unregistered churches with the official churches and the local government. All these and many other factors contributed to the variety of situations that different churches found themselves in. This meant that information about Chinese churches can differ remarkably from place to place and from time to time.²⁴²

²⁴¹ Tong, John. “The Church from 1949 to 1990”, *The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives*, Edmond Tang & Jean-Paul Wiest Eds. (NY: Orbis, 1993), 7-27.

²⁴² Su, Selena Y. Z. & Allan H. Anderson. “Christianity Fever and Unregistered Churches in China”, *Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Global China*, Fenggang Yang & Joy K.C. Tong & Allan H. Anderson Eds. (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

The cause of the division of the official church and the unregistered church can be traced to three elements: political, theological, and historical. Regarding the political element, after eight years of the Civil War, when the Nationalist Party was supported by America, the Communist Party, which advocated atheism, achieved power. This caused a dramatic shift in the relationship between politics and religion in China. This seems especially true during the Korean War from 1950 to 1953, when China and America were in direct conflict. Chinese churches entered a highly politicized period in which public opinion was dominated by anti-imperialism and patriotism. About two thirds of Chinese Christians gave their signature and showed support to the *Three-Self Declaration*. However, a small number of church leaders would not go down the road of the Three-Self church, and the house church began to emerge and gradually develop. The second cause of the division within the Chinese church was the theological element. This was because the official church headed by Wu Yaozong was primarily dominated by the thoughts and theology of liberalism, but the house church headed by Wang Mingdao and others had firmly held fundamentalist beliefs and values. Wang wrote *We are for Faith* to make clear the reasons for not joining the Three-Self church. The third cause of the split is the historical element. Even though official and unregistered churches were all closed down and suppressed during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, they divided quickly into the Three-Self Church and the house church again after the Open-Door Policy in the 1980s. Since they could not reach an agreement about theological concepts and Church-State relations, they have been in a state of confrontation from the 1980s until now.²⁴³

²⁴³ Wang Wenfeng 王文锋. “告诉你真实的中国教会 [Tell You the Truth about the Chinese Church]”, vol. 12, 基督时报 [*Christian Times*] (12 Oct. 2011). Yi Ming 佚名. “中国大陆教会现状: 三自和家庭教会 [The Present Situation of the Church in China: the Three-Self Church and the House Church]”, 中国基督教家庭教会问题研究 [*A Study on the Issues of the Chinese House Church*], Liu Peng Ed. 刘澎 主编 (Beijing: Universal Institute of Social Sciences 普世社会科学研究所, 2009).

The leaders of the unregistered churches held on to their fundamentalist beliefs firmly, and resisted western liberal ideas and modern ideological trends. They did not want to compromise their beliefs and faith for which they were imprisoned for decades from the early 1950s. They emphasized pure faith, and the shaping of the Christian spiritual life and character. They had contact with western churches, but mostly advocated the Chinese Church's self-reliance. Therefore, foreign relations were more through personal contacts and cooperation in ministries. The leaders considered that the Chinese house church was the continuity and inheritance of the church of the apostolic age. Many foreign Christian organizations and churches were fascinated by their unusual and phenomenal experiences of imprisonment. For example foreign visitors made a special trip to call on Lin Xiangao (Samuel Lamb) from dozens of countries, including the American evangelist Billy Graham, the famous scientist and astronaut James B. Irwin, and the adviser to President Reagan Mrs. Carolyn B. Sundseth.²⁴⁴

Most of the churches which became unregistered churches in the 1950s were indigenous. They emerged from the indigenization movement during the Anti-Christian Movement of the 1920s due to the negative association, among Chinese people, between Christianity and imperialism. These churches were neither directly established by western missionaries nor dependent on foreign mission funds, and were pastored by Chinese Christian leaders. The leaders considered these churches as the "real" three-self churches, and did not see the need to join the TSPM to sever connections with western missionaries as they did not have relations with them. However, during many years of persecution, marginalization, and isolation from society, western churches were sympathetic towards the unregistered churches and supported

²⁴⁴ Su, Selena Y. Z. & Dik Allan. "Pentecostalism in China Post 1949", *Pentecostalism in Asia Pacific*, Paul Lewis Ed. (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). Wang Wenfeng 王文锋. "告诉你真实的中国教会 [Tell you the Truth about the Chinese Church]", vol. 13, 基督时报 [*Christian Times*] (19 Oct. 2011).

them with the Bibles, commentary books, training, and finance. Many unregistered churches were inspired by the difficulties and suffering that western missionaries encountered to bring the Gospel to China, especially the martyrs during the Boxer Uprising, and initiated the Back to Jerusalem movement to do foreign missionary work.

3.2. The Chinese Government's Perspectives

From the time the CPC took power in China in 1949 until the present, can be divided into three periods regarding religious policy. First, from the establishment of New China to the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. Second, from the Cultural Revolution until the Open Door Policy in 1979. Third, from 1980 to the present, in which religious policy Document 19 & Document 6 were issued, and *the White Paper on Religious Freedom* was published.

3.2.1. The Management of Religious Affairs

During the period from the establishment of New China to the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, there was no official religious policy in particular. However, the beliefs and ideology of the Government can be detected through the management of religious affairs, national leaders' public speeches, and the constitution. On 21 September 1949, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was inaugurated in Beijing, the *Common Programme* was formulated and it served as the country's provisional constitution. In the *Common Programme*, Article 5 and 53 were related to religious issues. And stressed two points in particular: one was that the citizens of the PRC should enjoy the freedom of

religious belief; the other was that the habits and customs of ethnic minorities, including their religious freedoms, should be respected.²⁴⁵

In 1953, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC passed the report *Summary of the Main Lessons on the Work of the Party in the Minority for the Past Few Years* which Li Wei-han had presided over and drafted. In the report, Li presented “the Theory of Five Characters of Religion” which stated that religion was supported by the masses, composed of different ethnic groups, existed over a long time period, was international, and complex. The theory was considered as a starting point from which to understand and deal with religious issues in the socialist period, and became a governing foundation for the state to legislate religious principles and policies. In September 1954, the First Session of the First National People’s Congress was convened in Beijing, and the First Constitution of the PRC was promulgated. Four articles (Article 3, 86, 87, and 88) were related to religious issues, and it carried on in the spirit and substance of the *Common Programme* and reconfirmed it.²⁴⁶

However, in the beginning of the regime, the CPC did not want to take the risk of the social and civil unrest that might accompany the elimination of religions. Instead, their intention was to cut off the relations between Chinese churches and imperialists—the western churches and missionary societies—through the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. In addition, religions were expected to die out and disappear during the development of the socialist state.

²⁴⁵ He Husheng 何虎生. “解放战争时期中国共产党宗教政策研究 [Study on the Religious Policy of the CCP during the Period of the War of Liberation]”, 党的文献 [Party Literature], vol. 6 (2004). Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee Eds. 中共中央文献研究室 编. 建国以来重要文献选编 [Selection of Important Documents since the Founding of the Nation], vol. 1, (Beijing: Central Party Literature Press 中央文献出版社, 1992), 2.

²⁴⁶ Jin Yifeng 金以枫. “中国共产党宗教政策发展述略 [Discussion on the Development of the CPC’s Religious Policy]”, 当代中国史研究 [Contemporary History of China Studies], vol. 5/6 (1999). Jin Binggao 金炳镐. 新中国民族政策 60 年 [Sixty Years of New China’s Policy towards Nationalities], (Beijing: Central University for Nationalities Press 中央民族大学出版社, 2009), 85-87.

During the period from the Cultural Revolution to beginning of the Open Door policy, religious policy was constantly changing. During the Cultural Revolution, the “Left” tendency of the religious policy developed to its extreme, and the religious world suffered a serious blow. On 1 June 1966, the *People’s Daily* published an editorial entitled: “Sweeping Away Evil People of All Kinds”, and this description incorporated religious figures, personages from cultural and intellectual circles, and democratic patriots.²⁴⁷

In August 1966, the Red Guard began to go to the streets and destroy “the Four Olds” which were old customs, old culture, old habits, and old ideas. Religions were part of the old order which they intended to sweep away. The Red Guards distributed leaflets and put up posters everywhere such as “Utterly Destroy All Religions”, “Dissolution of all Religious Organizations and Communities”, “Demolish all Church Buildings and Temples”, and other similar slogans. Religious activities were halted and religious buildings such as churches, temples, and mosques were closed down or destroyed. In 1975, the Second Constitution was passed during the Fourth National People’s Congress, but its content was very much influenced by extreme Left-Wing ideas.²⁴⁸

After the Cultural Revolution, the CPC and the government leaders realised the mistakes of the “Left” guiding ideology and practice, and began the process of bringing order to the chaos of that period. In 1978, the Third Constitution was adapted during the Fifth National People’s Congress, and it stated that citizens should have the freedom to believe in religion,

²⁴⁷ Gao Ruixiang 高润祥. 论我国宗教政策的发展演变 [Discussion on the Development and Evolution of the Religious Policy in China], (Master Dissertation, Southwestern University, Chongqing 重庆西南大学, 2007), 39-41.

²⁴⁸ Feng Jinyuan & Min Xianliang 冯今源 & 敏贤良. “中国共产党宗教政策的历史发展 [The Historical Development of the CPC's Religious Policy]”, 引导宗教与社会主义社会相适应的理论与实践 [The Theory and Practice of Guiding Religion to Adapt to Socialist Society], Feng Jinyuan Ed. 冯今源 主编 (Beijing: Social Sciences Press 社会科学出版社, 2009).

or not, and the freedom to propagate atheism. In 1979, the Contral Committee of the CPC approved the UFWD's report *Policy and Task of the UFWD in the New Historical Period*. The report emphasized the importance of the full implementation of the Party's policy on freedom of religious belief and requested that governmental departments conscientiously enforce all policies and measures which would effect religious believers.²⁴⁹

3.2.2. Religious Policy: Document 19 and Document 6

From the 1980s after the Open-Door Policy until the present day, the CPC had to face the reality of a rapidly growing number of Christians, and accept the fact that Christianity did not and would not disappear in the short term as expected. In this context, on 31 March 1982, Document 19 *the Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question during Our Country's Socialist Period* was issued by the Central Committee of CPC as an internal document, intended only for official consumption. The ideological organ of the CPC, *Red Flag*, published Document 19 as their editorial on 16 June 1982.²⁵⁰

Red Flag was a political theory journal and sponsored by the Central Committee of the CPC. It was established on 1 June 1958 after the suggestion of Chairman Mao during the fifth Plenum of the 8th Central Committee. It was a revolutionary, critical journal, combining theory and practice. Its purpose was to help readers to understand the CPC's major principles and policies, the important theoretical issues within their political paradigm, economics, philosophy, history, culture, education, science, technology, and international relations. It was

²⁴⁹ Zhao Kuangwei 赵匡为. “现行宗教政策法规 [Current Religious Policies and Regulations]”, 宗教研究指要 [*Religious Study Guidance*], Zhang Zhigang Ed. 张志刚主编 (Beijing: Beijing University Press 北京大学出版社, 2005), 405-436. Ma Yuhai 马玉海. “中国共产党宗教政策法规解读之三——中国共产党宗教工作的法制建设 [Interpretation Three of the CPC's Religious Policies and Regulations: the Legal System Construction of the CPC's Religious Work]”, 甘肃宗教 [*Religion in Gansu*], vol. 1 (2010).

²⁵⁰ Britsch, R. Lanier. “The Current Legal Status of Christianity in China”, *Brigham Young University Law Review*, (1995), 347-399.

especially aimed at readers who required a better understanding of significant theoretical issues of the Reform and Opening-Up after the third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC in 1978.²⁵¹

Document 19 was the first written and issued religious policy by the CPC in more than thirty years of the regime. It served as a significant starting point for religions achieving legal status in China. It was also the first time that the significant notion of putting religious affairs in the domain of the legal system was introduced, and was the prelude to a process of religious legalization in the new era. In the next thirty years, Document 19 provided foundational theory and policy guidance, and encouraged the CPC to scientifically understand its approach to religious issues. There were later significant directives, but Document 19 was considered as the authoritative statement.²⁵²

The content of Document 19 includes twelve sections: 1) Religion as a historical phenomenon; 2) The religions of China; 3) The Party's handling of the religious questions since liberation; 4) The Party's present policy toward religion; 5) The party's work with religious professionals; 6) Restoration and administration of churches, temples and other religious buildings; 7) The patriotic religious organizations; 8) Educating a new generation of clergy; 9) Communist Party members and religion, and relations with religious ethnic minorities; 10) Criminal and counter-revolutionary activities under the cover of religion; 11)

²⁵¹ ‘红旗文稿’简介 [‘Red Flag Manuscript’ Brief Introduction], <http://theory.people.com.cn/GB/49154/49155/8679241.html>. <http://theory.people.com.cn/GB/82288/143843/> Last access on 19 September 2016.

²⁵² Liu Peng 刘澎. “落实 19 号文件精神加快宗教法制建设 [Implementation of the Spirit of Document 19 to Speed up the Construction of Religious Law]”, 中国民族报 [*China National Newspaper*], (27 March 2012). Gong Xuezheng 龚学增. “19 号文件是中国化马克思主义宗教观的重要文献 [Document 19 is an Important Document of Chinese Marxist Religious View]”, 中国民族报 [*China National Newspaper*], (27 March 2012). Chan, Kimkwong. “A Chinese Perspective on the Interpretation of the Chinese Government's Religious Policy”, *All Under Heaven: Chinese Tradition and Christian Life in the People's Republic of China*, Alan Hunter & Don Rimmington Eds. (Kampen: Kok, 1992), 38-44.

The international relations of China's religions; 12) The role of the Party and state organs in handling the religious question.²⁵³

In Document 19, the Government identified and declared that the most effective developments which Christianity had made in China were as a consequence of the Opium Wars, which occurred after the two hundred years of the “Close-Door” policy and the “Church –Ban” policy of the Qing Dynasty.²⁵⁴ Moreover, the achievement and challenge of the religious work was also acknowledged and portrayed in Document 19.

The Party's religious work achieved great results under the direction of the correct guiding principles and policies of the Party Central Committee. We did away with imperialist forces within the churches and promoted the correct policy of independent, self-governed, and autonomous churches, as well as the “Three-Self Movement”... The Catholic and Protestant Churches ceased to be tools of the imperialist aggressors and became independent and autonomous religious enterprises of Chinese believers... there are reactionary religious groups abroad, especially the imperialistic ones such as the Vatican and Protestant Foreign-mission societies, who strive to use all possible occasions to carry on their efforts at infiltration “to return to the China mainland”. Our policy is to actively develop friendly international religious contacts, but also to firmly resist infiltration by hostile foreign religious forces.²⁵⁵

In December 1982, the Fourth Constitution which was the living constitution was revised during the fifth session of the Fifth National People's Congress after summing up experiences and lessons from the Cultural Revolution. Regarding the right of citizens to freedom of religious belief, Article 34, 36, and 51 touched upon it. Article 36 of the

²⁵³ Document 19 “The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question during Our Country's Socialist Period”. https://www.purdue.edu/crcs/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Document_no._19_1982.pdf. Last Access on 19 September 2016. This translation is taken from MacInnis, Donald. *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice* (NY: Orbis, 1989), 8-26.

²⁵⁴ Comprehensive Research Group of the Central Committee of the CPC Eds. 中共中央文献研究室综合研究组等 编. 新时期宗教工作文献选编 [*Anthology of the Religious Work in a New Era*], (Beijing: Religion & Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 1995), 53-73. Department of Policies and Regulations, State Bureau of Religious Affairs Eds. 国家宗教局政策法规司 编. 中国宗教法规政策读本 [*China's Religious Laws and Regulations Reader*], (Beijing: Religion & Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 2000), 13-14.

²⁵⁵ Document 19 “The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question during Our Country's Socialist Period”. MacInnis, *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice*, 10-26.

Constitution was probably the most unambiguous, stating that ‘religious bodies and religious affairs are not subject to any foreign domination’.²⁵⁶

On 31 December 1983, the Central Committee of the CPC issued *The Instruction about Dealing with Religious Issues Correctly Regarding Eliminating Spiritual Pollution*. It declared that China would never allow any foreign forces to dominate religious organizations and affairs. Thereafter, the Central Committee of the CPC repeatedly declared that China would resolutely resist religious infiltration by foreign hostile forces. Under the premise of safeguarding the national reunification, the government indicated a willingness to negotiate with the Dalai Lama, but no foreign government, organization or individual was permitted to intervene in the affair. Moreover, the Vatican was told that it could not interfere in China’s internal affairs on the pretext of religious affairs.²⁵⁷

In the 1990s, the Chinese Government took a defensive position toward their religious policy because of the international and national political situations. The main reason for this was the drastic change in Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1992, which first occurred in Poland and East Germany, then extended to the countries of the former Warsaw Treaty Organization, and finally ended up in the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It was generally regarded as marking the end of the Cold War, and a victory for western nations led by the United States, who promoted a “Peaceful Evolution” and helped the democratization in the

²⁵⁶ Jiang Shilin & Chen Wei 姜士林 & 陈玮. 世界宪法大全 [Encyclopedia of the World Constitution], vol. 1 (Beijing: China Radio and Television Publishing 中国广播电视出版社, 1989), 86-88. Legislative Affairs Commission of Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress Eds. 全国人民代表大会常务委员会法制工作委员会 编. 中华人民共和国法律 [The Law of the People’s Republic of China], (Beijing: People’s Publishing House 人民出版社, 2013), 27. Chen Jinlong 陈金龙. 中国共产党与中国的宗教问题: 关于党的宗教政策的历史考察 [The CPC and the Religious Issues in China: A Historical Review of the Party’s Religious Policy], (Guangdong: People’s Publishing House 人民出版社, 2006), 296.

²⁵⁷ Zhao Kuangwei 赵匡为. “现行宗教政策法规 [Current Religious Policies and Regulations]”, 405-436. Chen Wenying 陈文英. “中国共产党宗教政策的历史考察 [Historical Investigation of the Chinese Communist Party’s Religious Policy]”, 天中学刊 [Tianzhong Journal], vol. 3 (2007).

Eastern Bloc. The CPC observed how religions such as Christianity, especially Catholics, played an important role in the collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, and the disintegration of the USSR. During the Tiananmen Square Protests in 1989, one of the CPC's major concerns was that foreign forces might attempt to undermine the regime through religious infiltration.²⁵⁸

In this context, Document 6 *Some Problems Concerning Further Improving Work on Religion* was issued on 5 February 1991 by the Central Committee of the CPC and the State Council. Document 6 includes six sections: 1) Implement the policy of freedom of religious belief accurately and in an all-around manner; 2) Regulating religious affairs according to the law; 3) Let the patriotic religious organizations play their role to the full; 4) Resolutely curb those who use religion to engage in criminal activities; 5) Strengthen the organ of work on religion and step up the building of a corps of cadres working on religious matters; 6) Strengthen Party leadership in work on religion.²⁵⁹

Document 6 exemplifies how the administration of religious affairs was in the process of transferring from the rule of the Party to the political and legal system, incorporating the essence and spirit of Document 19. Additionally, it mentioned the very important new concept of “hostile foreign forces”, and identified “who [could] use religion for infiltration purposes”. It used “overseas” twelve times, “hostile forces” six times, and “infiltration” four times. Its core goal was to guard against the hostile foreign religious forces and the national

²⁵⁸ Tang, Edmond. “The Church into the 1990s”, *The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives*, Edmond Tang & Jean-Paul Wiest Eds. (NY: Orbis, 1993), 28-42.

²⁵⁹ Document 6 “Some Problems Concerning Further Improving Work on Religion”. This translation is in ‘Freedom of Religion in China’, *Human Rights Watch/Asia Watch*, (1992), 30–35. Document 6 “Some Problems Concerning Further Improving Work on Religion”, *Chinese Law and Government*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (March/April 2000), 56-63.

separatists who could utilise religions to ‘attack [the] Party leadership and the socialist system, undermine the unification of the motherland and national unity’.²⁶⁰

Document 6 was the first to promote the idea of ‘administering and supervising religious affairs in accordance with the law’. The Document also explained its connotation, purpose, and general requirements. It warned the foreign religious forces strongly that ‘no religious organizations or individuals from outside the country are allowed to interfere in China’s religious affairs, establish offices in China, build monasteries, Taoist temples or churches, or engage in missionary work’.²⁶¹

If Document 19 increased tolerance after the Cultural Revolution, then Document 6 imposed tighter controls after the radical changes in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the USSR. The essential difference of Document 6 was ‘the emphasis on control’, ‘penalizing according to law and strengthening the management of religious groups...the underlying theme of the document is anti-infiltration, anti-subversion and anti-peaceful evolution’.²⁶² Unregistered religious groups and their activities came under increased scrutiny, and the Public Security Bureau was instructed to fight and eliminate illegal religious organizations.

²⁶⁰ Xing Fuzeng 邢福增. 心系神州 [*The Heart for China*], (Hong Kong: Christian Communications LTD. 福音证主协会, 1998), 24. Cai Shaoqi 蔡少琪. “中国宗教政策的演进 (二): 九十年代江泽民时期的宗教政策 [*The Evolution of China's Religious Policy (Two): Religious Policy during the Period of Jiang Zemin in the 1990s*]”. <http://www.chinesetheology.com/ChinaByKC/ChinaReligiousPolicy2.htm>. Last access on 19 September 2016.

²⁶¹ Comprehensive Research Group of the Central Committee of the CPC Eds. 中共中央文献研究室综合研究组等 编. 新时期宗教工作文献选编 [*Anthology of the Religious Work in a New Era*], 213-221. Department of Policies and Regulations, State Bureau of Religious Affairs Eds. 国家宗教局政策法规司 编. 中国宗教法规政策读本 [*China's Religious Laws and Regulations Reader*], 22. Ren Tao 任涛. 中国统一战线全书 [*Pandect of the United Front of China*], (Beijing: International Cultural Publishing Company 国际文化出版公司, 1993), 227-230, 454-460.

Document 6 Some Problems Concerning Further Improving Work on Religion. This translation is in ‘Freedom of Religion in China’, *Human Rights Watch/Asia Watch*, (1992), 30-35.

²⁶² *China News and Church Report*, (1 Nov. 1991). Hunter, Alan & Kimkwong Chan, *Protestantism in Contemporary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 100-101.

Document 6 emphasis on control is also seen in newly developed Chinese indigenous cult or *xiejiao* (Eastern Lightning, Falun Gong, etc.).

Some religious officials and scholars argued that political forces have always utilized religions as an important tool to promote their own political intentions and agendas, and as a means of imposing control and order. The Chinese government adopted this sociological and functional view of religion, and claimed that throughout history, there have been many cases of conflicts caused by religions and wars fought under the name of religion. During the early western colonial expansion, religion (in this instance Christianity) always accompanied the dominating aggressors. Regarding the western imperialist invasion of China, Catholicism and Protestantism were utilized as important tools to facilitate political and cultural infiltration. Therefore, Christianity was in a state of confrontation with the government, and was never fully indigenized in China. From the viewpoint of the CPC, western nations have long used religious issues politically subversive aims such as agitating and striking against the socialist state. Moreover, after the Cold War, hostile western forces made intense use of the ethnic minority issues and religious problems to implement the political strategy of westernization and disintegration of China.²⁶³

3.2.3. *The White Paper on Religious Freedom*

Now we will examine Chinese contemporary perspectives regarding the interrelationship of Christianity, missionaries and imperialism. A good starting point for this examination is

²⁶³ Ye Xiaowen 叶小文. “当前我国的宗教问题: 关于宗教五性的再探讨 [China’s Current Religious Issues: Further Discussion on the Theory of the Five Religious Characters]”, 中国宗教研究年鉴 1997-1998, *Yearbook of Chinese Religious Studies*, Cao Zhongjian Ed. 曹中建 主编 (Beijing: Religion & Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 2000), 1- 27. Qiu Yonghui & Jin Hui 邱永辉 & 金辉. “不平凡之年的宗教和宗教研究 [Religion and Religious Studies in an Extraordinary Year]”, 2009 宗教蓝皮书: 中国宗教报告 2009 [*Blue Book of Religions: Annual Report on Religions in China (2009)*], Jinze & Qiu Yonghui Eds. 金泽 & 邱永辉 主编 (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press 社会科学文献出版社, 2009), 1-18.

The White Paper on the Freedom of Religions in China which was published by the News Bureau of the State Council on 16 October 1997. It was issued ten days before Chairman Jiang Zemin's visit to the United States. Its intention was to counter any questions regarding China's human rights violations and religious freedom by the American President and news reporters. Therefore, the White Paper has to be read and understood within this context, and 'its function [was] seen as propagandistic in nature'.²⁶⁴ The entire text is more than 10,000 words, and divided into five sections: 1) The present conditions of religion in China; 2) The legal protection concerning the freedom of religious belief; 3) Judicial and administrative guarantees and supervision of the freedom of religious belief; 4) Support for the independence and initiative in the management of religious affairs; 5) The protection of the right to freedom of religious belief for ethnic minorities.²⁶⁵

Section 1 of the paper discussed the conditions of different religions in China including Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Catholicism, and Protestantism. When it talked about Catholicism and Protestantism, it mentioned that both spread widely after the Opium War. In section 4, it explained the reasons why the principle of independence was applied and practiced in Chinese churches. It also looked at 'the role of western missionaries in the historical colonialist and imperialist aggression against China', and 'Catholicism and Protestantism in modern Chinese history'.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ *China News and Church Report*, (27 Oct. 1997).

²⁶⁵ '信仰白皮书: 中国的宗教信仰自由状况', 中华人民共和国 国务院新闻办公室, 一九九七年十月, 北京. ['White Paper on Freedom of Religions in China', the News Bureau of the State Council of the PRC, 16th October 1997, Beijing]. <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/zjxy/t36492.htm>. Last access on 19 September 2016.

²⁶⁶ "White Paper: Freedom of Religious Belief in China", *Chinese Law and Government*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (May/June 2003), 7-20.

Section 4 of the paper explained that the government supported the principle of independence and the management of religious affairs by various religious bodies so that ‘China’s religious affairs and religious bodies are not subject to any foreign domination’. It was considered a historic decision and part of the Chinese people’s ‘struggle against colonialist and imperialist aggression and enslavement’. This section also mentioned that China declined to be a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country following the Opium War in 1840, and during this process ‘western Protestantism and Catholicism were used by colonialism and imperialism as a tool for aggression against China, and a number of western missionaries played an inglorious part in this’. Missionaries obtained the rights to buy or lease land, build places of worship and for Chinese Christians to be protected. Section 4 further stated that missionaries enjoyed extraterritoriality, and this right was also extended to Chinese Christians, who were backed by the aggressive imperialist power and interfered in the Chinese judicial authority. It also claimed that western powers used the religious cases as a pretext to impose military and political pressure on China, and gave the example of the case in Tianjin where Chinese people were executed and exiled.²⁶⁷

In Section 4, the paper also stated that missionaries participated in the war with the Eight-Nations Alliance during the Boxer Uprising in 1900. It described how some missionaries ‘serving as guides, interpreters and information officers, took part in the slaughter of Chinese civilians and the robbing of money and property’. It also quoted a well-known American writer Mark Twain’s words: ‘Some of the missionaries imposed on the poor Chinese peasants fines 13 times the amount they were supposed to pay, driving their wives

²⁶⁷ “White Paper: Freedom of Religious Belief in China”, 14-15.

and innocent children to lingering death from starvation, so that they were thus able to use the money gained through such murder to propagate the Gospel'.²⁶⁸

The Vatican's decisions during the Japanese invasion and the Civil War, and their attitude to the founding of New China, was also criticised in Section 4. It states:

After Japan invaded Northeast China the Vatican took a stand which was, in fact, supporting the Japanese aggression. It took the lead in recognizing the puppet Manchukuo regime set up by the Japanese and sent a representative there. After the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan some western missionaries stirred up hostility against the people's revolution among the converts and even organized armed forces to help the Kuomintang [the Nationalist Party] fight in the civil war. They adopted a hostile attitude toward New China and plotted sabotage. After the founding of New China in 1949 the Vatican issued papal encyclicals several times instigating hatred among the converts against the new people's political power.²⁶⁹

The section further claims that the Chinese Church was being manipulated and controlled by western religious orders and mission societies, and being turned into appendages of western Catholicism and Protestantism. It also gave statistics to prove that, of the clergyman, there were seventeen foreigners and only three Chinese among twenty archbishops in China in the 1940s, and only about twenty Chinese bishops among more than 110 bishops in the 143 parishes.²⁷⁰

Some Chinese Christians early on expressed their wish to cast off such control and began establishing their own independent Christian organizations. However, in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China it was absolutely impossible for Chinese churches to maintain real independence and realize self-management.²⁷¹

In the white paper, the spread of Christianity was closely linked to imperialism, and the description of western missionaries was very negative. They were seen as tools helping the imperialists' invasion and aggression against the Chinese, through participating in the Opium

²⁶⁸ "White Paper: Freedom of Religious Belief in China", 14.

²⁶⁹ "White Paper: Freedom of Religious Belief in China", 15.

²⁷⁰ "White Paper: Freedom of Religious Belief in China", 16.

²⁷¹ "White Paper: Freedom of Religious Belief in China", 16.

Wars and by devising, implementing and enforcing the Unequal Treaties. Ye Xiaowen, the former director of the State Administration of Religious Affairs from 1995 to 2009, commented on Christianity that such a religion, which was supposed to preach love, was in fact utilized by some imperialists who were full of hatred and did not know love at all. Ye claimed that Christianity followed the opium trade, and cannons, and was accompanied with blood and fire when it entered China. As a consequence, the common image of Jesus “sitting on artillery” became a widespread and common conception. He further claimed that most Chinese impressions regarding Christianity were not of charity and love, but of invasion and tyranny towards the Chinese people.²⁷²

Wang Zuoan, the present administrator of the SARA stated in his book *China's Religious Issues and Religious Policy* which was published in 2010, that China's door was blasted open with the cannons of western imperialist powers. Catholicism and Protestantism were spread widely by depending on and associating with strong militaries of imperialist and colonial powers. For more than one hundred years, the Chinese Church was under the control of imperialism, and became a powerful tool to make incursions into Chinese territory. All of these were accomplished through missionaries' activities, which served their nations' objectives to conquer China. Wang acknowledged that even though the intention of some missionaries was to spread Christianity, there was also the implicit ideal among missionaries to advance the cultural exchange between China and the world. However, the development of

²⁷² Ye Xiaowen 叶小文. 把中国宗教的真实情况告诉美国人民: 叶小文答问实录 [*Tell the American People about the True Situation of Chinese Religion: Record of Ye Xiaowen Answering Questions*], (Beijing: Religion & Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 1999), 100-101.

their work depended on the expansion of colonial power, so they stood within an imperialist position either consciously or unconsciously, and became the colonists' accomplices.²⁷³

3.3. Academic Perspectives

We have looked at how the Chinese conception of Christianity has been influenced by: the Opium Wars and the events that followed it; the Chinese's Church's views; and the Chinese government's opinions about the interrelationship between Christianity, missionaries, and imperialism. Now we will turn to academic perspectives to see how these historical events have been recorded and interpreted by Chinese scholars in different time periods, and how their assessments have been influenced by factors such as the social, cultural, and historical context from which they produced their work; as well as their own individual values and motives.

3.3.1. Research on the Opium Wars

According to historians, the widely held belief of the Chinese public, following the Opium Wars, was that China had become a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country following the intrusion of foreign imperialists. For the Chinese, it was these intrusions that had held back the modernization of China.²⁷⁴ In the first thirty years from the 1950s to the 1980s, the method of class analysis was used as a theoretical framework for research on the Opium Wars; in the second thirty years from the 1980s to the 2010s, scholars used an empirical

²⁷³ Wang Zuoan 王作安. 中国的宗教问题和宗教政策 [*Religious Issues and Policies in China*], 179-180.

²⁷⁴ Sun Zhanyuan 孙占元. “鸦片战争史研究述评 [A Review of Studies on the History of the Opium Wars]”, 东岳论丛 [*Dongyue Forum*], vol. 4 (1994).

approach to draw conclusions from facts. Researchers now take a more rational, self-reflective and self-critical approach in their evaluations of historical events and figures.²⁷⁵

In 1951, Hu published *Marx's Discussion on the Causes of the First and Second Opium Wars*, and it was unprecedented in basing historical research on a revolutionary leader's discourse.²⁷⁶ From the establishment of the New China to the Cultural Revolution, the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism and the exposition of Marx, Engels and Chairman Mao to the Opium Wars had dominated how they were viewed, studied, and discussed in China. It expounded the nature and causes of the war, and pointed out that it was a war of aggression in which western capitalist countries used military force to expand their forces of economic domination and enslave the Chinese people. The immediate cause of the wars was Britain protecting the opium trade and obstructing China's ban on the trade and use of opium. The ten year turmoil of the Cultural Revolution had prevented a more scientific approach to researching the history of the Opium Wars. Instead, the history of the Opium Wars was distorted for political reasons.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ Ge Fuping 葛夫平. “建国以来的第二次鸦片战争史研究综述 [A Review of Studies on the History of the second Opium War from since the Founding of the Nation]”, 史林 [*Historical Review*], vol. 2 (2014).

²⁷⁶ Hu Jixin 胡寄馨. “马克思论第一次与第二次鸦片战争的发生 [Marx' Discussion on the Occurrence of the first and second Opium Wars]”, 新中华 [*New China*], vol. 5 (1951). Ren Zhiyong 任智勇. “第一次鸦片战争史研究的几个问题 [Some Problems in the Study of the History of the first Opium War]”, 晚清政治史研究的检讨: 问题与前瞻 [*A Review of the Study of Political History in the late Qing Dynasty: Problems and Prospects*], Political History Research Office, Institute of Modern History, CASS Eds. 中国社会科学院近代史研究所政治史研究室 主编 (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press 社会科学文献出版社, 2014), 167-190.

²⁷⁷ Gong Shuduo & Xie Wei & Sun Yanjing 龚书铎 & 谢维 & 孙燕京. “建国三十五年来鸦片战争史研究综述 [A Review of the Studies on the History of the Opium Wars in the Past Thirty-Five Years]”, 近代史研究 [*Modern History Research*], vol. 3 (1984). Ding Mingnan & Yu Shengwu 丁名楠 & 余绳武. 帝国主义侵华史 [*History of Imperialist Aggression against China*], (Beijing: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1961). Yao Wei yuan 姚薇元. “论鸦片战争的直接原因 [Discussion on the Direct Causes of the Opium Wars]”, 武汉大学学报 [*Wuhan University Journal*], vol. 4 (1963).

From the 1980s, there was unprecedented dialogue between scholars following the Reform and Opening-Up Policy. The debate on “the theory of religion as opium” had a most profound influence in the field of religion and philosophy. It is also called “the War between South and North” because although many scholars were involved in the debate, most were based at either the Religious Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences and Religious Society at Shanghai or the Institute of World Religions of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) at Beijing. This debate has been referred to as “the Third Opium War” in academic circles because of the prominence within the debate of Marx’s quote of 1844 “religion is the opium of the people”.²⁷⁸

After the first meeting on religious studies in 1979, the head of the national religious studies planning team Luo Zhufeng and the Anglican Bishop Zheng Jianye felt the necessity for a new understanding and reinterpretation of Marx’s quotes. In 1980, Zheng published an article “Discussion on Religion and Opium”, which triggered extensive argument and discussion. In Zheng’s opinion, religion was not only utilized by the reactionary ruling class, but also used by bourgeois and peasants, so religion was something neutral and had no class nature.²⁷⁹

Lü Daji and Zhang Jian, the director and vice director of the Department of Marxism Religious Principles, CASS, published several articles in response during 1981-1982. Their basic argument was that Marx’s quote of 1844 revealed the most fundamental attribute of religion, and scientifically expounded the essence of religion and its social role. Furthermore, they noted Lenin’s assertion that Marx’s famous quote, “Religion is the opium of the people”,

²⁷⁸ Duan Dezhi 段德智. “关于‘宗教鸦片论’的‘南北战争’及其学术贡献 [‘The National Warfare’ on the ‘Theory of Religion as Opium’ and Its Academic Contribution]”, 复旦学报 [*Fudan Journal*], vol. 5 (2008).

²⁷⁹ Zheng Jianye 郑建业. “从宗教与鸦片谈起 [Starting a Discussion on Religion and Opium]”, 宗教 [*Religion*], (April 1980).

was the basis for the entire world's approach to religious issues. It was Marxism's theoretical foundation on the issue of religion, and the fundamental position and guiding principle for religious research. For Lü and Zhang, Marx's quote has universal significance, and provided scientific guidance for correctly understanding religious problems. Therefore, they believed that the Marxist theory of religion should be continually adhered to in the study of religion. They stated that Marx's religious theory was a universal truth, so religion was the opium of people, not the gospel of people. Therefore, religion as opium was a mental anaesthetic, and ultimately harmful to people.²⁸⁰

In response to the above viewpoint, Luo Zhufeng, Zhao Fushan, and other scholars asked for a more comprehensive interpretation and understanding of the "theory of religion as opium". Luo was the director of the Religious Affairs Office in Shanghai in the 1950s, and was well known for compiling large dictionaries and encyclopedias from the 1980s. In Luo's opinion, Marx's theory on religion was related to social reality, political struggle, and the specific historical and national context in which it was produced, so it was not an abstract discussion about religion. Therefore, learning Marx's religious theory must proceed from China's realities, and establish a religious theoretical system with Chinese characteristics.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ Zhang Jian 张继安. "对'宗教是人民的鸦片'这个论断的初步理解 [A Preliminary Understanding of the Assertion that 'Religion is the Opium of the People']", 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religions*], vol. 2 (1981). Zhang Jian 张继安. "学习马克思关于宗教的几个基本理论问题: 纪念马克思逝世一百周年 [Study Marx' Several Basic Theoretical Issues of religion: Commemoration of the One Hundred Year Anniversary of Marx's Death]", 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religions*], vol. 4 (1982). Lü Daji 吕大吉. "正确认识宗教问题的科学指南: 重读马克思'黑格尔法哲学批判'导言 [A Scientific Guide to the Correct Understanding of Religious Issues: Re-Read the Introduction of Marx' 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law']", 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religions*], vol. 3 (1981). Lü Dajie 吕大吉. "试论宗教在历史上的作用 [Discussion on the Role of Religion in History]", 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religions*], vol. 4 (1982).

²⁸¹ Luo Zhufeng 罗竹风. "关于我国社会主义时期宗教的几个问题 [Some Questions about Religion in the Period of Socialism in China]", 宗教问题探索 [*Exploration of Religious Issues*], Institute of Religion, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences & Shanghai Academy of Religion Eds. 上海社会科学院宗教研究所和上海宗教学会 合编 (Internal Academic Publication 内部学术刊物, 1983). Luo Zhufeng 罗竹风. "建立具有中国特色的宗教学理论体系 [Establishing a Theoretical System of Religion with Chinese Characteristics]", 宗教 [*Religion*], vol. 3 (1984).

Zhao Fusan, an Anglican Priest and the Vice President of the CASS, emphasized that “religion was the opium of people” spread in Germany because opium was an expensive medicinal analgesic to alleviate the suffering of patients in the first half of the nineteenth century in Europe. When poor people could not afford it, they turned to religion to seek relief, so there was a time gap before opium was regarded as a narcotic. Therefore, Marx’s quote was not intended to summarize the nature of religion, so it was not practical to apply it to China’s current religious situation. Moreover, Fusan believed that religion had played a historical role in developing societies, so it should not be generalized as a source of “anaesthesia” or literally compared to the effects of “narcotics”.²⁸²

Ding Guangxun (K. H. Ting), the Chairman of the TSPM Committee, was also actively involved in the debate on religion, and his position was essentially an opposition to “bookishness”. He pointed out that some people isolated “religion is the opium of people” from the context of Marx’s discussions on religion which was only mentioned once by Marx in 1844. Religious studies should not be simplified as a critique of religion and theology, so Ding proposed the slogan “get rid of bookishness and seek truth from facts”.²⁸³

The debate on the “theory of religion as opium” lasted about a decade, and it was one of the most significant academic events in the contemporary history of the development of religion and philosophy. Although those who denied “religion is the opium of people” finally won the debate, this was, in fact, a debate without losers. It was an important breakthrough and generally considered as the beginning of a new era in which religious studies had political

²⁸² Zhao Fusan 赵复三. “究竟怎样认识宗教的本质 [How to Understand the Nature of Religion]”, 中国社会科学 [*Chinese Social Science*], vol.3 (1986).

²⁸³ Ding Guangxun 丁光训. 丁光训文集 [*Anthology: Ding Guangxun*], (Nanjing: Yilin Press 译林出版社, 1998), 399-403. Ding Guangxun & Wang Weifan 丁光训 & 汪维藩. “近几年宗教研究上的若干突破 [Several Breakthroughs in Religious Studies in Recent Years]”, 宗教 [*Religion*], vol. 1 (1989).

and ideological barriers removed and could be studied as an academic subject.²⁸⁴ After the debate, more articles and books were published, and the academic discussions continued more systematically and in depth. However, now they were philosophical and religious questions rather than debates about the direction of religious research.²⁸⁵

After the debate on the “theory of religion as opium”, many scholars did not merely view religion from a political and ideological perspective, but also from a cultural perspective. Some scholars, for example, proposed that “religion is culture” as “religion is a social and cultural phenomenon or form or system”. The change from “religion is political ideology” to “religion is culture” is considered as an academic landmark in religious research in China. Scholars were able to break away from the long-term shackles of religious academic dogmatism and political ultra-leftist thought, and reflect on traditional religions and contemporary religious issues from a more academically sophisticated and cultural perspective. To some extent, all the achievements of the past three decades on religious research can be regarded as a result of the debate on the “theory of religion as opium”.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ Duan Dezhi 段德智. “中国大陆近 30 年来的宗教哲学之争及其学术贡献 [The Debate over the Philosophy of Religion in the Mainland of China in the Past 30 Years and Its Academic Contribution]”, 武汉大学学报 [*Wuhan University Journal*], (Jan. (2009).

²⁸⁵ Zhao Zhiyi 赵志毅. “宗教本质新论 [New Theory on the Nature of Religion]”, 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religions*], vol. 4 (1995). Zhou Zhaolian 周兆连. “正确理解‘宗教是人民的鸦片’ [Correct Understanding of ‘Religion is the Opium of the People’]”, 中央社会主义学院学报 [*Journal of the Central Institute of Socialism*], vol. 6 (1996). Lü Dajie 吕大吉. “宗教是什么? 宗教的本质、基本要素及其逻辑结构 [What is Religion? The Essence of Religion, Its Basic Elements and Its Logical Structure]”, 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religions*], vol. 2 (1998). Gong Xuezheng 龚学增. “新中国马克思主义宗教问题理论发展五十年 [Fifty Years of Theoretical Development of Marx's Theory of Religion in China]”, 中央民族大学学报 [*Journal Central University for Nationalities*], vol. 5 (1999). Liu Rongfu 刘荣富. “对‘宗教是人民的鸦片’的再认识 [Rethinking of ‘Religion is the Opium of the People’]”, 马克思主义与现实 [*Marxism and Reality*], vol. 6 (2004). Feng Jinyuan 冯今源. “求真务实: 继续深入开展中国当代宗教研究 [Seeking Truth and Being Practical: Continuing to Carry out the Research of Chinese Contemporary Religion]”, 社会科学管理与评论 [*Management and Review of Social Science*], vol. 4 (2005). Xiao Zhitian 萧志恬. 当代宗教问题的思考 [*Reflections on Contemporary Religious Issues*], (Shanghai: Social Sciences Press 社会科学院出版社, 1994).

²⁸⁶ Gong Xuezheng 龚学增. “当代中国宗教学理论发展管窥: 从吕大吉的‘宗教学通论’到‘宗教学纲要’说起 [Glimpse of the Development of Contemporary Religious Theory in China: Discussion from Lv'daji's ‘the General Theory of Religion’ to ‘Outline of Religious Studies’]”, 中国宗教 [*Religions in China*], vol. 5

3.3.2. Research on the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom

The research on Taiping was one of the most extensive and in-depth topics in Chinese modern history research. From the fall of the Taiping in 1864 to the Revolution of 1911, the historical documents regarding the Taiping were either kept by the Qing government or in overseas archives. Therefore, as the Qing did not allow research, the scholars who could access the research were mainly missionaries. From 1911 to 1949, the research on the Taiping could be divided into two stages; pre 1935 and post 1935. The first stage was characterized by naturalism and pragmatism; and the second stage by Marxism and objectivism. Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen) and the leaders of the Revolution were the first ones who affirmed its great significance and historical status. Sun praised Hong Xiuquan as the first anti-Qing hero and regarded himself as the second “Hong Xiuquan”.²⁸⁷ Chairman Mao pointed out in 1926 that the Taiping was a class struggle between the peasants and the landlords.²⁸⁸ Mao further stated in 1939 that from the Opium Wars until the anti-Japanese War, the Taiping embodied the Chinese people’s indomitable spirit and unwillingness to succumb to imperialism and its lackeys.²⁸⁹

From 1949 to 1964, research on the Taiping received unprecedented attention from scholars and historical materialism had become the guiding methodology of the research. The

(2004). Lü Daji 吕大吉. “为什么说宗教是一种‘社会文化体系’? 宗教又如何作用于各种文化形式? 关于宗教与文化之关系的若干思考 [Why Religion is a ‘Socio-Cultural System’? How Religion Functions in a Variety of Cultural Forms? Some Thoughts on the Relationship between Religion and Culture]”, 浙江社会科学 [Zhejiang Social Science], vol. 4 (2002).

²⁸⁷ Hua Qiang 华强. “太平天国研究 90 年述评 [A Review of the Ninety Years Research on the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom]”, 广西师范大学学报 [Journal of Guangxi Normal University], (Dec. 2001).

²⁸⁸ Mao Zedong 毛泽东. “纪念巴黎公社的重要意义 [Commemoration of the Significance of the Paris Commune]”, 毛泽东文集 1921 年 1 月-1937 年 6 月 [Anthology: Mao Zedong Jan. 1921- June 1937], vol. 1 (Beijing: People’s Publishing House 人民出版社, 1993).

²⁸⁹ Mao Zedong 毛泽东. “中国革命和中国共产党 [The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China]”, 毛泽东文集 1937 年 7 月-1941 年 5 月 [Anthology: Mao Zedong July 1937- May 1941], vol. 2 (Beijing: People’s Publishing House 人民出版社, 1991).

Taiping was regarded as the first revolutionary movement in China's modern history. There were an unprecedented number of studies carried out on the topic of the Taiping and, because of the unprecedented human and financial resources provided for this research, it became the prominent topic in terms of monographic studies of modern Chinese history. However, from 1964 to 1976, research on the Taiping, especially during the Cultural Revolution, was deemed politically sensitive and, therefore, suffered. Academic research on this topic was seen as a political issue, and even a purely academic position on the topic could be regarded as being dangerously political. Political labels were affixed to historical figures of the Taiping, and this became the norm within academia during the Cultural Revolution until the end of the 1970s.²⁹⁰

The first few years of the 1980s was a period of transition following the Cultural Revolution, and then from the 1990s, research into the Taiping became much wider in scope and included: political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural aspects. Furthermore, research into the Taiping also incorporated: historical literature research, data collection from overseas archives, character studies and considerations of the Taiping's institutions and systems. The Taiping began with Christianity and was established on Christianity, so any research could not ignore religious aspects. However, Chinese scholars avoided mentioning Christianity in the era of eulogizing the Taiping because of the theory of religion as opium, so religion was a restricted and omitted area of research.²⁹¹

Most Chinese research into the history of Christianity in China portrayed western missionaries as foreign brothers of the Taiping. However, after missionaries noticed that the Taiping's religious rituals incorporated aspects of Chinese indigenous religions, they lost their

²⁹⁰ Xia Chuntao 夏春涛. “二十世纪的太平天国史研究 [Study on the History of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom in the Twentieth Century]”, *历史研究 [Historical Research]*, (April 2000).

²⁹¹ Xia Chuntao 夏春涛. “50 年来的太平天国史研究 [Study on the History of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom in the Last Fifty Years]”, *近代史研究 [Study of Modern History]*, vol. 5 (1999).

hope of Christianising China through the Taiping and considered them as heretics. They became opposed to the Taiping, and sent reports back to their governments. The Catholics were resentful from the very beginning because the Taiping was influenced by Protestantism and against idols. Not only did they destroy Buddhist and Daoist idols, but also statues of the Catholic Madonna. The Taiping was regarded as a rebellious force, and the British government sent troops to help the Qing court suppress them. This was considered a major contributing factor to the Taiping's fall. Consequently, research on the Taiping tended to portray missionaries in a very negative light.²⁹²

3.3.3. *Research on Religious Cases (Jiao'an)*

The Religious Cases (Jiao'an or the Anti-Christian Incidents) had a tremendous impact on China's modern history. From 1949 to 1965, research on religious cases was limited by an anti-imperialist framework for political reasons. From 1966 to 1976 during the Cultural Revolution, research was severely affected. After 1980s, five colloquiums were held in China on the topic in 1982, 1985, 1987, 1989, and 1992. These colloquiums concluded that the religious cases were not aggressive, but, instead, were symptomatic of a conflict between Chinese and western culture.²⁹³ From the 1990s, research on the topic has largely focused on individual and regional incidents; the cultural aspects of the incidents; the differing interests of the groups involved; and macroscopic studies. Research perspectives included: law and

²⁹² Wang Zhixin 王治心. 中国基督教史纲 [History of Christianity in China], 155-156. Gu Weiming 顾卫民. 基督教与近代中国社会 [Christianity and Modern Chinese Society], 159-165.

²⁹³ Zhao Shuhao 赵树好. “建国以来反教会斗争研究的回顾与展望 [Retrospect and Prospect on the Study of Anti-Christian Movement since the Founding of the PRC]”, 义和团研究一百年 [One Hundred Years Research on the Boxer Uprising], Su Weizhi & Liu Tianlu Eds. 苏位智 & 刘天路 编 (Jinan: Qilu Press 齐鲁书社, 2000), 221-238. Guo Hanmin & Zou Xiaozhan 郭汉民 & 邹小站. “全国第四次‘近代中国教案’学术讨论会综述 [Summary of the Fourth National Symposium on ‘The Religious Cases in Modern China’]”, 求索 [Search], vol. 1 (1993).

government; comparisons of Chinese and western cultural, rumours and mass media; minority and regional differences; natural disasters and wars.²⁹⁴

A triple crisis theory (political, economic, and cultural) has tended to be expounded by scholars attempting to explain the Jiao'an incidents. So, for example, the Qing government was forced by the western gunboats to reverse the ban on Christianity while the missionaries and Chinese Christians enjoyed extraterritoriality and became a privileged class. The second cause was the conflict of Christianity with Chinese tradition and culture. The third cause, as described by the 'triple crisis theory', was the combination of a national, political crisis, a seemingly existential economic crisis, and a crisis of belief in cultural customs and practices during the late Qing Dynasty. However, the first cause was considered as the premise and the condition in which the anti-Christian incidents happened. Missionaries, especially Catholic missionaries and Chinese Christians were being censured, but they were backed up by western gunboats and protected by the Unequal Treaties. Missionary interference in litigation caused extreme hatred among the Chinese people, and many religious cases occurred because missionaries were harbouring Chinese believers and preventing local officials from handling cases impartially.²⁹⁵

With regard to its historical status and role, scholars' views were very different. Those who hold the theory of anti-aggression highly praised it, and regarded the anti-Christian incidents as the Chinese people's legitimate reaction to the missionaries' abuse of extraterritoriality and acts of resistance against imperial and colonial expansion. From one of

²⁹⁴ Su Quanyou & Zhang Chao 苏全有 & 张超. “对近代中国教案史研究的回顾与反思 [Review and Reflection of the Research on the Religious Cases in Modern China]”, 湖南工程学院学报 [*Journal of Hunan Institute of Engineering*], vol. 2 (2013).

²⁹⁵ Zhao Shuhao 赵树好. 教案与晚清社会 [*Religious Cases and the Late Qing Society*], 192-198. Ding Mingnan 丁名楠. “关于中国近代史上教案的考察 [Investigation of the Religious Cases in the Chinese Modern History]”, 近代史研究 [*Study of Modern History*], vol. 1 (1990).

the Chinese perspectives, Christianity, opium, and imperialist invasion were closely linked. Other scholars hold the view that religious cases were not only anti-aggression, but also anti-feudal. However, some scholars, who believe that the incidents were an expression of a wider culture clash between western and Chinese culture, have noted negative elements behind the religious cases, including conservative and xenophobic attitudes.²⁹⁶

3.3.4. *Research on the Boxer Uprising*

The Boxer Uprising was interpreted as “xenophobia”, “superstitious”, and a “mob movement” by western imperialists and the Qing, even though Lenin denounced the imperialists’ bloodbath and slander against the Boxers.²⁹⁷ Due to the May Fourth Movement and the spread of Marxism in China in the 1920s, the sharp contrast between historical idealism and historical materialism was very obviously reflected in the research on the Boxer Uprising. Marxist historians carried out a purge of, what they saw as, bourgeois malicious interpretations, regarding the May Fourth Movement as the second National Revolutionary Movement (The Taiping as the first and the Revolution of 1911 as the third). Research on the subject between 1949 and 1965 had depth and restored its status as one of modern China’s great victories.²⁹⁸ Some scholars considered that the Boxer Uprising was a body blow to the imperialists and prevented them from carving up China.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ Liu Yangyang 刘泱泱. “建国以来教案研究述评 [A Review of the Study on the Religious Cases since the Founding of the Nation]”, 求索 [Search], vol. 2 (1995).

²⁹⁷ Meng Xiang & Fu Chonglan 孟祥才 & 傅崇兰. “三十年来我国义和团研究述评 [A Review of the Study on the Boxer Uprising in the last Thirty Years]”, 齐鲁学刊 [Qilu Journal], vol. 4 (1980).

²⁹⁸ Chen Zhenjiang 陈振江. “义和团运动研究一百年 One Hundred Years Research on the Boxer Movement”, 义和团研究一百年 [One Hundred Years Research on the Boxer Uprising], Su Weizhi & Liu Tianlu Eds. 苏位智 & 刘天路 主编 (Jinan: Qilu Press 齐鲁书社, 2000), 2-25.

²⁹⁹ Ding Mingnan 丁名楠. “义和团运动评价中的几个问题 [Some Problems in the Evaluation of the Boxer Movement]”, 文史哲 [Literature, History and Philosophy], vol. 1 (1981).

During the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976, the Boxer Uprising became a popular specimen of innuendo historiography due to its political usefulness. The image of the Boxers was overstated, and its “superstition” and “xenophobia” were revised as “patriotism” and “revolt”.³⁰⁰ From the 1980s, scholars studied the Boxer Uprising from positive and negative angles, and touched on its nature as if it was xenophobic, feudal obscurantism, and anti-feudal. Scholars also discussed its organizational system and origin; its slogan “Support the Qing, Annihilate the West”; its relations with the Qing government; the invasion of China by the Eight Power Allied forces; and its limitations.³⁰¹

From the 1990s onwards, research on the Boxer Uprising ranged from political history to social history, cultural history, and regional history.³⁰² During the 100 years anniversary of the International Academic Symposium on the Boxer Uprising in 2000, its nature as a patriotic and anti-imperialist movement was questioned.³⁰³ The 110th anniversary of the IAS on the Boxer Uprising was held in 2011, and it mentioned that the church played an important

³⁰⁰ Lu Yao 路遥. “义和团研究述评 [A Review on the Study of the Boxer Movement]”, 近代史研究 [*Study of Modern History*], vol. 2 (1982). Cheng Xiao & Zhao Shuhao 程歆 & 赵树好. “义和团百年研究回眸 [Review of the Study on the Boxer Movement in the Last Century]”, 教学与研究 [*Teaching and Research*], vol. 5 (2000).

³⁰¹ Sun Zhanyuan 孙占元. “十年来义和团运动研究述评 [A Review of the Study on the Boxer Movement in the Last Ten Years]”, 山东社会科学 [*Shandong Social Science*], vol. 3 (1990). Zhang Chun & Li Zhijun 张春 & 李志军. “义和团运动研究五十年述略 [A Review of the Study on the Boxer Movement in the Last Fifty Years]”, 社会科学动态 [*Social Science Dynamics*], vol. 11 (1999). Cheng Xiao 程歆. “义和团起源研究的回顾与随想 [Review and Thoughts on the Origin of the Boxer Movement]”, 清史研究 [*Study on the History of the Qing Dynasty*], vol. 2 (2000).

³⁰² Cui Zhihai 崔志海. “新中国成立以来的国内义和团运动史研究 [Research on the History of the Boxer Movement in the Mainland China since the Establishment of New China]”, 史学月刊 [*Journal of Historical Science*], vol. 9 (2014).

³⁰³ Liu Tianlu & Su Weizhi 刘天路 & 苏位智. “义和团运动 100 周年国际学术研讨会综述 [Summary of the International Symposium on the 100 Anniversary of the Boxer Movement]”, 历史研究 [*Historical Research*], vol. 1 (2001).

role during the Boxer Uprising, especially the Catholics, but there has been hardly any research done on this topic.³⁰⁴

The Boxer Uprising occurred over a hundred years ago and it has been evaluated and assessed for almost as long. The study of history is an academic question, but the evaluation of history is essentially an ideological one. The tumultuous history of how the Boxer Uprising has been interpreted during different periods is a reflection of China's own modern history. How to evaluate and assess the Boxer Uprising is a very sensitive issue not only in China's historical circles, but also in the western world. The variety of portrayals that we have of the Boxer Uprising is at least in part due to the different historical contexts in which they were written. During the anti-traditional enlightenment context of the 1920s, the Boxer Uprising was viewed as a superstitious and ignorant anti-modernization movement, and a symbol of backwardness. During the anti-imperialist and national salvation movement of the 1930s and 1940s, the Boxer Uprising was seen as a patriotic movement of heroism, and a symbol of progress. By the 1950s and 1960s, with the cold war, the Boxer Uprising was considered as a continuation of the anti-imperialist and national salvation movement. By the 1980s, with the anti-feudal new Enlightenment, the uprising was generally evaluated negatively. In the anti-radicalism in the 1990s, the focus on the Boxer Uprising as an example of anti-imperialism and class struggle shifted, so that it could be evaluated more academically.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ Li Qiyao 李期耀. “中国与世界: 义和团运动 110 周年国际学术讨论会综述 [China and the World: Summary of the International Symposium on the 110 Anniversary of the Boxer Movement]”, 东岳论丛 [Dongyue Forum], vol. 4 (2011).

³⁰⁵ Wang Xuedian 王学典. “‘语境’中的‘历史’: 义和团运动评价 50 年 [‘History’ of the ‘Language Environment’: the Fifty Years of Evaluation of the Boxer Movement]”, 义和团研究一百年 [One Hundred Years Research on the Boxer Uprising], Su Weizhi & Liu Tianlu Eds. 苏位智 & 刘天路 编 (Jinan: Qilu Press 齐鲁书社, 2000), 50-73.

3.3.5. Research on the Anti-Christian Movement

The May Fourth Movement was an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, political and cultural movement which was critical of feudal moral principles. Christians responded positively to it and began the Christian New Culture Movement which proposed “the salvation of the nation by Christianity”. The Christian New Culture Movement was part of the May Fourth Movement, even though the mainstream attitude of the May Fourth Movement opposed Christianity. The rise of the anti-Christian movement which was under the direct influence of the May Fourth Movement was a heavy blow for Christianity, and prompted the Christian Indigenization Movement.³⁰⁶ The rise of nationalism during the May Fourth Movement put Christianity in the crosshairs of the anti-imperialism movement. The Chinese used to say that “Jesus Christ flew to China by riding on shells” because Christianity and opium came into China together and were legalised together through the Opium Wars, and the May Fourth Movement intensified this hostility towards Christianity. Many radical intellectuals inveighed against Christian missionary activities, and believed that anti-Christianity was anti-imperialist.³⁰⁷

For more than eighty years, the orientation of research on the May Fourth Movement changed in relation to the issues of the day. In the 1930s and 1940s, the research focused on promoting its rational spirit. In the 1950s and 1960s, the research emphasised the movement as a demonstration of leadership and of the revolutionary history of China. After the Cultural Revolution, there was a hope that research could emancipate the past from ideology

³⁰⁶ Wang Deshuo 王德硕. “略论五四运动与基督教 [Brief Discussion of the May Fourth Movement and Christianity]”, 大江周刊: 论坛 [*Dajiang Weekly: Forum*], vol. 11 (2009).

³⁰⁷ Liu Chang 刘畅. “‘五四’语境中的基督教新文化运动 [The Christian New Cultural Movement in the Language Environment of the May-Fourth Movement]”, 江西社会科学 [*Jiangxi Social Science*], vol. 6 (2012).

and explore it more truthfully. In the 1980s, research stressed the movement's prominent significance within the development of modern Chinese culture. From the 1990s, research turned to how accounts of the movement have impacted upon, and developed within, Chinese academic history.³⁰⁸

Research on the anti-Christian movement got attention from church historians as it was happening in the 1920s and in the following years, mainly through witness accounts from bystanders who expressed their views on its origin, processes, significance, and values. In 1940, Wang Zhigang introduced readers to the anti-Christian movement and the Indigenization Movement in his book *History of Chinese Christianity*. After the establishment of the New China in 1949, research on the subject experienced a long period of stagnation. Some research was done in Hong Kong and Taiwan, but only a few articles were produced in the mainland. From the 1980s, scholars began to pay attention to the topic again because of the rapid spread of Christianity in China. In 2000, Yang Tianhong's book, *Christianity and Modern China*, was published. Regarding the Anti-Christian Movement in the 1920s, Yang systematically explored its ideological roots, historical development, and social repercussions. It was an excellent piece of work and well regarded within the academic circles in mainland China that specialise in this topic.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ Zhu Zhimin 朱志敏. “八十多年来国内五四运动研究 [Research on the May-Fourth Movement in China in the Last Eighty Years]”, 中共党史研究 [Study on the History of the CPC], vol. 2 (2006).

³⁰⁹ Zhuo Xinping 卓新平. “反教与护教之争研究 [Studies on the Conflicts between Anti-Christian Attitude and Apologetics]”, 20 世纪中国学术大典: 宗教学 [Chinese Academic Cannon in the Twentieth Century: Religion], Ren Jiyu Ed. 任继愈 主编 (Fuzhou: Education Press 教育出版社, 2000), 287-288. Yang Tianhong 杨天宏. 基督教与近代中国 [Christianity and Modern China]. (Sichuang: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1994).

3.3.6. Research on Chinese Catholics

Before 1949, church universities were mainly educational institutes providing trained personnel to work in academic research. However, some Christian scholars had already formed an academic group in the field of Christianity including Wu Leichuang (1870-1944), Zhao Zichen (1888-1979), and Xie Fuya (1892-1991). In Catholic circles, some scholars laid the foundation for this academic field through their extensive research. Chen Yuan (1880-1971) was a religious historian and educator, and the president of the Furen Catholic University in Beijing from 1926 to 1952. He made a pioneering contribution in the fields of religious history, the history of the Yuan Dynasty, the history of Sino-foreign communications, and historical philology. Fang Hao (1910-1980), a historian and Catholic priest, went to a Catholic monastery to study Latin in Hangzhou in 1922, and was consecrated as a priest in 1935. He went to Taiwan in 1940 where he became a Professor of history at Taiwan University, and the Director of Priests in the Catholic Church in Taiwan. Xu Zongze (1886-1947) was a twelfth generation descendant of Xu Guangqi who was one of “the three pillars of the Chinese Catholic Church”. He was trained as a Catholic intellectual by the Jesuits, and made an outstanding contribution to the Chinese Catholic Church during the first half of the twentieth century.³¹⁰

Because of the anti-communist political position of the Holy See, the Vatican made the decision to oppose the new regime of China. From the establishment of the New China to the Cultural Revolution, revolution was considered to be more important than academic study. Materialism and Marxism provided the guiding principles for all disciplines, and even social

³¹⁰ Ge Zhuang 葛壮. “简论二十世纪上半叶中国宗教界运动及其学术成就 [Brief Discussion on the Chinese Religious Movement and Its Academic Achievements in the First Half of the Twentieth Century]”, 社会科学 [Social Science], vol. 4 (2004).

science and natural science were under its direction. Conclusions often preceded research, and dogma always replaced academic studies. Externally churches faced severe criticism and sarcasm, and internally were overwhelmed by successive political campaigns. During the Cultural Revolution, “unified thinking” was in vogue. All cultural heritage was regarded as feudalism, capitalism, revisionism, and counterrevolutionary; things which had to be swept away. All religions including Christianity suffered a serious blow, and studies on Christianity (Protestantism and Catholicism) were discontinued.³¹¹

From the 1980s, with Christianity as the core of the western culture, and Confucianism as the core of the Chinese culture, the two cultures clashed and conflict, communication, and integration became a new way for academics to study the history of Christianity in China. Research on Catholics yielded a rich harvest on the topics of literature, history, Catholic culture, data collection, translation, Catholic theology and philosophy, biography, and the ideological and cultural exchanges between China and the West.³¹²

Gu Changsheng was a Chinese Christian historian, and his book *Missionary and Modern China* was published in 1981. It was the first book on the relationship between missionaries and modern China, and represented the new trend in academic studies. Gu discussed how the imperialists used Christianity to invade China, but also examined Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant missionary activities and their positive impact on China’s politics and culture.³¹³ He describes how missionaries proposed improvements such as building railways, mining

³¹¹ He Guanghu 何光沪. “基督宗教研究对中国学术的意义 [The Academic Significance of the Research on Christianity in China]”, 中华基督宗教研究中心通讯 [Communication of the Chinese Christian Research Centre], First Issue (2001).

³¹² Zhuo Xinping 卓新平. “明清天主教研究 [Catholic Studies in the Ming and Qing Dynasties]”, 20 世纪中国学术大典: 宗教学 [Chinese Academic Cannon in the Twentieth Century: Religion], Ren Jiyu Ed. 任继愈 主编 (Fuzhou: Education Press 教育出版社, 2000), 276-282.

³¹³ Qian Guoquan 钱国权. “天主教在华传播史的研究状况概述 [An Overview of the Study on History of the Spread of Catholicism in China]”, 甘肃社会科学 [Gansu Social Science], vol. 3 (2005).

mineral deposits, setting up schools and publishing houses, reforming politics, and expanding trades. However, the missionaries' undertakings were seen negatively by some Chinese people, including Gu, who perceived them as part of the wider imperialist plot to colonise and exploit China. Gu carried out a thorough investigation of missionaries' discourse which was published in *A Review of Time* in which he argued that it was easy to perceive malign motives behind their superficially benevolent actions.³¹⁴

From the middle of the 1990s, research theory has shifted its focus from cultural invasion to cultural exchange. Gu Weiming, was a Professor of history and an expert in religious history studies whose areas of research included Chinese Catholic history and literature, and Chinese art. Another of his books, *Christianity and Modern Chinese Society*, he pointed out that missionaries not only made mistakes under the protection of the Unequal Treaties, but also had a positive impact on the entrance of western culture, reform, and modernization in China. His another book, *A Brief History of the Relationship between China and the Holy See*, was published in 2000. It was the first academic monograph on this subject, and covered the Holy Sees relationship with China from the Mongol Empire to the Qing Dynasty. Because of all the difficulties in the past between China and the Vatican, diplomatic relations have still not been established. Consequently, research on the subject is considered a sensitive topic with significance for national security, social stability and religious work.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ Gu Changsheng 顾长声. 传教士与近代中国 [*Missionary and Modern China*], 162.

³¹⁵ Lin Shijie 荆世杰. “50 年来中国天主教研究的回顾与前瞻 [A Review and Foresight into Research on Catholicism in China Over Past 50 Years.]”, 南京晓庄学院学报 [*Journal of Nanjing Xiaozhuang University*], vol. 1 (2007).

3.3.7. Academic Perspectives in Hong Kong and Taiwan

Lin Zhiping has been a Professor at Chung Yuan Christian University in Taiwan for more than forty years and is a founder of the Cosmic Light Holistic Care organization, and Liang Jialin is the president of the Alliance Bible Seminary in Hong Kong. They both point out that in the nineteenth century, after the accomplishments of the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and political reformation, western missionaries went to China with a sense of cultural, political, and military superiority to “rescue” the “poor Chinese people”. At the same time, China was subjected to aggression and humiliation because of the Opium Wars and the Unequal Treaties. The Chinese would do their best to resist the spreading of Christianity, and considered it as a foreign religion and not conducive to China at all.³¹⁶

Lin Ruiqi, an executive editor of *Tripod*, executive secretary and researcher at Holy Spirit Study Centre in Hong Kong, discussed religious policy in his book *Decades of Vacillation: Chinese Communist Religious Policy and Its Implementation*. Lin stated that after the founding of the New China in 1949, the CPC’s concern was how to sever the relations between imperialism and religions, especially Catholicism and Protestantism. The government was also challenged by how best to deal with this situation. However, the CPC had no firm position on whether or not it should seek to forcefully eliminate religions, or, in accordance with its own leftist ideology, await their natural demise. The goal of the CPC was to maintain social stability and consolidate their regime, so they resolved to postpone the

³¹⁶ Lin Zhiping 林治平. 理念与符号 [*Ideas and Symbols*], (Taipei: Cosmic Light Press 宇宙光出版社, 1991), 117-149. Liang Jialin 梁家麟. 福临中华 [*Blessings Coming to China*], (Hong Kong: Tien Dao Publisher 天道出版社, 1988), 92. Lin Zhiping 林治平. “基督教在中国本色化之必要性与可行性 [The Necessity and Feasibility of Indigenization of Christianity in China]”, 基督教在中国本色化: 论文集 [*The Indigenization of Christianity in China: Symposium*], Lin Zhiping Ed. 林治平主编 (Beijing: Today’s China Press 今日中国出版社, 1998), 1-34.

problem of religion until the regime was more mature. Therefore, from the beginning of the regime, the government could neither reject its core doctrines regarding materialist-atheism, but nor could it take the risk of annihilating religions which might give rise to social unrest. Thus, within its thirty years' history of power, the fact that there has been no clear religious policy is by no means an unexpected thing.³¹⁷

Lin Ruiqi reflected on the history of Catholics in China, and pointed out that when Westerners enjoyed extraterritoriality which gave them immunity to Chinese laws after the Opium Wars, missionaries were also able to move freely in the trading ports, and this engendered Chinese hatred toward Christianity. Furthermore, during the Civil War, the Nationalist Party was supported by western powers. Therefore, in the minds of the CPC, Catholicism and Protestantism as western religions were both considered as oppositions to the Chinese regime.³¹⁸

Deng Zhaoming, editor of *Tripod* and a well-known scholar and translator in the field of Chinese Christianity, stated that the idea of the Three-Self was actually not an innovation of the Chinese Church. "Three-Self" plus "Patriotic",³¹⁹ Deng argued that the fundamental purpose of the movement was not religious but political. The churches were considered by the CPC as the weakest link of a chain in China, so it had to be changed to march in synch with the socialist state. In order to achieve this goal, any relationships with western

³¹⁷ Lin Ruiqi 林瑞琪. 半世纪徘徊: 中共宗教政策与实施探讨 [*Decades of Vacillation: Chinese Communist Religious Policy and Its Implementation*], 7-21. Mao Zedong 毛泽东. 毛泽东选集 [*Mao's Selected Works*], vol. 5 (Beijing: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1991), 265-280. Li Weihai 李维汉. 统一战线问题与民族问题 [*United Front and National Issues*], (Beijing: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1981), 567-572.

³¹⁸ Lin Ruiqi 林瑞琪. 谁主沉浮: 中国天主教当代历史反省 [*The Catholic Church in Present-Day China: Through Darkness and Light*], 37-41.

³¹⁹ According to Wickeri, patriotic means 'the love for New China, and with it, loyalty to the People's Government under the leadership of the CPPC'. Wickeri, Philip L. *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front*. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1988), 94.

imperialists had to be cut off, and any “imperialist toxins” needed to be eliminated from the minds of Chinese Christians.³²⁰

Xing Fuzeng is a Professor at the Divinity School of Chung Chi College in the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and director of the Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture. His analyses demonstrated that within the category of modern Chinese church history, different evaluations of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement can be divided into two groups titled “the Conspiracy Theory” or “the Orthodox Theory”. The former emphasized that the CPC played a proactive role in planning the movement, and its purpose was to remould and wipe out Christianity in China. The latter stressed how the movement promoted Chinese churches to become indigenized, and practice the Three-Self ideology. Some scholars view the history of the Three-Self movement in terms of the political developments in China throughout the 1950s. It was a spontaneous reform movement which was originally initiated by Chinese Churches. However, under the developments which were occurring within the political system at this time, it succumbed to the government’s power. It had become the church reform movement, and was dominated by the government. Anti-imperialism and patriotism, rather than religious meaning, were the political goals that lay behind the Three-Self movement in the 1950s.³²¹

³²⁰ Deng Zhaoming 邓肇明. 沧桑与窘境: 四十多年来的三自爱国运动 [*The Vicissitudes of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in the 1950s and Its Predicament Today*], (Hong Kong: Christian Chinese Religious Culture Press 基督教中国宗教文化出版社, 1997), 1-14.

³²¹ Xing Fuzeng 邢福增. “三自爱国运动的起源与发展 (1949-1957) [Origin and Development of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (1949-1957)]”, 五十年代三自运动的研究 [*Study on the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in the 1950s*], Xing Fuzeng & Liang Jialin Eds. 邢福增 & 梁家麟 著 (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神学院, 1996), 1-124.

‘阴谋论 The Conspiracy Theory’: Yang Zhen 杨真. “三自运动委员会产生的经过 [The Process of How the Committee of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement Generated]”, 中国与教会 [*China and Church*], vol. 12 (May/June 1983). Yang Zhen 杨真. “政府导演下产生的‘控诉’运动: 五零年代初期大陆基督教接受改造的第一步 [The ‘Complaint’ Campaign Directed by the Government: The First Step of the Reformation of Christianity in Mainland China in the Early 1950s]”, 中国与教会 [*China and Church*], vol. 2 (Sep. /Oct. 1983).

Xing Fuzeng and Liang Jialin published a book together called *Research on the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in the 1950s*. In Liang's article "Different Interpretations of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in the 1950s", he stated that the Three-Self Churches were trying to reinterpret the history of the 1950s, most notably through their attempts to engraft the Three-Self ideology onto the twentieth century's indigenization movement. This reinterpretation was based on the view of the needs of reality, and the Three-Self Churches hoped to dilute its political connotations and implant traditional religious content.³²²

With regards to religious policy, Lin Ruiqi stated that Document 19 was considered a turning point in Communist religious policy after the Cultural Revolution. It was a consolidation of the lessons learned from the failures of the "left wing" in the previous thirty years. It also established clear boundary markers to prevent religious activities spiralling out of control. Document 19 emphasized the protection of official religious activities and encouraged religions to cooperate with the government, whilst restricting unofficial religious movements in order to consolidate a stable situation.³²³

In Xing Fuzeng's article "Discussion on Church-State Relations in Contemporary China: Its Impact on the Development of Christianity", he pointed out that during the rapid global

Yang Zhen 杨真. "三自会的发展和巩固 [Development and Consolidation of the Three-Self Committee]", 中国与教会 [*China and Church*], vol. 3 (Nov. /Dec. 1983).

'正统论 the Orthodox Theory': Shen Yifan & Cao Shengjie 沈以藩 & 曹圣洁. "中国基督教的自立运动 [The Independence Movement of Christianity in China]", 社会科学 (上海) [*Social Sciences (Shanghai)*], vol. 3 (1982). National Committee of the TSPM of the Protestant Churches in China Eds. 中国基督教三自爱国运动委员会编, 基督教三自爱国运动四十年论文选 [*Selected Papers of Forty Years of Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement*], (Shanghai: National Committee of the TSPM of the Protestant Churches in China 基督教三自爱国运动委员会, 1990).

³²² Liang Jialin 梁家麟. "五十年代三自运动的不同诠释 [Different Interpretations of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in the 1950s]", 五十年代三自运动的研究 [*Research on the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in the 1950s*], Xing Fuzeng & Liang Jialin Eds. 刑福增 & 梁家麟 著 (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary 建道神学院, 1996), 125-244.

³²³ Lin Ruiqi 林瑞琪. 谁主沉浮: 中国天主教当代历史反省 [*The Catholic Church in Present-Day China: Through Darkness and Light*], 261-264.

changes of 1989, top-level leaders of the Chinese government not only rejected the “peaceful evolution” and “bourgeois liberalization” which had developed in Post-Eastern Europe, but they also focused on the issue of religious infiltration. Xing stated that Document 6 not only reaffirmed the full and correct implementation of religious freedom; but also pointed out the need to prevent and combat the use of religions to engage in illegal and criminal activities. From the viewpoint of the Communist Party, religions had to adapt to the development of a socialist society. The Party held a cautious attitude towards religions, and was concerned that they might become a channel for foreign infiltration. Within the religious policy, resistance to foreign infiltration was an important instruction for religious work.³²⁴

In addition, Lin Ruiqi identified that the CPC’s religious policy was influenced by two factors. One was the influence of Marx, notably his view that ‘religion is the opium of the people’ and his methodology of historical materialism. The other was Maoism’s United Front thought. Basically, the CPC inherited Marxist-Leninist views regarding religion to resolve China’s religious issues. Nevertheless, the dominant idea when it came to tackling the religious problem arose from Chairman Mao’s “United Front Principle” which was formed from his “Contradiction Theory”. Furthermore, Lin acknowledged that in order to handle China’s religious concerns, the CPC always maintained two different methods. One was tough administrative measures to force the eradication of religions, and this has always been considered “leftist” in practice. The other, was to wait for religions to disappear after the

³²⁴ Xing Fuzeng 邢福增. “当代中国政教关系探讨: 兼论对基督教的发展影响 [Discussion on Church-State Relations in Contemporary China: Its Impact on the Development of Christianity]”, 新世纪宗教研究 [Religious Studies in the New Century], vol. 2 (Dec. 2003). Gong Xuezheng 龚学增. “全球化趋势下抵御境外势力利用宗教进行渗透的几个问题 [Several Issues on the Penetration of Foreign Forces by Using Religion under the Trend of Globalization]”, 当代宗教研究 [Contemporary Religious Studies], vol. 1 (2002). Chen Yun 陈云. “一九九零年致中共主席江泽民“关于高度重视宗教渗透问题的信 [A Letter to Chairman Jiang Zemin about ‘Attaching Great Importance to the Issue of Religious Infiltration’]”, 新时期宗教工作文献选编 [Anthology of the Religious Work in a New Era], (Beijing: Religion & Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 1995), 177.

maturation of the socialist state, and the true awaking of the people's consciousness. Lin pointed out that although many Communists themselves criticised the "leftist" practice within official statements, the fact remained that the two approaches outlined above have been used interchangeably during the past forty years.³²⁵

Conclusion

We have seen that how the Opium Wars and the subsequent historical events impacted on Chinese conceptions of Christianity because of the perceived interrelationship between Christianity, missionaries, and imperialism. It affected how the Communist Party managed Chinese church affairs after they took power in China in order to deal with western missionaries and carried on the Three-Self Patriatic Movement in the Chinese Protestant and Catholic churches to sever their relationship with western imperialists. The government's religious policy was further influenced by their suspicion that the missionary activities of Chinese Christians could be a source of religious infiltration and lead to instability. In *The White Paper on the Freedom of Religion in China*, explored the inglorious role of western missionaries during the Opium Wars and the following historical events in supporting the imperialist aggression against China. Furthermore, we can see that how the record and interpretation of these historical events have been influenced by different methodological approaches, ideological changes, and shifts in the political situation at different times. We have also acknowledged how the interrelationship between Christianity, missionaries and imperialism has influenced how Chinese scholars have interpreted these events. As scholars in Hong Kong and Taiwan have acknowledged, these historical events had a negative impact on

³²⁵ Lin Ruiqi 林瑞琪. 谁主沉浮: 中国天主教当代历史反省 [*The Catholic Church in Present-Day China: Through Darkness and Light*], 245-249. Zhao Tianen 赵天恩. 中共对基督教的政策 [*Chinese Communist Policy Toward Christianity*], 90.

the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in the Chinese churches and on the Chinese government's religious policy.

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of this research is to build bridges between the West and China. We have studied how the Opium Wars, the Unequal Treaties, and the following historical events have impacted on contemporary Chinese perspectives regarding the interrelationship between Christianity, missionaries, and imperialism. Hopefully, western Christians who are interested in Chinese Christianity would have a better understanding of why some Chinese people in mainland China are not anti-religious but anti-Christian, and why the Chinese government is anti-religious but particularly anti-Christian. However, some western readers may still be sceptical about whether Chinese accounts of the events surrounding the Opium Wars are reliable or merely propaganda created by the Chinese government and scholars. In the next chapter, we will address just such concerns and investigate the extent to which the accounts and interpretations provided by Chinese scholars are reflected in English literature on these events.

PART TWO: A REINTERPRETATION OF MISSIONARY ACTIVITY BASED ON THE ANTI-OPIUM MOVEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Chapter 4 Western Academic Perspectives on Christian Missions in China from the Opium Wars to the 1950s

The purpose of this research is to build bridges between the West and China through a better understanding of the fourth entrance of Christian missionaries into China during the Opium Wars of the 1840s. We have studied the Opium Wars and the subsequent historical events to have a better understanding of their impact on Chinese conceptions of Christianity, to help the West to comprehend why some Chinese people in mainland China are not anti-religious but anti-Christian, and why the Chinese government is anti-religious and particularly anti-Christian. These historical events will help us to have a better understanding of why the Communist Party supported the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in Chinese churches, which severed its relations with western missionaries from the 1950s after they took power, and the reasons behind the Chinese government's religious policy. Whereas previous chapters have discussed these issues with reference to Chinese materials, in this chapter they will be discussed with reference to English literature on these issues.

The reason for examining English sources is to present a more balanced account of the missionaries' involvement in these historical events. Numerous excellent works have been produced both in the West and China on these individual historical events, certainly too many to incorporate within this research, and that is not the objective. The purpose of this chapter is to assess the extent to which western literature reflects Chinese portrayals of Christianity and

western missionaries in relation to the Opium Wars and the following historical events. Thus, we will not list all the similarities and differences in the English and Chinese interpretations of these historical events, but will mainly focus on whether what has been portrayed by Chinese scholars regarding Christianity and the western missionaries has also been recorded in English literature.

For that reason, the main focus of the Opium Wars and the Unequal Treaties will be whether English sources support the Chinese literature which describe how the missionaries were involved in the Opium Wars and acted as interpreters during the negotiations and drafting of the Unequal Treaties. With regard to the Taiping, we will look at how they, and their founder Hong Xiuquan, were influenced by Christianity and the western missionaries. We will also describe how the missionaries changed their attitudes towards the Taiping and examine whether this possibly caused foreign governments to interfere and the Taiping to fail. Regarding, the Religious Cases and the Boxer Uprising; western accounts of their origins, and the missionaries' participation in them, will be examined in comparison to the accounts offered by Chinese scholars. The last section of this chapter will look at how English scholars explain the Anti-Christian Movement in the 1920s, the missionaries' contribution during the Sino-Japanese War, and their attitudes towards the Communist Party during the Civil War. In the previous chapters we have already discussed how these topics were perceived by Chinese scholars. Therefore, in this chapter, the examination of the English literature on these topics will be brief to avoid repetition.

4.1. The Opium Wars and the Unequal Treaties

Frederic E. Wakeman (1937-2006), an expert on Chinese history and an eminent scholar of East Asia history, pointed out that in the early nineteenth century, Guangzhou was

the only city where foreign merchants were permitted to trade. Missionaries had to reside with these traders at Guangzhou factories during the trading season, and, at all other times, in Macao.³²⁶ Jonathan D. Spence (born in 1936), a Sterling Professor of history at Yale University specialising in Chinese history, lists the amount of opium that came into China by 1836 at about 1,820 tons annually, and the number of opium smokers at about 12.5 million. By the 1880s, ten percent of the population was addicted to opium. The number of smokers reached 15 million in 1890 with three to five percent being heavy smokers.³²⁷

Kathleen L. Lodwick, an American historian and educator who holds her PhD in Chinese history, recognised that opium was a problem for missionaries from the beginning of the fourth entrance of Christianity in China. This was because, for many Chinese people, opium was inextricably associated with the missionaries. From the early years of the missionaries travelling to China, they were closely entwined with their opium trading compatriots. When early missionaries travelled to China, it was very common for the ships to carry opium as cargo. In the houses of foreign merchants, missionaries learned the Chinese language, translated the Bible, and wrote and printed tracts while their fellow countrymen were conducting business.³²⁸

Peter W. Fay (1924-2004) was a well-known historian in European and Asian history, especially the history of China and India. He acknowledged that early missionaries were intertwined with the opium trade. He mentioned that the first Protestant missionary Robert Morrison arrived in China in 1807 and only had his first convert after seven years, and later

³²⁶ Wakeman, Frederic E. "The Canton Trade and the Opium War", *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 10, Late Ch'ing 1800-1911, Part 1*, John K. Fairbank Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 163-212.

³²⁷ Spence, Jonathan D. "Opium Smoking in Ch'ing China", *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, Frederic Wakeman & Carolyn Grant Eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 143-73.

³²⁸ Lodwick, "Missionaries and Opium", 354-360.

became an interpreter for the East Indian Company. An independent missionary Karl Gützlaff, whose first five times coastal voyages on opium vessels from 1831-1835 alarmed Chinese authorities, was notorious because he was serving as an interpreter for the opium traders while distributing tracts and Bible chapters as a witness to his faith. By 1834, when the EIC lost its trading monopoly in China, seven Protestant missionaries were ministering in China, with only fourteen converts in 1835. Fay estimated that the number of Chinese Catholics was about 200,000, who were mainly ministered to by Chinese priests in the 1830s.³²⁹

Murray Rubinstein, an American scholar who taught East Asian history for more than thirty years and wrote on Chinese Christianity, acknowledged that foreign merchants wanted to change some aspects of the Guangzhou commercial system, and expected their government to send a warship to force Qing authorities to establish diplomatic relations with the West. Simultaneously, missionaries also considered the opening of China as a prerequisite for Christian missions in China. They welcomed what they considered a preliminary sign of God's intervention, even though it came about through a war.³³⁰ From the viewpoint of many missionaries, the changes forced upon China were necessary to their missionary work in China.³³¹

Daniel Bays holds his PhD in Chinese history, and received a lifetime recognition award in Hong Kong in 2009 from the Society for Christian History in China. In his work *A New History of Christianity in China*, he mentions how, during the first Opium War, the British commanders and plenipotentiaries realised that missionaries were the only westerners

³²⁹ Fay, Peter W. "The Protestant Mission & The Catholic Mission", *The Opium War 1840-1842: Barbarians in the Celestial Empire in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century and the War by Which They Forced Her Gates Ajar*, 80-97 & 98-109.

³³⁰ Fay, Peter W. "The Protestant Mission and the Opium War", *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (May 1971), 145-161.

³³¹ Rubinstein, Murray A. "The War They Wanted", *American Neptune*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (Fall 1988), 271-282.

capable of communicating with the Chinese. For example, the missionary John Morrison succeeded his father, Robert, as an interpreter, which included involvement in the Opium Wars and negotiation of the Unequal Treaties. Karl Gützlaff accompanied English forces to the coast and served first at Tinghai and later at Ningbo as a civil magistrate. Bays notes that missionaries followed merchants and diplomats to the five treaty ports to establish their missionary work.³³² John F. Cady (1901-1996), an American historian and author on Asian history, recorded that the negotiations which led to the Treaty of Huangpu with France, Théodore de Lagrené entrusted the issue of legalization of Christianity to the French missionary interpreter, Joseph-Marie Callery.³³³ Fay made an additional comment that ‘Opium and Catholics were beginning to move not simply along the same routes but in the same vessels’.³³⁴

Latourette noted that with the assistance of missionaries Peter Parker and Elijah Bridgeman who were interpreters from the ABCFM, the American negotiator Caleb Cushing also obtained the same rights and similar clauses as the British in the Treaty of Wangxia in 1844.³³⁵ Furthermore, Latourette acknowledged that missionaries or former missionaries acted as ‘interpreters or secretaries in negotiating each of the three main treaties—Gutzlaff for the British, Bridgeman and Parker for the Americans, and Callery for the French’, and, it seems, no one had seriously challenged ‘the right of British to compel China to open her doors or the propriety of missionaries accepting the opportunities thus obtained’. He pointed out, ‘In both Catholic and Protestant circles the treaties were welcomed as marking a new era in missions

³³² Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 41-42. Rubinstein, Murray A. “The Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1807–1860”, *Handbook of Christianity in China, Vol. 2, 1800 to the Present*, R. G. Tiedemann Ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), (133-174).

³³³ Cady, *The Roots of French Imperialism in Eastern Asia*, 52-60.

³³⁴ Fay, Peter W. “The French Catholic Mission in China during the Opium War”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. IV (1970), 115-128.

³³⁵ Latourette, *History of Early Relations between the United States and China*, 139-143.

and advantage was at once taken of them'.³³⁶

James H. Grayson, an emeritus scholar in Korean and East Asian history, described, along with Bays, how, following the first Opium War and the Unequal Treaties, Christian, and particularly Protestant, missions expanded rapidly in the new British colony of Hong Kong and the other treaty ports.³³⁷ Bays also mentioned that the American Board decided to send missionaries to Guangzhou, but the local officials and people made it very difficult for diplomats, merchants and missionaries to implement the privilege of extraterritoriality in the city. It took a decade to open Guangzhou after a long and torturous struggle with the local populace who wanted to drive out foreigners.³³⁸

Rubinstein also noted the frustration and resistance which Protestant missionaries encountered. The missionaries had expected to reach large numbers of Chinese people at the end of the first Opium War and with the establishment of the new treaty system, but they were constantly frustrated. Because their work was limited to the five treaty ports, and as foreigners they were regarded as religious and cultural intruders by the Chinese, the local officials, gentry, and populace would do whatever they could to impede their missionary work. In the history of Christianity in China, the Opium War was considered as the most important event because it created a more favourable climate for western missionaries to introduce 'the Occidental element' which was always rejected by the Chinese.³³⁹

³³⁶ Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 231-232. Rasmussen, Otto D. *The Reconquest of Asia* (London: H. Hamilton, 1934), 47.

³³⁷ Bays, Daniel H. & James H. Grayson. "Christianity in East Asia: China, Korea and Japan", *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Vol. 8, World Christianities, c.1815-1914*, Sheridan Gilley & Brian Stanley Eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 493-513.

³³⁸ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 48-50. Morse, Hosea B. "Chapter XIV: Chinese Hostility and the Right of Entry to the City of Canton", *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire: The Period of Conflict 1834-1860* (NY: Paragon, 1910), 367-399.

³³⁹ Rubinstein, "The Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1807-1860", 12.

Other scholars such as Camps, Wiest, Whyte, have mentioned that European priests also encountered resistance in the Chinese Catholic communities when they endeavoured to impose the European ecclesiastical model. The Unequal Treaties not only undermined the self-confidence of some Chinese intellectuals, but also convinced European missionaries that Chinese priests were not suitable to be consecrated as bishops. Controlling leadership and finance, and imposing European forms of religious expression on indigenous Catholic communities, inhibited their development and prevented their establishment as an integrated part of Chinese society. Moreover, these treaty agreements did little to alleviate the condition of Chinese priests and the Catholic communities in inland China.³⁴⁰

Wright recognized that the first Opium War and the Treaty of Nanjing did not resolve the sources of friction between China and Britain, such as: British diplomatic representation in Beijing; the legalization of the opium trade; extending trade to other Chinese cities; and opening up the empire for foreign travel. Finally, by the 1850s, Britain came to the conclusion that another war was needed to force China to accept their demands. The Arrow Incident occurred on 8 October 1856 and initiated the second Opium War.³⁴¹

Latourette pointed out that during the second Opium War and the negotiation of the subsequent Treaties, some missionaries went beyond their duties as interpreters and translators. For example, in the Treaty of Tianjin in 1558 with America, an American missionary, S. Wells Williams under the ABCFM, served at the US legation in China as secretary and interpreter, and helped to draft and fashion the Treaty. He resigned from the

³⁴⁰ Camps, Arnulf. "Catholic Missionaries (1800–1860)", *Handbook of Christianity in China, Vol. 2, 1800 to the Present*, R. G. Tiedemann Ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010). Wiest, Jean-Paul. "Learning from the Missionary Past", *The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives*, Edmond Tang & Jean-Paul Wiest Eds. (NY: Orbis, 1993), 181-198. Whyte, Bob. *Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity* (London: Collins, 1988), 107.

³⁴¹ Wright, *The History of China*, 99-107.

ABCFM in 1857, joined the US legation in Beijing in 1862, and served until 1876. A Presbyterian missionary, W. A. P. Martin, also played an important role in drafting the Treaty of Tianjin. Both missionaries insisted on including a clause which guaranteed the freedom of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians to preach and practice their faith anywhere in the country, which provided access to the entire Chinese empire. The Convention of Beijing in 1860 with France also approved permitting foreign travel throughout the country, and restoration of all buildings and property confiscated prior to the Opium Wars. France also assumed responsibility for protecting Catholic missionaries and Christians in China. Moreover, in the Chinese version of Article VI of the Convention of Beijing, the final sentence: ‘permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure’. It is believed that French missionary Louis-Charles Delamarre added it surreptitiously and unilaterally.³⁴²

The religious clauses in the Treaties at the end of the second Opium War had a profound impact on Christian missions, and facilitated greatly the expansion of the missionary enterprise in China. However, insistence on the privilege of treaty rights by foreign missionaries and Chinese converts also caused conflict and hostility among non-Christians in China.

4.2. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom

David Wright, was a historian and an expert in Chinese military and diplomatic history. He argued that for the nineteenth century Qing Dynasty, the western intrusion during the Opium Wars was an external calamity but the Taiping was an internal one which nearly

³⁴² Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 275-277. Tiedemann, R. G. “The Treaty System”, *Handbook of Christianity in China, Vol. 2, 1800 to the Present*, R. G. Tiedemann Ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 296-337. Covell, Ralph R. *Confucius, the Buddha, and Christ: A History of the Gospel in Chinese*. (NY: Orbis, 1986), 82.

toppled the imperial regime. It was, and still is, the most catastrophic and destructive civil war in human history, which caused the deaths of twenty to forty million people, and remains one of the strangest episodes in the entire history of Christianity.³⁴³ Hong Xiuquan, the founder of the Taiping, and his involvement with Christianity has been described by many western writers. Theodore Hamberg (1819-1854), a Swedish missionary, authored an influential account on the Taiping. His work, *The Vision of Hung-Sui-tshuen, and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection* in 1854, was one of the most important sources of information on Hong's early life.³⁴⁴

Hong had personal contact with American missionary I. J. Roberts in 1846, and studied the Bible for several months under his instruction. Vincent Y.C. Shih, an authoritative scholar on Chinese literature and philosophy, pointed out in his research from archives, that even though Hong was disappointed at his denied request for a water baptism and had limited understanding of the Bible, he was exceptionally enthusiastic about Christianity. This was demonstrated by the fact that the Taiping began to print the Bible in the very first year of the regime's establishment in Nanjing, while busily engaged in fighting imperial troops. Shih stated that most western scholars acknowledged that Christianity had played an important role in the Taiping upheaval. The Taiping Christians believed in a biblical and universal God, and took their religious form not from Catholic sources that had been in China for hundreds of years, but from the first generation of Protestant missionaries in China.³⁴⁵

³⁴³ Wright, *The History of China*, 107-108.

³⁴⁴ Hamberg, Theodore. *The Visions of Hung-Siu-tshuen, and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection* (Hong Kong: The China Mail Office, 1854), 22-24.

³⁴⁵ Shih, Vincent Y. C. *The Taiping Ideology: Its Sources, Interpretations, and Influences* (Seattle: University of Washington Press 1967), 147-148. Perry, Elizabeth J. "Taiping and Triads: The Role of Religion in Inter-rebel Relations", *Religion and Rural Revolt: Papers Presented to the Fourth Interdisciplinary Workshop on Peasant Studies, University of British Columbia, 1982*, János M. Bak & Gerhard Benecke Eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 342-353.

William A. P. Martin (1827-1916) was an American missionary in China, a professor and a translator of international law and other important western treatises. He described how Westerners were greatly excited, especially missionaries, when they knew that the insurrectionists were Christians who were not only fighting the empire, but were also opposed to paganism in the country. He stated: ‘Merchants began to speculate as to the effect of their success on trade; missionaries discussed its probable bearing on the propagation of the faith; and diplomatists—the only class who were free to investigate for themselves—sought the earliest opportunity for ascertaining the facts by a visit to Nanking’.³⁴⁶

S. Y. Teng (1906-1988) was born in China, but journeyed to America in 1937. He was a founding member of American China studies, specialized in monographs and was well-known for his work with Fairbank: *Chinas Response to the West: A Documentary Survey*.³⁴⁷ He recognized that all parties were interested in exploiting the Taiping to advance their own position. British missionaries rejoiced when they received the news that the Taiping had marched to Nanjing successfully. W. H. Medhurst was delighted after examining the Taiping’s work and religion because of its basis in Christian beliefs. W. Gillespie described the Taiping’s high moral standard regarding exterminating gambling, opium smoking, and prostitution. George Smith referred to it as the great revolutionary movement.³⁴⁸

J. S. Gregory, an Australian scholar in modern East Asian history, studied British opinions on, and relations with, the Taiping from a wide range of sources. He also researched missionary reaction to the Taiping movement, and pointed out that their sympathy for the

³⁴⁶ Martin, William A. P. *A Cycle of Cathay or, China, South and North. With Personal Reminiscences* (NY: F.H. Revell, 1896), 129.

³⁴⁷ Teng, S. Y. & John K. Fairbank, *China’s Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954).

³⁴⁸ Teng, S. Y. *The Taiping Rebellion and the Western Powers: A Comprehensive Survey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 173-183.

Taiping declined steadily from 1854. Optimism for the regime among missionaries was gradually replaced by disappointment because of their failure to conquer Beijing, their erroneous Christian doctrine, and their arrogant attitude toward visitors. Consequently, missionaries adopted a “wait and see” policy regarding the Taiping regime. In spite of that, when Joseph Edkins and Griffith John from the LMS, and D. J. Macgowan from the Medical Missionary Society of China visited Nanjing in 1860, they came away with good impressions. Many other missionaries were interested in the Taiping’s attempts to replace Confucianism with the Bible. However, when Griffith John visited Nanjing again in 1861, he was disappointed by the instability of the Taiping society at that time. W. Muirhead from the LMS also reported that a sermon by Hong’s son, that he heard one Sunday, had little to do with Christianity. And W. Lockhart from the LMS criticised the Taiping for being more destructive than constructive.³⁴⁹

John Foster (1898-1973) was an ordained minister who served in China under the Methodist Missionary Society from 1922, and taught church history at the Union Theological College in Guangzhou from 1926 to 1937. He then returned to Britain and later became a Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Glasgow. Foster pointed out that relations between British missionaries and the Taiping had worsened from early 1861 because of internal corruption in the Taiping, and external diplomatic pressure from the West. When the Taiping attempted to take Shanghai, which was a commercial and missionary centre, foreigners became antagonistic and criticised the Taiping for exploiting Christianity to receive foreign sympathy when they were in fact acting as savages, marauders, and blasphemers. Even though James Legge from the LMS opposed his government’s interference, and J. W.

³⁴⁹ Gregory, J. S. “British Missionary Reaction to the Taiping Movement”, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 2, Issue 3 (June 1963), 204-218. Gregory, J. S. *Great Britain and the Taipings* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969).

Worthington also from the LMS later regretted the British intervention, the sympathy of missionaries towards the Taiping was rare.³⁵⁰

John B. Littell stated that the Taiping movement was closely related to the activities of American missionaries. He divided the missionaries' feelings and attitudes toward the Taiping into four categories. The first was enthusiasm about the Taiping because they saw it as God's hand in human affairs after their own long, arduous, and inefficient efforts to Christianise a heathen land. Most of the missionaries belonged to the second category of moderate sympathy. Even though they noticed the Taiping's faults in doctrine, they tried to explain and condone them because of their effective missionary work. However, some missionaries were concerned that the Qing government might suspect missionaries of having instigated the uprising. They were concerned that Christianity would be associated with Taiping hatred, and cause trouble for both missionaries, their work, and native Christians. A small number of missionaries belonged to the third category who were strongly opposed to the Taiping, and even urged that it was the duty of foreign countries to interfere and put down the movement. The fourth category, the interventionists, regarded the Taiping as devils instead of angels, as seen by their sympathizers and supported large scale and unrestrained foreign intervention.³⁵¹

Rudolf G. Wagner, a German sinologist who specialised in Chinese politics and culture, pointed out that American missionary ideas and attitudes to the Taiping were varied. American Southern Methodist missionary J. L. Holmes visited Nanjing in August 1860, and stated that the Taiping bore only a superficial and false resemblance to Christianity. Holmes' report was widely quoted to discredit the Taiping, and did significant damage to its reputation.

³⁵⁰ Foster, John. "The Christian Origins of the Taiping Rebellion", *International Review of Missions*, Vol. XL, No. 58, (April 1951), 156-167.

³⁵¹ Littell, John B. "Missionaries and Politics in China: The Taiping Rebellion", *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Dec. 1928), 566-599.

Frederick Bruce, the first British minister to China who resided in Beijing, also sent Holmes' report to the Foreign Office on 4 September 1860. This report was used to assist the British public in understanding the need for intervention, as well as rousing antipathy towards the Taiping amongst the foreign community in Shanghai. I. R. Roberts, an uncompromising and devout fundamentalist, was invited by Hong to help with the spiritual condition of the Taiping and improve their relations with the West. However, Roberts broke with the Taiping after fifteen months in Nanjing, which worsened their international reputation. He denounced Hong as one of the greatest blasphemers; openly advocated foreign intervention; and stressed purposefully the commercial aspect, which was Britain's major concern. Teng pointed out that Roberts' case was badly needed as a justification for Britain to change her policy from neutrality to intervention.³⁵²

Scholars hold different viewpoints on whether the Taiping's ideology was essentially Christian or not.³⁵³ Bays considered that the Taiping's formal articles of faith, which were written by Hong in 1850, were Christian enough, especially the Ten Commandments, which were a bedrock of Christian faith in the nineteenth century.³⁵⁴ Other scholars including Boardman, Doezema, Lindley, Meadow, and Reilly, acknowledged that Hong and the Taiping appropriated so much from the Protestant missionaries, that their faith should be considered at least as "Taiping Christianity".³⁵⁵ Perry discussed how the Taiping held onto

³⁵² Wagner, Rudolf G. "Understanding Taiping Christian China Analogy Interest and Policy", *Christen und Gewurze: Konfrontation und Interaktion kolonialer und indigener Christentumsvarianten*, Klaus Koschorke Ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998). 132-157. Teng, *The Taiping Rebellion and the Western Powers*, 183-202. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 170-178. Byng, J. L. Cranmer. *The Old British Legation at Peking, 1860-1959* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1963), 60.

³⁵³ Please see Kilcourse, Carl S. *Taiping Theology: The Localization of Christianity in China, 1843-64* (NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016).

³⁵⁴ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 54.

³⁵⁵ Bohr, P. Richard. "Taiping Religion and Its Legacy", *Handbook of Christianity in China, Vol. 2, 1800 to the Present*, R. G. Tiedemann Ed. (Leiden: Brill 2010), 371-395. Boardman, Eugene P. *Christian Influence upon the Ideology of the Taiping Rebellion 1851-1864* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press 1952). Lindley, Augustus F. *Ti-Ping Tien-Kwoh. The History of the Ti-Ping Revolution*, 2 vols. (London: Day

their religious conviction, and refused to seize the advantage by allying with other insurrections because of their different beliefs, even when the fighting was stretched in every corner of the empire by the Qing troops.³⁵⁶

Doezema studied the influence and impact of nineteenth century Western Revivalism on Hong's faith and the Taiping's Christianity. He pointed out that missionary enterprise played a vital role in the origin and progress of the revolt, and also shaped the beliefs and policies of the Taiping.³⁵⁷ Wagner also acknowledged that western missionaries with revivalist backgrounds and tendencies were more likely to be sympathetic and supportive of the Taiping.³⁵⁸ Bohr analysed the Taiping's religion in the Chinese sectarian context and perspectives.³⁵⁹ And in Groot, Shih, Michael, and Weller's opinion, the Taiping's religion was influenced mainly by Chinese sectarianism, and Christianity and biblical principles were only a cynical overlay.³⁶⁰

However, some scholars think that, outwardly at least, the Taiping showed obvious signs of the influence of Christianity, but a markedly modified version of Christianity which was made to conform to Chinese practice; inwardly they knew little or nothing of the inner spirit of Christianity. Regarding the impact of the Taiping, Hong Rengan's intention to reform

and Son, 1866). Reilly, Thomas H. *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

³⁵⁶ Perry, Elizabeth J. "Taiping and Triads: The Role of Religion in Inter-rebel Relations", 342–353.

³⁵⁷ Doezeema, William R. "Western Seeds of Eastern Heterodoxy: The Impact of Protestant Revivalism on the Christianity of Taiping Rebel Leader Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, 1836–1864", *Fides et Historia*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter/Spring 1993), 73–98.

³⁵⁸ Wagner, Rudolf G. *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision: The Role of Religion in the Taiping Rebellion* (Berkeley: University of California, 1982), 15, 115.

³⁵⁹ Bohr, P. Richard. "The Taipings in Chinese Sectarian Perspective", *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China*, Kwang-Ching Liu & Richard Shek Eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 393–430.

³⁶⁰ Groot, J. J. M. *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China*, Vol. II (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1904), 537–558. Shih, *The Taiping Ideology*. Michael, Franz. *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*, Vol. 1 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966). Weller, Robert. *Resistance Chaos and Control in China: Taiping Rebels, Taiwanese Ghosts, and Tiananmen* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994).

Taiping's Christianity, and his proposals to modernise China, secured the next generation of western missionaries and Chinese reformers and revolutionists for the next nine decades. The Taiping's Christianity was considered as the first indigenous Chinese Christianity; and Hong's religious synthesis anticipated the emergence of the indigenous Chinese church movement after 1900. Even though no evidence of Taiping Christianity survived after the collapse and destruction of its regime in Nanjing, sectarian faiths were continually formed by Chinese nationals through the link of Christianity and indigenous religions. The Taiping initiated and attempted to restore a universal moral order in China, but were prevented from achieving this by western intrusions. They eventually disappeared, but not before influencing the modernisation of China and the Communist revolution. However, western scholars were aware that the Chinese elite thought that the Taiping threat to Confucianism and traditional Chinese culture survived in the guise of western missionaries.³⁶¹

4.3. The Religious Cases (Jiao'an) and the Boxing Uprising

R. G. Tiedemann is a scholar of Chinese history whose interests include Chinese Christianity, missionaries in China, and social movements in China. He acknowledged that while western missionaries and Chinese adherents were enjoying the privilege of the various treaty arrangements obtained from the Opium Wars, there was growing resistance and anti-

³⁶¹ Bohr, "Taiping Religion and Its Legacy", 390. Cohen, Paul A. "Littoral and Hinterland in Nineteenth Century China: The 'Christian' Reformers", *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, John K. Fairbank Ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 197–225. Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900", 543–590. Bennett, Adrian A. & Kwang-Ching Liu, "Christianity in the Chinese Idiom: Young J. Allen and the Early *Chiao-hui hsin-pao*, 1868–1870", *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, John K. Fairbank Ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 159–196. Bays, Daniel H. "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937", *Christianity in China*, Daniel H. Bays Ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 307–316. Bays, Daniel H. "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition", *Ch'ingShih WenT'i*, Vol. 4, No. 7 (June 1982), 33–55. Tiedemann, R. G. "Christianity and Chinese 'Heterodox Sects': Mass Conversion and Syncretism in Shandong Province in the Early Eighteenth Century", *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 44 (1996), 339–382. Bohr, P. Richard. "The Heavenly Kingdom in China: Religion and the Taiping Rebellion, 1837–1853", *Fides et Historia*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Spring 1985), 38–52. Tiedemann, R. G. "Indigenous Agency, Religious Protectorates, and Chinese Interests: The Expansion of Christianity in Nineteenth-Century China", *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914*, Dana L. Robert Ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2008), 226–227.

Christian violence in China. The Religious Cases (anti-missionary incidents or Jiao'an) is the term used to refer to the many instances of anti-Christian agitation which occurred during a seventy year period; from the first incident in 1842 after the first Opium War to the end of the Qing Dynasty in 1911. The French viewed themselves as the protectors of foreign priests and Chinese converts because of the Treaty in 1860, so they were frequently involved in these anti-missionary incidents.³⁶²

Paul A. Cohen, an American scholar of Chinese history associated with the Fairbank Centre for Chinese Studies at Harvard University, recognised that in order to defend the treaty rights, some missionaries took an adversarial approach to the Chinese imperial legal culture and acted as "litigation masters". A key factor of the conflict was the land question which involved the restoration of confiscated former church property to Catholic priests and Chinese converts. The French minister in Beijing oversaw the process of returning properties to their appropriate owners, but the difficulty was that some Catholic missionaries were demanding choice properties and locations as restitution from the Chinese.³⁶³

Cohen stated that another cause of the Religious Cases was the missionaries' uncompromising attack on Confucianism and the traditional Chinese culture and value system, which caused hostility from the Chinese, especially from the gentry and the upper-class. In order to advocate for a vision of modernisation and facilitate the conversion of China to a new order, missionaries took the revolutionary position of challenging Chinese traditional culture and the old order, even at gunpoint.³⁶⁴ Cohen pointed out that the similarities between indigenous Chinese religious sects and Christianity including their values, structures and

³⁶² Tiedemann, "The Treaty System", 296-337.

³⁶³ Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 147.

³⁶⁴ Cohen, "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900", 543-590.

social role, lay behind some of the Religious Cases as Christianity was regarded as “foreign heterodoxy” by Chinese officials and literati. For example, within the outlawed religious group the White Lotus Sect, it was common for their believers to go from one sect to another to determine the best religious system. Therefore, some Catholic and Protestant converts came from Chinese folk religious sects. For instance, the Jesuit priest Prosper Leboucq had baptised about 6,000 converts in Hebei province within ten years who were originally from the White Lotus Sect.³⁶⁵

Arthur Schlesinger Jr., an American historian and public intellectual, saw the Chinese Christians tendency to segregate themselves from the socio-religious practices of the rest of their community as a further cause of the anti-missionary cases. For example, Chinese Christians did not worship their ancestors, which was an important ritual and tradition in Chinese culture and society. Christians who refused to participate and support temple-based activities and festivals increased the financial burden on the rest of the community. Missionaries who intervened in local lawsuits on the behalf of their adherents provoked further hostility, enmity, and even violence.³⁶⁶ Latourette acknowledged that the interference of missionaries with the proper administration of the provinces brought disorder to both the nation and their own missions. Administrators ‘objected to neither Christianity nor commerce but the *imperium in imperio* which makes such difficulties for a state and the class exemption which has in it so much that humiliates and disintegrates’.³⁶⁷ At the end of the nineteenth century, these local anti-missionary and anti-foreign agitations culminated in the Boxer Uprising of 1900.

³⁶⁵ Cohen, “Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition”, 33-55.

³⁶⁶ Arthur, Schlesinger Jr. “The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism”, *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, John K. Fairbank Ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 336–373.

³⁶⁷ Latourette, *A History of Christian Mission in China*, 825-826.

The Boxer Uprising is portrayed from different angles by western scholars. For Tiedemann, two events significantly contributed towards the Boxer Uprising. The first was the occupation of Jiaozhou Bay in Shandong province by Germany in November 1897 on the pretext of the Juye missionary case (the murder of two members of the Society of the Divine Word in 1897). The second was the unsuccessful attempt of the Hundred Day's Reforms in September 1898. This resulted in a palace coup in 1898 and the domination of the Qing government by militant and reactionary conservatives who advocated the extermination of foreigners.³⁶⁸ For Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, anti-foreign sentiment was not only initiated by the court, but also by the officials, scholars, gentry and populace. Christianity was regarded as socially disruptive and as a heterodox sect by the gentry because of its disagreeable and threatening approach to Confucianism. The patriotic Chinese also had a fear of imminent national extinction because of the scramble for concessions by western powers. The Chinese economy was depressed by the influx of foreign goods and exports of raw materials; and local traditional transportation was threatened by foreign railways. Additionally, natural disasters had compounded the difficulties of life during this period.³⁶⁹

Joseph W. Esherick, a prominent scholar on the history of modern China, expressed his opinion that Johann Baptist Anzer, the head of the German mission, Society of the Divine Word, in Shandong, was not only an aggressive nationalist, but also an aggressive proselytizer. Anzer's militant approach to the missionary enterprise was responsible for the adverse event in Shandong province. For example, his aggressive assault on Yanzhou, under the German protectorate, generated a distinctly negative reputation in Shandong. Moreover,

³⁶⁸ Tiedemann, R. G. "The Boxer Uprising", *Handbook of Christianity in China, Vol. 2, 1800 to the Present*, R. G. Tiedemann Ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 338-343.

³⁶⁹ Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. "Later Ch'ing Foreign Relations, 1866-1905", *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 11, Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part 2*, John K. Fairbank & Kwang-Ching Liu Eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 70-141. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 387-407.

the missionary conviction that the corruption of the ‘pagan’ nation led to Anzer’s conviction of interference in all manner of disputes as a missionary’s duty included defending converts. However, not only Anzer, but also other missionaries utilized aggressive strategies to intervene in domestic politics and justice including foreign diplomatic and martial interference.³⁷⁰

Cohen agreed that Christianity was linked to the origin and development of the Boxer Uprising in Shandong because of the attitude and behaviour of the German missionaries. He also noted the social breakdown during this period, as millions of people migrated to search for food due to the flood-drought-famine cycle. Rumours spread that foreigners and Christians were responsible for the drought, floods, poisoned wells, and Catholic nefarious practices with women and children. Cohen mentioned that it was not only the entanglement of secular and religious imperialism contributed to the upsurge of anti-foreignism, but also the natural disasters and a major famine.³⁷¹

Bays pointed out that the Boxer Uprising was a reasonably well known historical event in the West, because its basic elements were in world history textbooks and published research into the history Christianity in China. However, these accounts of the uprising usually concluded with the relief of the siege of the foreign legation in Beijing in August 1900 and the peace settlement which the Qing government was forced to sign in September 1901. Other important elements of the event were either ignored or passed over quickly in these versions. One such element was that foreign troops occupied Beijing and maintained a military government there until early 1902 when it was returned to Chinese control. Tianjin,

³⁷⁰ Esherick, Joseph W. *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1987), 80-87.

³⁷¹ Cohen, *History in Three Keys: the Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1997), 69-95.

an important commercial and industrial city, was also under the control of a foreign military government until 1906. Other important, or overlooked, elements include how foreign troops imprisoned a large number of civilians for over a year, attacked villages and towns, hundreds of miles away from Beijing, in revenge attacks; and they executed around a thousand suspected Boxers. Some Beijing-based missionaries accompanied the troops and even made suggestions about targets. Foreign troops looted the Forbidden City, temples and private mansions, and some foreign missionaries were also involved in the looting orgy which swept over the entire city of Beijing. Missionary involvement in these retaliatory activities was a controversial issue and disturbed some news reporters, military personnel, and other missionaries. Unfortunately, Gilbert Reid, a missionary spokesman, even used the term “the ethics of looting” to justify their participation.³⁷²

British historian and sinologist Victor Purcell has described that after the Boxer Uprising, missionaries wrote and published voluminous literature with the object of vindicating their activity in China. They excused the political and economic actions of foreign governments and merchants that contributed to the popular outrage and resentment toward foreigners. Moreover, Christian responsibility for the Boxer Uprising was undisputable, and Roman Catholics and Protestants tended to blame each other. For example, Protestant missionaries complained that Catholic priests were doing all they could to obstruct their work, and Catholics declared that Protestant missions were a complete failure in Shandong.³⁷³

A. H. Smith (1845-1932) was an American missionary in China for 54 years with the

³⁷² Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 84-91. Hevia, James L. “Chapter 7 & 8”, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 195-240, 241-281. Twain, Mark. “To the Person Sitting in Darkness”, *North American Review*, Vol. 172 (1901), 161–176. Twain, Mark. “To My Missionary Critics”, *North American Review*, Vol. 172 (1901), 520–534.

³⁷³ Purcell, Victor. “Anti-Foreign or Anti-Missionaries?” *The Boxer Uprising: A Background Study* (Cambridge: University Press 1963), 121-138.

ABCFM, and an author who wrote books presenting China to the West. His writing conveyed the impression that anti-missionary sentiment in the religious cases and the Boxer Uprising from the 1860s to 1900 was mainly the fault of the Catholics; especially the policy of France as protector of the Roman Catholic missions in China. Another contributing factor to anti-missionary sentiment was the restoration of previous possessions of the Roman Catholic Church that had been confiscated one or two centuries earlier, ignoring the fact that properties had changed ownership several times and often had been greatly improved. Moreover, Catholic missionaries built huge fortress-like churches and cathedrals in cities without regard and respect to Chinese geomantic beliefs. However, for the peasant population during the Boxer Uprising, the strong hostility toward Christianity arose from the fact that it was foreign. This was especially true of the rural Chinese, who discerned no difference between Protestants and Catholics as foreigners and enemies, except that one was supported by the power of Britain, and the other by the power of France.³⁷⁴

4.4. Opponents of Christianity and the National Crisis

Anti-Christian sentiment reached its peak with the Boxer Uprising in 1900, but it was still evident during the organized large scale anti-Christian movements in the 1920s. Cohen pointed out that the anti-Christian tradition and historical xenophobia played important roles in these movements of the twentieth century.³⁷⁵ Lutz and Yip recognized that the rise of nationalism as an essential element, especially the anti-imperialist nationalism that was a significant component in the campaign of 1922. They noted that the Socialist Youth Corp launched the anti-Christian movement and issued a Manifesto on 9 March 1922, whose terminology of anti-capitalism echoed Lenin's theory of imperialism and was couched in

³⁷⁴ Smith, A. H. *China in Convulsion*, Vol. I (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), 64-87.

³⁷⁵ Cohen, *China and Christianity*, 3-31. Cohen, Paul A. "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900", 543-590.

Marxist language. They considered that the national campaign was spawned and facilitated by the new student sub culture.³⁷⁶

Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, an American historian on modern China and an editor of the *Journal of Asian Studies* from 2009, viewed the anti-Christian campaign of 1922 as an outgrowth of the New Cultural Movement. Lutz pointed out that the western powers' refusal to give up their extraterritoriality at the Washington Conference in 1921, and the Soviet Union's manifesto pledged to renounce their special privilege in 1919, fed the anti-imperialism sentiment in China. According to Lutz and Wasserstrom, the Nationalist and Communist Parties, along with the Young China Party, used the anti-Christian and educational rights themes to appeal to young intellectuals. For example, they considered educational autonomy essential to achieve ideological revolution; instil nationalism; and recover sovereign rights. Christianity was condemned as the opiate of the people; Christian missions were portrayed as the handmaiden of the capitalist imperialists; and Christian schools were criticised as agents of cultural aggression. The campaign was well organized and broadly supported by the political parties who provided leadership and publicity outlets. Some missionaries had to withdraw from administrative positions, and some Chinese took managerial roles within educational institutions.³⁷⁷

Yamamoto pointed out that after the incident on 30 May 1925 in Shanghai, the anti-Christian campaign became stronger and even resulted in violence in some cities. Most of the

³⁷⁶ Lutz, Jessie G. "Opponents of Christianity", *Handbook of Christianity in China, Vol. 2, 1800 to the Present*, R. G. Tiedemann Ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 640-652. Yip, Kache. *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927* (Bellingham: Western Washington University Press, 1980), 23-42.

³⁷⁷ Wasserstrom, Jeffrey N. *Student Protests in Twentieth Century China: The View from Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 44-51. Lutz, Jessie G. *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920-1928* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988), 102-117. Lutz, Jessie G. "Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920s", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 10, Issue 03 (July 1976), 395-416.

campaign's goals were reached during the Northern Expedition from 1926 to 1928, and more than 3,000 missionaries left China during that time. During the anti-Christian movement from 1919 to 1922, the unscientific characteristic of Christianity was attacked; and from 1922 to 1924 Christianity was criticised as the spearhead of capitalists; then from 1925 Christianity was condemned as cultural imperialism. A wave of patriotism developed from the movement and became a general patriotic and nationalistic movement which included the Chinese Christians.³⁷⁸

However, most missionaries returned to China following the end of the Anti-Christian Movement, and the atmosphere was different. The Communist Party's attitude and policy had changed because of the increased Japanese threat to national sovereignty and territorial integrity, especially during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). Japan became an arch enemy of the nation, and Christianity was considered as an important element in the national Anti-Japanese United Front. Mao Zedong, the director of the Communist Party, promised religious freedom in the Party's New Policy and allowed missionaries to preach, own church properties, establish mission schools, and run other enterprises in Communist occupied areas. Jiang Jieshi, the leader of the Nationalist Party, became a Christian and was baptised in 1930. Some high officials in the Nationalist Party also converted to Christianity, and America became one of their principle supporters. However, missionaries came into more direct contact with the Communists; and some felt an affinity, and even formed a tacit alliance against the Japanese.³⁷⁹

Fox Butterfield studied the missionaries' view of the Communists, especially the

³⁷⁸ Yamamoto, Tatsuro and Sumiko. "The Anti-Christian Movement in China 1922-1927", 133-147.

³⁷⁹ Tao, Feiya, "Christianity and the Communist Revolution", *Handbook of Christianity in China, Vol. 2, 1800 to the Present*, R. G. Tiedemann Ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 708-716.

Congregational missionaries, because through their rural construction work they had more extensive contact with the Communists than other foreigners. When missionaries learned that the Communists had suspended their violent opposition to Christianity, and had taken steps to improve the peasants' living conditions and save them from poverty and suppression, their attitude gradually became less hostile; and the Communists even began to win some missionary sympathy. Cooperation was one of the major principles in the reconstruction work in the countryside, especially the large scale of relief work that was required after the Japanese invasion. Missionaries were not only impressed with the Communist relief work, but also their attempts to educate the peasantry, and their reformation of the land and tax structure. The Communists also dealt with some endemic evils and social problems such as banditry, prostitution, and opium smoking; all of which missionaries also felt anxious about, but helpless to tackle. The Congregational missionaries believed that the Communists had full popular support, and considered them as their allies in the common struggle against poverty and tyranny.³⁸⁰

Paul A. Varg, an American historian with particular interests in China and American foreign relations, studied missionaries and the Sino-Japanese War, and acknowledged that missionaries felt the Communists gave the village a better government than they had ever known before.³⁸¹ Latourette spoke from his personal knowledge of missionary participants who took the lead to set up an inviolate safety zone, at the risk of their own lives, during the rape of Nanjing after the Japanese captured it in December 1937. Missionaries provided for

³⁸⁰ Butterfield, Fox. "A Missionary View of the Chinese Communists (1936–1939)", *American Missionaries in China: Papers from Harvard Seminars*, Kwang-Ching Liu Ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1970), 249-301.

³⁸¹ Varg, Paul A. "Chapter XV 'Missionaries and the Sino-Japanese War, 1931-1941'", *Missionaries Chinese and Diplomats: the American Protestant Missionary Movement in China 1890-1952* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 251-273.

people's basic needs, protected civilians and disarmed soldiers, as well as caring for thousands of wounded soldiers.³⁸² After the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour in Hawaii in December 1941, American and British missionaries were interned in China by the Japanese, and Chinese Christians increasingly suffered.³⁸³

After the Sino-Japanese War, Christianity had a brief period of reconstruction and renewal during the Civil War between the Communist and the Nationalist Parties from 1946 to 1949 before the Communist Party took over China. Many missionaries returned to their beloved China with enthusiasm, and embraced tasks which contributed to the reconstruction of the ravaged and exhausted country after the long years of war. Latourette, Fairbank, and other scholars describe how America became heavily involved in the internal struggle between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party. J. Leighton Stuart, the president of Yenching University, was asked by US special envoy George C. Marshall, to become the American ambassador to China and to help with negotiations. However, because of the deep distrust between the two Chinese parties, it made agreement impossible. Although Euro-American missionaries tended to be supportive of the Nationalist Party, after Chinese students launched their anti-war movement and Chinese Christians campaigned for a national consensus on peace, conditions were unfavourable for foreign Christian intervention.³⁸⁴

³⁸² Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Vol. 5, The Twentieth Century outside Europe: The Americas, the Pacific, Asia and Africa*, 392-395.

³⁸³ Ballou, Earle H. *Dangerous Opportunity: The Christian Mission in China Today* (NY: Friendship, 1940), 139-148. Brook, Timothy. "Toward Independence: Christianity in China under the Japanese Occupation", *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Daniel H. Bays Ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 317-337. Eastman, Lloyd E. "Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945", *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 13, Republican China 1912-1949 Part 2*, John K. Fairbank & Albert Feuerwerker Eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 547-608. Slyke, Lyman V. "The Chinese Communist Movement during the Sino-Japanese War 1937- 1945", *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 13, Republican China 1912-1949 Part 2* ", John K. Fairbank & Albert Feuerwerker Eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 609-722.

³⁸⁴ Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Vol. 5, The Twentieth Century outside Europe: The Americas, the Pacific, Asia and Africa*, 395. Fairbank, *China: A New History*, 331-337. Varg, "Chapter XVI A Brief and Unhappy Respite 1941-1949",

Bays indicated that it was difficult for western missionaries and Christian churches to avoid lining up behind the Nationalist Party whose leader was a baptised Christian. However, some missionaries and Christian leaders were not blind to the incompetence, venality, and corruption in his government. Chinese Catholics caught in this dilemma, chose to reflect the intense anti-Communist attitude of the Vatican, held throughout the Sino-Japanese War. Therefore, they were entrenched thoroughly in a visceral anti-Communism which was expounded by Pope Pius XII in the 1940s. Daniel recognised that America's China policy which supported the Nationalist Party also had a negative influence on Communist policy regarding Christianity.³⁸⁵ Young stated that 'If Euro-American Christianity was the genuine article, all was lost on 1 October 1949 when Mao Zedong founded the PRC'.³⁸⁶ Fairbank observed, 'the missionaries came as spiritual reformers, soon found that material improvements were equally necessary, and in the end helped to foment the great revolution. Yet as foreigners, they could take no part in it, much less bring it to a finish. Instead, it finished them'.³⁸⁷

Conclusion

We have looked at the Opium Wars and the subsequent historical events, in terms of whether what Chinese scholars have recorded about western missionaries' involvement in these historical events which have impacted on Chinese conceptions of Christianity, is reflected in the work of western academics. Regarding the Opium Wars and the Unequal

Missionaries Chinese and Diplomats, 274-286. Pepper, Suzanne, "The Student Movement and the Chinese Civil War, 1945-1949", *China Quarterly*, Vol. 48 (1971), 698-735. Lutz, Jessie G. "The Chinese Student Movement of 1945-1949," *Journal of Asia Study*, Vol. 31 (1971), 89-110.

³⁸⁵ Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 146-151. Pepper, Suzanne. "The KMT-CCP Conflict 1945-1949", *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 13, Republican China 1912-1949 Part 2*, John K. Fairbank & Albert Feuerwerker Eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 723-788.

³⁸⁶ Young, Richard F. "East Asia", *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 9, World Christianities c.1914-c.2000*, Hugh McLeod Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 456.

³⁸⁷ Fairbank, *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, 2.

Treaties, western scholars acknowledged that the missionaries' participation aroused hatred and hostility among Chinese people toward missionaries and Christianity. Consequently, opium and Christianity became closely associated in Chinese minds because they arrived together, fought together, and were legalized together. According to English literature on these events, the founder of the Boxer Uprising, Hong Xiugan, was influenced by Protestant missionaries. Despite western scholars differing on whether the Taiping was Christian, 'Taiping Christianity', a form of western revivalism, or even heathen, they seem to agree that the uprising was related to and influenced by Christianity. Moreover, we have seen that missionaries had different attitudes towards the Taiping, and some changed their attitudes and as is evidenced by the reports they sent back. We are uncertain whether these reports had a direct influence on the governments' decision to suppress the Taiping with the Qing troops, but the suppression caused its failure.

Western scholars recognized that the main causes of the Religious Cases were the restoration of confiscated properties to the Catholics, attacks from missionaries on Confucianism and Chinese culture, and missionaries' interference in local lawsuits to protect their converts. All of these causes are also mentioned in Chinese literature on this period. These causes not only instigated religious cases locally, but also contributed to the nationwide Boxer Uprising. In addition to natural disasters such as floods, droughts, and famine, Protestant and especially aggressive Catholic missions which were backed up by western gunboats also contributed to the Uprising. Western scholars also mentioned that some missionaries accompanied foreign troops to take revenge and were involved in looting in Beijing.

We can see from English literature that Christianity was considered by Chinese people

to be the spearhead of capitalism and imperialism during the Anti-Christian Movement in the 1920s. Some missionaries had cooperated with the Communist Party in reconstructive works in rural areas, and the Communist Party had changed their attitudes and religious policy towards Christianity during the Sino-Japanese War. However, western scholars recognised that missionaries lined up with the Nationalist Party, which was supported by America during the Chinese Civil War, against the Communist Party. The Vatican, in particular, was strongly opposed to the Communists and refused to recognise the regime after Chairman Mao proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949.

It has been shown that the portrayals, by Chinese scholars, of the missionaries' involvement and participation in the Opium Wars and the subsequent historical events, is, to an extent, reflected in English literature on these events. This can help western readers who are interested in Chinese Christianity to understand why, for some Chinese people in mainland China, Christianity was the opium of the people, missionaries were tools of imperialism, and missionary activities were a cover for religious infiltration. However, despite looking at English and Chinese literature, this is still not a comprehensive explanation of the events of this period as any attempt to record what happened will always contain omissions.

As N. T. Wright explains:

A video camera set up at random would not result in a completely 'neutral' perspective on events, it must be sited in one spot only; it will only have one focal length; it will only look in one direction, if in one sense the camera never lies, we can see that in another sense it never does anything else. It excluded far more than it includes.³⁸⁸

Another side of this story, was called the forgotten moral crusade against the opium trade in Britain which we will look at in the next chapter.

³⁸⁸ Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 83.

Chapter 5 Protestant Christians and the Anti-Opium Movement in Britain

The Anti-Opium Movement consisted of three strands: political opposition, missionaries, and the anti-opium societies. The political opposition was mainly carried out through debates in the British parliament in Westminster, although these debates became more international towards the end of the opium trade. The missionaries were the Anglo-Saxon Protestants who brought their influence to bear through their home organizations and correspondence. American missionaries always outnumbered the British missionaries, but their influence was mainly little more than an irritant to the opium trade. However, it was still an encouragement to the British missionaries, and after the turn of the twentieth century, the activism of American missionaries translated into political pressure from the American Government. The anti-opium societies drew their support from different religious groups, including Protestants, Quakers, and Catholics. The movement was also supported by a number of politicians and officials from different political groups, most of whom were English until the formation of the International Reform Bureau in America in 1904. Because the British Government was eventually responsible for the Indian-Chinese opium trade, so the centre for all of these anti-opium activities was England.³⁸⁹

The three strands of the anti-opium movement maintained close links throughout their struggle. For instance, missionaries provided first-hand evidence of opium's harmful effects on Chinese people to anti-opium societies, wrote articles and published them in missionary journals, and spoke to their home churches while they were home on furlough. Members of anti-opium societies were mainly Christians and supported by their respective church

³⁸⁹ Lowes, Peter D. *The Genesis of International Narcotics Control* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1966), 58.

members, leaders, and overseas missionaries; especially missionaries in China. Some leading figures of anti-opium societies were members of the British Parliament, so they presented petitions, resolutions, and debated the opium issue. This chapter will cover how, over time, Christians saw the need to establish anti-opium societies and lobby parliament for the abolition of the opium trade. They stood up for Chinese people against their own government, fought and lost their initial battles but did not give up; they continued and battled on until the victory came. The time period we will cover is the beginning of the 1840s when there was minimal opposition to the opium trade until its abolition in the 1910s.

5.1. The Period from the Opium Wars to the Establishment of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade

When Britain gained control of East India in 1790, they were faced with the opium question. The opium smuggling trade with China was long established, and opium cultivation and consumption was common among the natives. However, British official policy had always been ambiguous regarding the morality of opium use.³⁹⁰ The parliamentary debate on the Opium War in 1840, in which opium was condemned as ‘such a pernicious article’ by G. Staunton is considered to be the beginning of the political opposition to the opium trade.³⁹¹ William Gladstone made an eloquent speech to condemn both the immorality of the opium trade and the Opium War. He argued:

A war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated in its progress to cover this country with permanent disgrace...we, the enlightened and civilized Christians, are pursuing objects at variance both with justice, and with religion.³⁹²

The counter argument to Gladstone’s position, expressed by defenders of the opium trade, was that if India stopped supplying opium, then Turkey and Persia would take its place, and

³⁹⁰ Johnson, “A Forgotten Moral Crusade: The Victorian Anti-Opium Movement”, 372-378.

³⁹¹ *Hansard*, House of Common Debate, “War with China” (07 April 1840).

³⁹² *Hansard*, House of Common Debate, “War with China—Adjourned Debate” (08 April 1840).

this argument kept recurring even at the Shanghai Commission in 1909 after seventy years.³⁹³

Even though the debate about the war with China dominated the public's attention, a small voice of protest against the opium trade was raised by the Committee of the Anti-Opium Society. The principles of Christian and commercial opposition were listed in one of the earliest pieces of anti-opium literature: *Facts and Evidence Relating to the Opium Trade with China*, was published by the Society in 1840. Its chairman Lord Ashley produced the basis of the first anti-opium resolution which he put forward, as a motion, for Parliament to take action against the opium trade three years later.³⁹⁴ Although anti-opium societies were established at the time of the first Opium War, they were not widely known about amongst the public. However, the movement already consisted of two factions: Those against opium on medical grounds and those against it on moral grounds.³⁹⁵

Lord Ashley, Anthony Ashley Cooper (1808-1885), later the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury, played an important role in the Anti-Opium Movement. He grew up in an upper class family with little parental love. Any affection he experienced came from Maria Millis, his housekeeper, and her Christian model of love formed the basis for his later social activism. As Best explained, 'What did touch him was the reality, and the homely practicality, of the love which her Christianity made her feel towards the unhappy child. She told him bible stories, she taught him a prayer'.³⁹⁶

Lord Ashley was troubled by Britain's use of force in support of the opium trade, and rigorously challenged British policy during the first Opium War. He introduced a motion

³⁹³ Royal Commission on Opium, *Final Report of the Commission on Opium with Annexures*, Vol. VI, Part I (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895), 163.

³⁹⁴ Fry, W. F. *Facts and Evidence Relating to the Opium Trade with China* (London: Pelham Richardson, 1840), 5-6.

³⁹⁵ Lowes, *The Genesis of International Narcotics Control*, 61.

³⁹⁶ Best, Geoffrey. *Shaftesbury* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1964), 14-15.

denouncing the trade on moral, religious, commercial, and political grounds, and called for the elimination of the opium trade in Parliament on 4 April 1843. He opposed the continuation of the trade and introduced a resolution to condemn it which ‘began the long crusade against the Opium Trade—a crusade that has not yet achieved its crowning victory’.³⁹⁷ He also presented petitions against the opium trade from the committees of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, and the London Missionary Society in the House of Commons. For example, in his parliamentary motion, Lord Ashley argued:

That the continuance of trade in opium, and the monopoly of its growth in territories of British India, is destructive of all relations of amity between England and China...and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom; and that steps be taken, as soon as possible, with due regards to the rights of governments and individuals, to abolish the evil.³⁹⁸

Ashley’s motion foreshadows the later arguments against the opium trade presented by another statesman, Lord Salisbury; particularly Salisbury’s ‘characterization of the unholy four act sequence of Victorian imperialism...missionary, trade, consul, and gunboat’.³⁹⁹

The London Missionary Society which sent the first Protestant missionary to China was aware of the negative impact that opium traffic, and the later war, had on Christian missions.

The whole future of missions would be prejudiced by this awful mistake. The ports would be opened to opium first, to Christianity second. No one can tell how vastly the difficulty of evangelizing China has been increased by this policy.⁴⁰⁰

In 1853, the LMS called a special meeting to raise funds in order to send out more missionaries to China, and asked Lord Shaftesbury to take the chair. He willingly responded and delivered a vigorous speech by saying: ‘This matter commends itself to the judgment and

³⁹⁷ Hodder, Edwin. *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, Vol I (London: Cassell & Company Limited, 1886), 465.

³⁹⁸ *Hansard*, House of Common Debate, “Suppression of the Opium Trade” (04 April 1843).

³⁹⁹ Lowes, *The Genesis of International Narcotics Control*, 60.

⁴⁰⁰ Horne, C. Silvester. *The History of the L.M.S. 1795-1895* (London: LMS, 1894), 140.

feeling of every man who cares, in the least degree, for the welfare of the human race'.⁴⁰¹ In 1854, an American missionary Dr. Happer arrived in London to stir up British Christians to oppose opium smuggling. His mission was successful, and an anti-opium committee was formed with Shaftesbury as president and R. Alexander as secretary. The committee formed to 'sever all connections of the English people and its government with the opium trade'.⁴⁰² However, the committee did not last long because of a lack of funds and public interest.

Missionaries, Quaker reformers and others protested against the policy of Britain, but a proposal to suppress the opium trade was regarded as the height of British quixotism by most Englishmen.⁴⁰³ Hosea B. Morse, was a well-known American writer who had served with the Chinese Imperial Maritime Custom Service between 1874 and 1908. He is probably best known for his three volume work: *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, which chronicles the history of the relations between the Qing Dynasty and western nations.⁴⁰⁴ Morse observed that, regarding the anti-opium issue, 'The general opinion of the world was not yet so far advanced as to compel so decisive a step'.⁴⁰⁵ In 1855, Lord Shaftesbury presented a memorandum to the Foreign Secretary profiling the Anti-Opium Movement which included some prominent figures in British society. It stated that the opium trade was detrimental to British legal commerce in general.⁴⁰⁶ The British government rejected the memorandum, and continually ignored the opium trade even after learning from British

⁴⁰¹ Hodder, Edwin. *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, Vol. II (London: Cassell & Company Limited, 1887), 440-441.

⁴⁰² Harding, Geoffrey. *Opiate Addiction, Morality and Medicine: from Moral Weakness to Pathological Disease* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1986), 24.

⁴⁰³ Owen, David E. *British Opium Policy in China and India* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), 216.

⁴⁰⁴ Fairbank, John K. & Martha H. Coolidge & Richard J. Smith. *H. B. Morse, Customs Commissioner and Historian of China* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 18-27.

⁴⁰⁵ Morse, Hosea B. *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, Vol. I (London: Longmans Green Co., 1910), 545.

⁴⁰⁶ Hill, J. Spencer. *The Indo-Chinese Opium Trade: Considered in Relation to Its History, Morality, and Expediency, and Its Influence on Christian Missions* (London: Henry Frowde, 1884), 77.

residents in Hong Kong that the opium smuggling had greatly increased there. In 1857, the British Churches denounced their government's inaction and declared themselves against the opium trade.⁴⁰⁷ Joseph Ridgeway, the leader of the Church Mission Society, condemned the injustice and illegal opium trade publically, and asked indignantly:

Is there in this no provocation? The Chinese are truculent, overbearing. Be it so: but if a man wantonly disturbs a hornet's nest, and gets stung in consequence, has he not brought it on himself? Our bearing on the Chinese coast has not been throughout just and conciliatory. Let it be remembered, then, that we share the guilt of the present complications. 'Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth'.⁴⁰⁸

In 1857, Lord Shaftesbury had determined to attack the opium question again in the House of Lords and take 'the opinion of the judges as to its legality'.⁴⁰⁹ On 9 March, he brought forward his motion and denounced the system as 'one of the most flagitious instances of unscrupulousness in the pursuit of wealth, that mankind had even witnessed...in every point of view scandalous and perilous'. He commented on 'its immorality as disgraceful to the character of England, and inimical to the spread of Christianity'.⁴¹⁰ He asked a judicial opinion on two points: first if 'it was lawful for the East India Company to derive a revenue from the opium monopoly'; secondly if 'it was lawful for them to sell the opium for the direct purpose of being smuggled into a friendly country'.⁴¹¹ However, the motion was withdrawn after some debates on the understanding that 'the Government would take the opinion of the law officers of the Crown on the matter'.⁴¹²

Lord Shaftesbury and Robert Alexander founded the Society for Suppressing Opium

⁴⁰⁷ Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*, 51-52.

⁴⁰⁸ Stock, Eugene. *The History of the Church Missionary Society, Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work* Vol. II (London: CMS, 1899), 301. *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* (June 1857), 141.

⁴⁰⁹ *Hansard*, House of Lords Debate, "Opium Trade with China" (09 March 1857).

⁴¹⁰ Hodder, Edwin. *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, Vol III (London: Cassell & Company Limited, 1886), 42.

⁴¹¹ Hodder, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, Vol III, 43.

⁴¹² Hodder, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, Vol III, 43.

Smuggling in 1856, and its office also published *The Rise and Progress of British Opium Smuggling*.⁴¹³ It had held a petition-raising meeting on 15 January 1857 in London, which was well publicized, but short lived. The Society of Friends also turned its attention to the illegal trade and the contraband traffic of opium. It raised a petition to Lord Derby and then to the Prime Minister in 1858, against the legalization of the trade. An Edinburgh Committee for the Suppression of the Indo-Chinese Traffic in Opium was established in 1859, but it received little attention. The Treaty of Tianjin after the second Opium War legalized the opium trade and Christianity in 1858, undermining the anti-opium movement and leaving the question unresolved for the following decade.⁴¹⁴

In 1869, Prince Kung and his colleagues of the Zongli Yamen expressed the feelings of the highest Chinese officials in a letter to Rutherford Alcock:

Opium is like a deadly poison, that it is most injurious to mankind, and a most serious provocative of ill feeling, is perfectly well known to his Excellency...the Chinese merchant supplies your country with his goodly tea and silk, conferring thereby a benefit upon her; but the English merchant empisons China with pestilent opium. Such conduct is unrighteous. Who can justify it? What wonder if officials and people say that *England is wilfully working out China's ruin*, and has no real friendly feeling for her?⁴¹⁵

Wilfrid Lawson, the director of the Marport and Carlisle Railway, who became Liberal MP in 1859, stood up in the House of Commons in May 1870 and expressed his outrage at Britain's continued involvement in the opium trade. He described the difficulties faced by Christian

⁴¹³ Alexander, Robert. *The Rise and Progress of British Opium Smuggling: the Illegality of the East India Company's Monopoly of the Drug; and Its Injurious Effects upon India, China, and the Commerce of Great Britain* (London: Judd & Glass, 1856).

⁴¹⁴ Berridge, Virginia & Griffith Edwards. *Opium and the People: Opiate Use in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Allen Lane 1981), 173-177. Howe, Anthony & Simon Morgan Eds. *The Letters of Richard Cobden: Volume III: 1854-1859* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012), 284-285

⁴¹⁵ *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 431. *Church Missionary Intelligence and Record* (Sep. 1876), 519. Mander, Samuel S. *Our Opium Trade with China* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1877), 18. Lewis, Eric. *Black Opium: An Account of a "Morally Indefensible" Trade in "This Horrible Drug": with An Appeal to the Churches in Great and Greater Britain to Unite in One great Concerted Effort, Calling upon our Country to Pay the Price of a God-Honouring Ending* (London: Marshall Bros. Ltd., 1910), 30. [Emphasis in the original]

missionaries in China and read a letter describing the hostility experienced by Protestant missionaries. In parliament, Lawson passionately expressed his belief that ‘what is morally wrong can never be politically right’.⁴¹⁶

5.2. The Period from the Establishment of the SSOT to the Appointment of the Royal Commission on Opium

The Rev. Frederick Storrs-Turner, a British Clergyman and a member of the LMS, spent ten years in China with his family as part of his missionary work. He won the prize, offered by a group of Quaker businessmen, for an essay-writing competition on the opium trade in 1874. The Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade was organized under the auspices primarily of Birmingham and North Country Quakers in November 1874.⁴¹⁷ Lord Shaftesbury was the first president, and Reverend Turner was the first secretary and editor of the first anti-opium journal, the *Friend of China*. The society’s headquarters was first in Birmingham, but later moved to London to be closer to the Houses of Parliament and the Indian Office. Joseph Pease later succeeded Shaftesbury and acted as the leader of the anti-opium movement in Parliament. The Society drew its support from all kinds of people, particularly from British and American Protestant missionaries who worked in the Far East and from the Evangelical bodies at home. In order to acquaint the English public with ‘the opium curse in China and the disgrace Great Britain brought upon herself in upholding the traffic’.⁴¹⁸ The SSOT published books,⁴¹⁹ tracts, reports, and pamphlets⁴²⁰ on every aspects of

⁴¹⁶ Hansard, House of Commons Debate. “East India (Opium Revenue)” (10 May 1870). Newark, Tim. *Empire of Crime: Organised Crime in the British Empire* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2011), 6-8.

⁴¹⁷ Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 211.

⁴¹⁸ Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*, 74.

⁴¹⁹ Tingling, J. F. B. *The Poppy Plague and England’s Crime* (London: Elliot Stock, 1876). Turner, F. Storrs. *British Opium Policy and its Results to India and China* (London: Simpson Low, 1876).

⁴²⁰ Fry, Edward. “China, England, and Opium”, *The Contemporary Review*, XXVII (Feb. 1876). Hill, J. Spencer. *The Indo-Chinese Opium Trade: Considered in Relation to Its History, Morality, and Expediency and Its Influence on Christian Missions* (London: Henry Frowde, 1884).

the opium question and wrote reviews and articles for magazines,⁴²¹ missionary journals,⁴²² and newspapers. Members also delivered speeches and lectures, and circulated petitions.

The first publication of the *Friend of China* in March 1875, introduced readers to the main arguments of the moral crusade against the opium trade: 1) Britain forced opium on China; 2) revenue is the only reason for continuing the trade; 3) opium cannot be consumed in moderation; 4) opium physically and morally destroys the user; 5) everyone (except the Indian Office) agrees that opium is evil; 6) prohibition except for medical purposes is the long-term goal; 7) SSOT will presently concentrate on practical political work to influence public opinion. It also attacked the evils of the opium trade, and, in doing so, gained support from British Christianity.⁴²³ The SSOT recognized the ‘unanimous testimony of eye-witness, missionaries, and merchants, natives of England, America, and China, who united in asserting that beyond all question the practice of opium smoking is a degrading and ruinous vice, unhappily greatly in China’.⁴²⁴ They declared, ‘we stand firm, in the faith, propounded by the Chairman at our first public meeting, —“Whatever the difficulties in the way, I am sure that nothing which is morally wrong can be politically right”’.⁴²⁵

In the first fifteen years after the SSOT’s establishment, it engaged in various activities to arouse public awareness of the evil and immorality of the trade. The SSOT organized public meetings and visited British churches, the treasurer was sent on a tour to learn more about opium, organize opium refuges, and establish local anti-opium societies in China and India. Prominent officials such as bishops, canons, and MPs, as well as other

⁴²¹ *The Contemporary Review. The Nineteenth Century.*

⁴²² *The Chinese Records. The Church Missionary Review.*

⁴²³ Johnson, “Righteousness before Revenue: the Forgotten Crusade against the Indo-Chinese Opium Trade”, 304-326. Coomber, Ross. *The Control of Drugs and Drug Users: Reason or Reaction?* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), 6.

⁴²⁴ *Friend of China* (March 1875), 6.

⁴²⁵ *Friend of China* (March 1875), 7.

leading members of the community, were co-opted for vice presidencies. British missionaries in China, especially Protestants, joined the SSOT, and wrote down their observations and opinions about the harmful effects of opium. The society published these statements, the speeches of missionaries, medical doctors, and MPs, the proceedings of its annual meetings, and widely circulated them through churches and meetings. Information about opium was collected from missionary journals, newspapers, medical reports, government statistics, and pro-opiumists' opinions, and published in the *Friend of China*. The society had correspondence with other anti-opium groups internationally, and prepared leaflets, pamphlets, and books for distribution at public meetings. The SSOT members also wrote articles and letters to leading newspapers, magazines, and professional journals. The society's first president Lord Shaftesbury was one of the most successful moral reformers during the Victorian era, and his enormous influence help to legitimise their appeal to the British public and Christians. The society kept the opium question in Parliament and before the British public by repeatedly presenting letters, memorials, petitions, and resolutions.⁴²⁶

In 1875, the SSOT urged the House of Commons to pass a motion that the British government should carefully considered the opium trade with a view to consider gradually withdrawing from their involvement in the cultivation and production of opium in India.⁴²⁷ Even though the first parliamentary motion lost by 57 to 94 votes, the anti-opium campaign gathered momentum. Soon after Joseph W. Pease (1828-1903), a Quaker who was in the House of Commons from 1865 until his death, became the leader of the SSOT. He was part of the Pease family which was considered to be 'one of the great Quaker industrialist families of

⁴²⁶ Johnson, "Righteousness before Revenue: the Forgotten Crusade against the Indo-Chinese Opium Trade", 308.

⁴²⁷ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "India and China—the Opium Traffic—Resolution" (25 June 1875).

the nineteenth century, who played a leading role in philanthropic and humanitarian interests'.⁴²⁸ He attacked the British government's refusal to renegotiate the Tianjin Treaty of 1860 and ratify the Chefoo Convention of 1876. The Chinese government intended to raise the import duty on Indian opium, but British merchants and the Indian government were afraid that Chinese local opium traders would undercut their product.⁴²⁹

However, the SSOT was more concerned about the honour of Britain than the Chinese government's sincerity in terminating the trade, and viewed an official renunciation of the trafficking of opium as the only way to salvage Britain's reputation. As the society stated: 'A few more years and our opportunity of washing away the opium stain from our national history will be gone for ever'.⁴³⁰ After victory had been achieved, J. G. Alexander wrote that the Indian government and the opium traders 'objected to this provision, fearing that the Chinese would use it to impose prohibitory duties; the Convention, in consequence, remained unratified for nine years, though the Chinese Government loyally performed its part of the bargain'.⁴³¹

The question of ratification of the Cheffo Convention of 1876 was repeatedly presented to Parliament, noted by Joseph W. Pease who brought it before the House of Commons on a yearly basis. On 4 June 1880, he suggested that Britain should negotiate new Treaties, rather than 'insist upon terms facilitating the introduction of opium, which the Government of China is unwilling to grant'. Furthermore, he challenged that 'a Christian, moral country like this ought not, year after year, to enforce the Treaty of Tien Tsin [Tianjin],

⁴²⁸ Clare Midgley, "'Nichol, Elizabeth Pease (1807–1897)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004). Bell, John H. *British Folks and British India Fifty Years Ago: Joseph Pease and His Contemporaries* (London: Heywood, 1891).

⁴²⁹ Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 242-279. Lowes, *The Genesis of International Narcotics Control*, 63-64.

⁴³⁰ *Friend of China* (Jan. 1877), 87.

⁴³¹ Alexander, Horace G. *Joseph Gundry Alexander* (London: Swarthmore Press, 1921), 60.

when beseeched by the Chinese to modify it, and from 1876 to 1880 refuse to ratify the Convention of Chefoo'.⁴³²

The SSOT published a book: *Our National Responsibility for the Opium Trade* for the members and candidates of Parliament in 1880 since many of them knew relatively little about the issue of the opium trade.⁴³³ On 29 April 1881, Joseph W. Pease again asked if, and when the Convention of Chefoo would be signed in the House of Commons, and called attention to MPs' moral obligation regarding opium. Pease said that when he placed his notice in the paper, signatures poured into the House from all parts of the community. He presented a petition bearing a large number of signatories including Cardinal Manning and most of the Roman Catholic Bishops of England and Wales. The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England also sent their Petitions to Parliament, which consisted of five hundred ministers and elders. The Baptist Union held a meeting in Newcastle on 26 April and passed a resolution against the opium trade. The Archbishop of York chaired a convocation and a similar resolution was passed unanimously and sympathetically. The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, the Society of Friends, the Primitive Methodists, the Congregational Union, the Wesleyan Conference, the Unitarians and the Positivists also passed resolutions supporting the view which Pease entertained upon the subject and submitted to the House.⁴³⁴ During the debates at the House of Commons, Pease called on the British government to 'treat the people of China as if they were on a level with ourselves; that by fair treaty, and not by compulsion, China should be at liberty to have those articles of commerce from us which she

⁴³² *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Trade—Observations" (4 June 1880).

⁴³³ The Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. *Our National Responsibility for the Opium Trade: A Sketch Prepared for the Use of Members of and Candidates for Parliament* (London: W.C., 1880).

⁴³⁴ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "India and China—the Opium Trade" (29 April 1881).

desires, and those things which she refuses to us we should not press from her'.⁴³⁵

There was a growing disposition among Christian assemblies to speak out on the opium problem. The Church of England, the Friends, the Congregationalists, the New Connection Methodists, the Wesleyans, the English Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Established Church, and the Free Church of Scotland made statements against the opium trade. In April 1881, the Convocation of York resolved that the opium trade was 'opposed alike to Christian and national morality', was 'instrumental in effecting the physical and moral degradation of multitudes of Chinese', and was 'a hindrance both to legitimate commerce and to the spread of Christianity'.⁴³⁶ In September 1881, the Methodist Ecumenical Conference held in London also resolved:

That the growth of the manufacture of opium in India and its export to China, under the direct sanction of the British imperial government, and as virtually a government monopoly, are serious obstacles to the spread of Christianity in China, and injurious to the credit and influence of England throughout the Eastern world. And we most respectfully but earnestly call upon the government to deliver this country from all further responsibility arising from such an iniquitous traffic.⁴³⁷

On 21 October 1881, an anti-opium meeting was held by the SSOT at the Mansion House in London, and *The Times* estimated that nearly 1,000 delegates were sent from thirty towns to attend it. The Lord Mayor McArthur was in the chair at the crowning public event of the campaign, and both the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Manning made statements in support of the motion. The Lord Mayor noted the religious and political heterogeneity of the meeting while the Archbishop appreciated the moral and commercial variation of the attendees. Lord Shaftsbury introduced a resolution on behalf of the SSOT that opium trafficking was opposed to both Christian morality and the commercial interests of England.

⁴³⁵ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "India and China—the Opium Trade" (29 April 1881).

⁴³⁶ *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 436-437.

⁴³⁷ *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 437.

Therefore, Shaftsbury believed that it was Britain's duty to end the opium trade, encourage the British Indian government to grow the poppy only for medicinal purposes, compensate them for the financial inconvenience, and also support the Chinese government to suppress trafficking. The resolution was passed unanimously in the meeting in line with J. Pease's anti-opium motion in the House of Commons in April 1881.⁴³⁸ In the same anti-opium meeting, the Lord Mayor declared in his opening remarks that there had never been 'a blacker page in the history of our country than that which records our transactions with China; the war upon which we entered in endeavouring to carry out our opium traffic was a war unjustifiable...what is morally wrong cannot be politically right'.⁴³⁹ The Archbishop of Canterbury stated that he had come to a conclusion after very serious consideration: 'the time has arrived when we ought most distinctly to state our opinion, that the course at present pursued by the government in relation to this matter is one which ought to be abandoned at all cost'.⁴⁴⁰ Following the meeting, a memorandum was signed by 361 prominent men, and presented to Prime Minister Gladstone.⁴⁴¹

In 1882, a petition was signed by 489 people including 360 of the SSOT members and other members of the public for the abolition of the opium trade, and presented to Gladstone. It urged the extinction of the trade and 'the duty of this country to withdraw all encouragement from the growth of the poppy in India, except for strictly medicinal purposes, and to support the Chinese government in its efforts to suppress the traffic'.⁴⁴² Between 1882

⁴³⁸ Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*, 96. Alcock, R. "Opium and Common Sense", *Nineteenth Century* (December 1881), 854-868

⁴³⁹ "The Anti-Opium Meeting at the Mansion House", *All about Opium*, Hartmann H. Sultzberger Ed. (London: Wertheimer, 1884), 1-21, esp. 3.

⁴⁴⁰ Moule, Arthur E. *The Responsibility of the Church as regards the Opium Traffic with China* (London: Dyer Brothers, 1881), vi-vii.

⁴⁴¹ Broomhall, Benjamin. *The Truth about Opium Smoking* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1882), 109-110.

⁴⁴² Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 59-60.

and 1883, about 180 meetings were held on the opium trade, three times more than in the previous seven years.⁴⁴³

On 3 April 1883, with reference to the duties levied on opium under the Treaty of Tianjin, Pease called on the British government again stating that ‘the Government of China will be met as that of an independent State; having the full right to arrange its own Import Duties’. He pointed out that Britain had ‘introduced opium into the country by fraud, and was keeping it there by force’.⁴⁴⁴ However, a large group of important organisations and individuals, including: the Established Church of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, and a large number of the bishops, clergy, and congregations of the Church of England, had protested against the opium trade. They had passed ‘Resolutions at their respective Assemblies petitioning Parliament, besides taking other steps to show their assent to the movement for the suppression of the traffic’.⁴⁴⁵ Pease stated, ‘There is also a large Missionary body in China who have taken an active interest in putting down the use of this drug among the Christian converts in that country’.⁴⁴⁶ In addition, petitions, containing more than 75,000 signatures, poured into the Commons in support of Pease’s intention to renegotiate opium import duties.⁴⁴⁷

Following the ratification of the Chefoo Convention in 1876, a tax on opium was finally accepted by the British government in July 1885. The secretary of state for India, Lord Kimberley, explained the reasons for accepting Chinese demands in the following words:

The Anti-Opium agitation in this country, already serious, and likely to be yet more formidable in a new House of Commons, is a factor in the present question to be taken into grave consideration. For some time past, the leaders of that

⁴⁴³ *Friend of China* (June 1883), 168-187.

⁴⁴⁴ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Opium Duties (China)” (03 April 1883).

⁴⁴⁵ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Opium Duties (China)” (03 April 1883).

⁴⁴⁶ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Opium Duties (China)” (03 April 1883).

⁴⁴⁷ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Opium Duties (China)” (03 April 1883).

movement in Parliament have been chiefly insisting upon the injustice of preventing China from doing what she desires as regards the taxation of Indian opium. If the present Chinese proposals are accepted, the answer to this argument will be obvious and conclusive.⁴⁴⁸

The foreign-run Chinese custom service would collect duties at the ports, but no additional taxes on Indian opium would be collected by the local Chinese authorities. Smuggling would be eliminated, and the Chinese government could end the importation of Indian opium after giving one-year notice after a five-year interval. It was a moral victory for the society, but they faced further difficulties in suppressing the opium trade. The SSOT's argument that opium was forced upon China could no longer be made, and furthermore, the Indian Office could now claim that the Chinese government showed the same interest in revenue as the British and Indian governments by requesting a high import duty instead of ending the opium trade.⁴⁴⁹

J. G. Alexander, a Quaker barrister who later became the secretary of the SSOT, summed up the Chefoo Convention by stating that, 'the professedly Christian and civilized country, had at length succeeded in debauching the conscience of China's rulers and in undermining their noble determination not to derive revenue from so polluted a source'.⁴⁵⁰ On 4 May 1886, Pease presented a resolution to the House of Commons that the Indian government should gradually stop the growing of opium except for medical purposes. Two propositions Pease laid down in the resolution were that the opium trade was contrary to 'those moral rules which ought to govern civilized nations' and 'the financial interests of the great country'.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁸ Royal Commission on Opium, *Final Report of the Commission on Opium with Annexures*, Vol. VI, Part I, 61.

⁴⁴⁹ Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 1934. Berridge & Edwards, *Opium and the People: Opiate Use in Nineteenth-Century England*, 177-

⁴⁵⁰ Alexander, Joseph G. *Indian's Opium Revenue What It Is, and How It should be Dealt with* (London: P. S. King & Son 1890), 14.

⁴⁵¹ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "Opium—Resolution" (04 May 1886).

The ratification of the Chefoo Convention of 1876 in 1885, and the failure of Pease's resolutions in Parliament in 1886 heavily affected the vigour of the Anti-Opium Movement. The initial enthusiasm of anti-opiumists had ebbed, and there were also difficulties between the secretary of the headquarters in London and the travelling organisers. Some SSOT members thought that its objectives had been achieved while others still strove for the elimination of the monopoly in India and termination of the opium trade in China. In January 1886, the society called a meeting to decide if it should continue in the same form or if a monitoring committee might be more suitable in that it would be seen as a less strident form of agitation by the public. Opinions within the society differed as to whether the main focus of the society's attention should be on India or China.⁴⁵²

Benjamin Broomhall, the administrator of the China Inland Mission and a member of the SSOT executive board, served as the general secretary of the CIM at its headquarters in London from 1878 to 1895. In 1888, Broomhall left the SSOT and formed the Christian Union for the Severance of the British Empire with the Opium Traffic. He became the secretary and editor of its periodical *National Righteousness*. It was closely identified with missionary views on the subject of the opium trade, and British missionaries in China had a strong influence on its leadership and supporters. In 1891, the Woman's Anti-Opium Urgency Committee was established. Rachel Braithwaite was its secretary and editor of a leaflet Series called *Britain's Opium Harvest*. The Anti-Opium Urgency Committee was appointed by the National Christian Anti-Opium Convention held in London in March 1891. Other, larger organizations at the convention included: the Friends' Anti-Opium Committee for Suffering, the Anglican Anti-Opium Committee, and the Edinburgh Committee for the Suppression of the Indo-Chinese Opium Traffic. Anti-opium workers were finding ways to approach the

⁴⁵² Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 59-60.

subject through several organisations. Inevitably, the Anti-Opium Movement became relatively weak, but representatives of each society still kept together an anti-opium board to discuss their position and policy from time to time.⁴⁵³

Joseph G. Alexander started an appeal to raise £2,000 to carrying the anti-opium message to the British public and Christian churches. By 1891, more than one hundred anti-opium meetings were held in Britain annually, 1,200 participated in the SSOT annual meetings, and more than 40,000 tracts were distributed. In 1891, 957 petitions were officially signed, and 3,353 petitions with 192,000 signatures were obtained.⁴⁵⁴ In 1891, 957 petitions were officially signed, and 3,353 petitions with 192,000 signatures were obtained.⁴⁵⁵ MP Mark Stewart stated that ‘the opinion of the Christian Churches in this country is that the Indian Government ought no longer to be the producers and manufacturers of this drug’.⁴⁵⁶ The SSOT held a huge meeting at Exeter Hall, the evangelical forum, and nearly 2,500 petitions with about 205,000 signatures were obtained.⁴⁵⁷

5.3. The Period of the Appointment of the RCP to 1906

On 10 April 1891, the president of the SSOT, Joseph Pease attempted again to pass a motion in the House of the Commons. After collecting and citing a large amount of evidence from missionaries in China and recent mission conferences, he declared that ‘the system by which the Indian Opium Revenue is raised is morally indefensible’.⁴⁵⁸ Pease cited Dr.

⁴⁵³ Johnson, “Righteousness before Revenue: the Forgotten Crusade against the Indo-Chinese Opium Trade”, 308-311.

⁴⁵⁴ Berridge & Edwards, *Opium and the People: Opiate Use in Nineteenth- Century England*, 173-194. Harding, *Opiate Addiction, Morality and Medicine*, 31-37.

⁴⁵⁵ Royal Commission on Opium, *First Report of the Royal Commission on Opium with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*, Vol. I (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1894), 4.

⁴⁵⁶ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Trade with China” (3 May 1889).

⁴⁵⁷ *Friend of China* (July 1893), 113.

⁴⁵⁸ Mills, James H. “Colonialism, Cannabis and the Christians: Mission Medical Knowledge and the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission of 1893-4”, *Healing Bodies, Saving Souls: Medical Missions in Asia and Africa*, David Hardiman, ed. (Amsterdam: Rodopi 2006), 169-192, esp. 174.

Medhurst, stating that ‘opium is demoralising China, and become the greatest barrier to the introduction of Christianity which can be conceived of’.⁴⁵⁹ Furthermore, Pease quoted the chief medical missionary at the Shanghai hospital, Dr. Osgood’s opinion that ‘I have never yet heard a heathen Chinaman defend the use or sale of opium; but, on the contrary, they universally condemn them. The only apologists for the use of opium have been representatives of Christian lands’.⁴⁶⁰ David Hill was a well-known dissenting minister at York, whose son was a missionary in central China. Pease used the son’s experience to illustrate his argument, describing how ‘when he went into one of the interior provinces, the city walls were placarded with papers warning the people against his coming, as it was the missionary who brought the opium trade, and who brought Christianity. The two things were coupled together’.⁴⁶¹ The four hour debate session ended with a vote of 160 to 130 in favour of Pease’s motion in the House of Commons.⁴⁶²

By 1891, Pease had presented petitions from Chinese Christians and churches from Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, and the Beijing Anti-Opium Society. The anti-opium forces claimed that 957 petitions were officially signed, whereas, in fact, 2,563 petitions with 213,792 signatures were obtained. In the election of 1892, Christian churches from different denominations, missionary organizations, local parishes, and anti-opium societies became more active.⁴⁶³ The Liberal Party won the election in August 1892, and Gladstone became Prime Minister. Three SSOT members were in the cabinet, and a number of those who had

⁴⁵⁹ Chesson, Frederick W. *The Opium Trade between India and China in Some of Its Present Aspects*. (London: Aborigines Protection Society, 1870), 7.

⁴⁶⁰ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Aug. 1891), 317. “A Record of Eleven Years of the Mission Hospital of Foochow, China, and Four Years of the Foochow Opium Asylum”, *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* (April 1883), 545-552, esp. 549.

⁴⁶¹ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Trade with China” (10 April 1891).

⁴⁶² *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Trade with China” (10 April 1891).

⁴⁶³ Royal Commission on Opium, *First Report of the Royal Commission on Opium with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*, Vol. 1, 4.

voted for the SSOT's previous resolutions held other government posts. Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State for India, was a pro-opium administrator, and George Russell, the Undersecretary, was an anti-opiumist.⁴⁶⁴ The SSOT forces introduced a resolution that a Royal Commission should be appointed to produce a report on the effects, both in India and in England, of the suppression of opium trafficking.⁴⁶⁵

The SSOT which was led by Quakers and Protestant missionaries in China mobilized public agitation to end the opium trade. At the same time, criticism of the trafficking grew in Britain, especially by reformers with strong evangelical backgrounds. The movement also kept up pressure on Parliament to act, through petitions and proposed resolutions, which made it harder for the British government to ignore anti-opium groups. Under the Liberal government and Prime Minister W. E. Gladstone, Parliament finally approved the establishment of the Royal Commission on Opium in 1893.⁴⁶⁶ Gladstone also introduced a motion for the India Office which was later incorporated into the objectives of the Royal Commission on Opium. At this point, the purpose of the investigation shifted from opium-smoking in China to opium eating in India.

Samuel Mervin believed that Gladstone's motion was not only intended to discover if the opium eaters in India wished to continue their habit, but also to attract attention to the cost of prohibition. Mervin claimed: 'The original resolution had sprung out of a moral outcry against the China trade',⁴⁶⁷ and that Gladstone 'ignored the China trade and the effects of

⁴⁶⁴ Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 312-313. *National Righteousness* (Dec. 1892).

⁴⁶⁵ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "Indian Opium Revenue" (30 June 1893).

(1) What retrenchments and reforms can be effected in the military and civil expenditure of India;
(2) By what means Indian resources can be best developed;
(3) What, if any, temporary assistance from the British Exchequer would be required in order to meet any deficit of revenue which would be occasioned by the suppression of the opium traffic.

⁴⁶⁶ Buxton, J. *The Political Economy of Narcotics: Production, Consumption and Global Markets* (London: Zed Books, 2006), 27-29.

⁴⁶⁷ *Success Magazine and the National Post*, Vol. 11 (1908), 208.

opium on the Chinese'.⁴⁶⁸ The anti-opium groups were disappointed with the scope of Gladstone's proposed investigation, but expected that their position would be vindicated by the Royal Commission. However, the Christian lobby were more concerned that the Commission would give the Indian government enough power to influence their findings and whitewash the problem in order to delay ending cultivation of the poppy and the opium trade. Even though the anti-opium forces appealed to the government to establish the Royal Commission, it did not address the issues they wanted to investigate.⁴⁶⁹

Despite their disappointment at the scope of the Royal Commission, the anti-opium leaders were still optimistic and were involved in its establishment. Sir Joseph Pease was asked to name representatives from the anti-opium movement, and Joseph Alexander considered that the appointment of the Royal Commission was the 'the greatest and most solid forward step that the movement for the suppression of the opium trade has yet made'.⁴⁷⁰ Queen Victoria appointed nine members including: Chairman Thomas Brassey; two members who were firmly pro-opium and actively associated with the Indian government, Arthur Fanshawe and James B. Lyall; two anti-opium representatives, namely Arthur Pease, who was the brother of Joseph Pease and part of the council of the SSOT, and the Liberal MP Henry J. Wilson; two Indians, Lakshmeshwar Singh and Haridas V. Desai; and Robert G. C. Mowbray and William Roberts, who had no committed position on the issue.⁴⁷¹ The Commission had to hear evidence in London, and travel to India to inquire and investigate three issues: 'the cost

⁴⁶⁸ Merwin, Samuel. *Drugging a Nation: the Story of China and the Opium Curse, A Personal Investigation During an Extended Tour of the Present Conditions of the Opium Trade in China and Its Effects Upon the Nation* (NY: F. H. Revell Co. 1908), 159-160.

⁴⁶⁹ Johnson, "Righteousness before Revenue: the Forgotten Crusade against the Indo-Chinese Opium Trade", 304-326.

⁴⁷⁰ Royal Commission on Opium, *Final Report of the Royal Commission on Opium with Annexures*, Vol. VI, Part I, 170.

⁴⁷¹ *Friend of China* (Dec. 1894), 72-73. Dikötter, Frank & Lars P. Laamann & Xun Zhou. *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2004), 101. Lodwick, *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917*, 86-87.

of prohibition for India; the effect of opium use on the moral and physical condition of the people; and the opinion of Indians about prohibition'.⁴⁷²

In September 1893, the Commission spent a week in London to hearing the evidence from anti-opium activists Sir Joseph Pease, Joseph Alexander, and Benjamin Broomhall; J. Hudson Taylor, James Legge, and Dr. Maxwell, who were missionaries in China; and several personnel from Indian offices.⁴⁷³ The *Friend of China*, journal stated, 'all that we have seen of those members of the Commission who have attended its sittings in London, and all that we hear of the two Native members of the Commission, leads us to believe that the Commission is as fair-minded and impartial a tribunal as we could have desired to hear our case'.⁴⁷⁴

The Commission moved to India to hear the testimonies of personnel from India, Burma, and other parts of Asia from 18 November 1893 to 22 February 1894. The Indian government was invited by the Royal Commission to arrange 'the course of inquiry, places to be visited, and witnesses'.⁴⁷⁵ In reply, the Indian government suggested witnesses, who could not only give evidence, but also act on behalf of the Indian government when answering certain technical questions. The Indian government declined to search for those who would testify against the opium trade and left the task to the SSOT.⁴⁷⁶ Opposing prohibition strongly supported in both the Indian and English language press. As *The Madras Hindu* stated on 11

⁴⁷² Pietschmann, T. "A Century of International Drug Control", *Bulletin on Narcotics*, Vol. LIX, Nos. 1 & 2 (2007), 1-167, esp. 28. Winther, Paul C. *Anglo-European Science and the Rhetoric of Empire: Malaria, Opium, and British Rule in India, 1756-1895* (Oxford: Lexington, 2003), 11.

⁴⁷³ Royal Commission on Opium, *First Report of the Royal Commission on Opium with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*, Vol. I, a2.

⁴⁷⁴ *Friend of China* (Oct. 1894), 146. *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Jan. 1894), 46.

⁴⁷⁵ Royal Commission on Opium, *Final Report of the Commission on Opium with Annexures*, Vol. VI, Part I, 3.

⁴⁷⁶ Royal Commission on Opium, *Proceedings Vol. V, Appendices with Correspondence on the Subject of Opium with the Straits Settlement and China Appendices* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1894), 362.

May 1895, ‘Opium may be a great evil, but national bankruptcy is a greater evil’.⁴⁷⁷

J. G. Alexander, the secretary of the SSOT, travelled to India with the Commission, and recruited Rev. Thomas Evans. Alexander was reported to ‘ably and energetically represent [the SSOT’s] interests’, and sent Evans a ‘well-known Indian temperance pioneer...to get evidence ready for the Commission’.⁴⁷⁸ Alexander gave his opinion to the temperance committee, stating ‘if India does not want protection from the opium habit, such as we possess at home, we don’t wish to force it on her—to protect China is our great aim, and we are quite determined that in carrying out that aim India shall not be made to suffer peculiarly’.⁴⁷⁹ The Royal Commission made a clear statement about how it would take evidence and evaluate testimony, and also explained its intention to be objective.⁴⁸⁰ The accounts we have from Alexander’s Journal and Letters and articles in the *Friend of China* from 28 October to 14 December 1893, describe how the progress of the Commission was followed attentively by the British and Indian public, and anti-opium reformers. The *London Times* published a summary of witnesses’ evidence at every day’s setting almost on a daily basis. In India, the progress was reported regularly in both English and Indian language publications. Wilson and Alexander also send dispatches back to the SSOT for publication in its monthly journal *Friend of China*.⁴⁸¹

Protestant missionaries campaigned against the opium trade and promoted complete prohibition. Bishop J. M. Thoburn from the American Methodist Episcopal Church, had spent

⁴⁷⁷ Chandra, Bipan, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India: Economic Policies of Indian National Leadership, 1880-1905* (New Delhi: People’s Pub. House, 1966), 567. Sahu, Ananta C. *Some Aspects of British Trade Policy in India* (New Delhi: Ashish Pub. House, 1985), 83.

⁴⁷⁸ *Friend of China* (Jan. 1894), 202.

⁴⁷⁹ *Friend of China* (Jan. 1894), 194.

⁴⁸⁰ Royal Commission on Opium, *Final Report of the Commission on Opium with Annexures*, Vol. VI, Part I, 15.

⁴⁸¹ Richards, John F. “Opium and the British Indian Empire: The Royal Commission on Opium of 1895”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (May 2002), 375–420.

34 years in India and Malaysia. On 20 November 1893, he spoke at the eighth day of the hearings and provided a view of the Indian population that was representative of the views of many missionaries at the time. About 50,000 natives were under his spiritual supervision, and he testified that he had been convinced for many years that opium was a great evil. He described how the public generally viewed opium use as an unrespectable vice and opium users as untrustworthy. Thoburn considered prohibiting the cultivation and sale of opium except for medical use because of the dangers associated with the habitual use of opium. He stated that anyone who used opium would not be allowed in the churches and if a Christian became an opium-consumer, then that person would be disciplined because it was considered as ‘inconsistent with a correct Christian life’.⁴⁸²

Rev. Estans, a missionary in India for forty years, stated that in all the villages he visited, prohibition was supported by the majority. Rev. Philips from the LMS, stated that he had never heard that opium would protect people against fever, and suggested a tax on tobacco to cover the loss to the revenue.⁴⁸³ Dr. Wallace, a medical practitioner from Calcutta, denied the effectiveness of opium as a cure for malarial fever, and he thought the trading of opium should be strictly limited.⁴⁸⁴ However, pro-opium witnesses’ testimonies out-weighed the anti-opiumists’ evidence. For example, the evidence given by Sir David Barbour stated that the prohibition of opium cultivation would ‘excite the gravest discontent, and do serious damage to the districts where it was pursued’.⁴⁸⁵ He stated with concern that the administration would be totally unsupported if the opium revenue were lost. The Bengal

⁴⁸² Royal Commission on Opium, *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Royal Commission on Opium between 18th November and 29th December 1893 with Appendices*, Vol. II (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1894), 15-18.

⁴⁸³ “The Opium Commission”, *The Lancet*, Vol. 142, Issue 3668 (16 Dec. 1893), 1531.

⁴⁸⁴ “The Opium Commission”, 1531.

⁴⁸⁵ “The Opium Commission”, 1531.

Chamber of Commerce sent a letter to the Government and stated that £300,000,000 would be needed to replace the loss of the revenue.⁴⁸⁶

The staff of the commission were all Indian officials, and the secretary returned to London with other members and continued to draft the commission's reports at the India Office. These were completed by his successor, R. M. Dane, an Indian official who was on tour with the commission. Dane arranged for witnesses to go to London, helped with the final report, and contributed two historical appendices.⁴⁸⁷ The Royal Commission spent more than one year in preparing the report after its investigation in India and the final report was submitted to Queen Victoria on 16 April 1895.⁴⁸⁸ The Commission's general conclusion was as follows: 'The gloomy descriptions presented to British audiences of extensive moral and physical degradation by opium, have not been accepted by the witnesses representing the people. Nor by those most responsible for the government of the country'.⁴⁸⁹ It was a devastating and heavy blow to the anti-opium movement, and managed to delay ending the

⁴⁸⁶ "The Opium Commission", 1532.

⁴⁸⁷ Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 312.

⁴⁸⁸ Royal Commission on Opium, *Final Report of the Commission on Opium with Annexures*, Vol. VI, Part I, 95-97.

I. (a.) It has not been shown to be necessary, or to be demanded by the people, that the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purpose... (b.) The authoritative extension of such prohibition to the Native States would be an interference on the part of the Paramount Power, for which we can find no precedent and no justification, and which would be resented by the Chiefs and their people... (c.) The prohibition... involves the destruction of the export trade in Bengal opium from Calcutta to China and elsewhere, which would inflict a very heavy loss of public revenue on the Government and people of India.

II. A duty could not now be terminated with justice except by voluntary agreement, which, if obtained at all, would involve large pecuniary compensation, both to the State and private individuals, and also a heavy loss of public revenue to the Government of India.

III. The finances of India are not in a condition to bear the charges for compensation, the cost of the necessary preventive measures, and the loss of revenue would result from the adoption of a policy of prohibition.

IV. The regulations for the restriction of the consumption of opium may be amended in various particulars. We are not prepared to make recommendations without careful study of details.

V. We have made exhaustive inquiry into the consumption of opium in India and its effects. We find no evidence of extensive more or physical degradation from its use.

VI. The testimony laid before us has been unanimous that the people of India would be unwilling to bear the cost of prohibitive measures.

⁴⁸⁹ Royal Commission on Opium, *Final Report of the Commission on Opium with Annexures*, Vol. VI, Part I, 94.

opium trade for another fifteen years.

The representatives of anti-opiumists in the Royal Commission, Arthur Pease and Henry Wilson, came to different conclusions. Arthur Pease, one of the founders, member of the general council of the SSOT, converted and voted with majority of the Commission without dissent. Pease's conversion to the pro-opium argument was seen to validate the Commission's conclusions, and later he withdrew his membership from the SSOT. His sudden change of opinion remained an unsolved mystery to his anti-opium friends.⁴⁹⁰

Henry Wilson wrote a minute of dissent addressing what he saw as issues of unfairness relating to the procedures of the Commission. The unfair issues included the distortion of missionaries' testimonies, and the imbalance of the 722 witnesses. The 191 native anti-opiumists were not equal in wealth and social position with the 487 pro-opiumists who represented the great majority of the official classes (44 witnesses were neutral or unclassified.). Moreover, 62 of the witnesses were missionaries, and only 18 of them were from China, and merchants and consular officials from China denied the evils of opium altogether.⁴⁹¹ Therefore, Wilson did not think that

...the whole of the facts were presented to us with the impartiality and completeness due to such an inquiry. The report adopted by my colleagues appears to me to partake more of the character of an elaborate defence of the opium trade of the East India Company, and of the present Government of India, than of a judicial pronouncement on the immediate questions submitted to us.⁴⁹²

Wilson also complained about the conduct of the Indian government for picking pro-government witnesses and his colleagues for misrepresenting the testimonies in their reports

⁴⁹⁰ *Friend of China* (Oct. 1898), 88-90.

⁴⁹¹ Royal Commission on Opium, *Final Report of the Commission on Opium with Annexures*, Vol. VI, Part I, 137-150.

⁴⁹² Royal Commission on Opium, *Final Report of the Commission on Opium with Annexures*, Vol. VI, Part I, 151.

during the course of the investigation.⁴⁹³

On 24 May 1895, during the debate on the Commission's final report in Parliament, Joseph Pease denounced the India office as having unduly influenced the report, asserting 'The whole power and the money of the Indian Government were against the subscribers of the anti-opium movement.'⁴⁹⁴ John Ellis also denounced the report, stating: 'The whole thing was the most complete inversion of the ordinary rule to which we were accustomed in this country when it was desired to elicit the truth upon any question'.⁴⁹⁵ The Indian government was accused of duplicitous actions including: 'misleading circulars, prescribed questions, suggestions in a particular direction, examination and filtration of evidence, and withholding of certain witnesses'.⁴⁹⁶ Pease also introduced an anti-opium motion which was very similar to the 1891 motion in the House of Commons, but it lost heavily, 176 to 59. The anti-opium forces suffered their worst defeat since 1870, and had been outmanoeuvred at every turn.⁴⁹⁷

The Report of the Royal Commission on Opium was described by *The Lancet* as 'a crushing blow to the anti-opium faddists' and asserted that the claims of the anti-opiumists had been 'either ridiculously exaggerated or even altogether unfounded'.⁴⁹⁸ *The Lancet* noted: 'There was a marked preponderance of testimony in favour of the view that the common use of opium in India is moderate use leading to no evident ill-effects, and that excess is

⁴⁹³ Royal Commission on Opium, *Proceedings Vol. V, Appendices with Correspondence on the Subject of Opium with the Straits Settlement and China Appendices*, 368-369.

⁴⁹⁴ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Commission." (24 May 1895).

⁴⁹⁵ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Commission." (24 May 1895).

⁴⁹⁶ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Commission" (24 May 1895).

⁴⁹⁷ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Commission" (24 May 1895).

⁴⁹⁸ "The Report of the Royal Commission on Opium", *The Lancet*, Vol. 145, Issue 3739 (27 April 1895), 1078. Richards, "Opium and the British Indian Empire", 375- 420. DeGrandpre, Richard, *The Cult of Pharmacology: How America Became the World's Most Troubled Drug* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 125.

exceptional and condemned by public opinion'.⁴⁹⁹ When the pro-opium conclusions of the Commission's report became clear, the anti-opium activists took action. In January 1894, Joseph Alexander resigned his position as a paid secretary and requested to become the Honorary Secretary (unpaid) of the SSOT. He only requested reimbursement for his expenses in order to show to any doubters that 'no pecuniary interest might interfere with his advocacy of the cause' as 'single-minded and determined as he was to work with his full strength in many an unpopular cause'.⁵⁰⁰ Alexander visited China after the hearing ended in India, and presented a proposal for a ten-year agreement to prohibit the opium trade. However, the SSOT board instead advocated for an immediate prohibition. In late 1894, a representative Committee of Anti-Opium Societies was established. Joshua Rowntree, an active Quaker and a MP from 1886 to 1892, was elected as its chairman. G. A. Wilson was hired as a new paid secretary by the SSOT and Alexander remained as an active Honorary Secretary. In 1895, Rowntree was committed to study the evidence given to the Royal Commission on Opium and write an analysis of its report.⁵⁰¹

The Conservative Party was in power from the election of June 1895 until 1905, and Prime Minister Salisbury, the former secretary of State for India, was strongly pro-opium. The Ant-Opium movement was at a low point. The *Friend of China* became a biannual journal, and *National Righteousness* was only published annually. The anti-opium organization's annual executive committee meeting was irregular, and the organization itself was in financial debt. However, Wilson's minority opinion on opium issues, reprinted in the *Friend of China* and other pamphlets, was widely read. Furthermore, Rowntree's *Study of the Evidence*

⁴⁹⁹ "The Report of the Royal Commission on Opium", 1078. *International Clinics: A Quarterly of Clinical Lectures* (1902), 18.

⁵⁰⁰ Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 61.

⁵⁰¹ Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 62-95.

provided anti-opium activists with ammunition with which to discredit the Commission's report. His later book, *The Imperial Drug Trade*, was a well-documented work on the British drug policy from an anti-opium perspective. Another notable book was *An Examination and An Appeal* by Arnold Foster, a missionary in China from the LMS. Foster compared the evidence in China that was submitted to the Commission and the Commission's report in 1899. It also contained a preface signed by 147 notable anti-opium activists including the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵⁰²

Rowntree studied five volumes of the report and dealt with numerous questions regarding why selling opium to the Chinese was an important commercial concern for Britain. Quoting Thomas Wade's testimony, Rowntree summed up the problem for Britain: 'Our grand difficulty with China is that we never have anything to offer'.⁵⁰³ With regard to the subject of opium consumption in China and the revenue Britain received from it, the Royal Commission sent questionnaires to the British consuls in China. Consul Bullock replied that the best information about opium use in China would come from the first-hand accounts of missionaries working there. He wrote:

I can testify to the experience and competence of the writers. The papers are for the most part furnished by missionaries. But missionaries in China, speaking the language, constantly moving about, and always in close contact with the people, are able to give far more trustworthy opinions on such a subject than any other class of persons can, though many of them, of course, have strong opinions concerning it.⁵⁰⁴

Rowntree's study stated that, although nine-tenths of all of the opium produced in British India was intended for export to China, this fact was not thoroughly investigated by the Commission. Rowntree asked two key questions; one was 'whether England forced opium on

⁵⁰² Beattie, Hilary J. "Protestant Missions and Opium in China, 1858-1895", *Harvard Papers on China*, 22A (May 1969), 104-133.

⁵⁰³ Rowntree, *The Opium Habit in the East*, 86.

⁵⁰⁴ Rowntree, *The Opium Habit in the East*, 89.

China' and the other was 'whether China was now free to refuse it'.⁵⁰⁵ Joseph Pease asserted that 'the forced introduction of English opium into China, stimulated very much the home growth' in that country.⁵⁰⁶ James Legge reported a Chinese view which was expressed to him by the first Chinese Ambassador to England Guo Songtao in 1877 When Guo discovered that Legge thought that the English were more virtuous than the Chinese, Guo retorted, 'You say that England, looked at from a moral standpoint, is better than China; why then, let me ask you, has English tried to force upon China her opium, and still continues to do so?'⁵⁰⁷

Horatio N. Lay who was in China for seventeen years and attached to Lord's Elgin's mission testified: 'The pretence that we have forced opium on the Chinese is fustian, and they (the Chinese authorities) are only making those statements for the purpose of damaging the English'.⁵⁰⁸ Lay's opinion was that the clause to make opium contraband, inserted by the Americans in their treaty with China, 'was intended as a slap in the face for the English'. Lay continued, asserting that the Chinese 'have encouraged our opium, and we, by allowing the Chinese to overtax it, have stimulated the growth of the native article enormously in every province. I think that the most short-sighted policy that ever was pursued on our part'.⁵⁰⁹ J. G. Alexander also held the position that 'Rutherford Alcock was substantially justified in telling the East India Finance Committee of 1871, "We have forced the Chinese Government to enter into a treaty to allow their subjects to take opium"'.⁵¹⁰

With regard to whether China wished to stop the importation of opium with twelve months notice under the Chefoo Convention as per the Indian Government's statement. Dr.

⁵⁰⁵ Rowntree, *The Opium Habit in the East*, 85.

⁵⁰⁶ Rowntree, *The Opium Habit in the East*, 85.

⁵⁰⁷ Rowntree, *The Opium Habit in the East*, 85.

⁵⁰⁸ Rowntree, *The Opium Habit in the East*, 86.

⁵⁰⁹ Rowntree, *The Opium Habit in the East*, 86.

⁵¹⁰ Rowntree, *The Opium Habit in the East*, 87.

James L. Maxwell disputed that because even if China terminated the Chefoo Convention, then the Treaty of Tianjin would revive, so 'China would not be free to deal with opium as she might wish'.⁵¹¹ On the question of opium in China, Rowntree noted that the medical evidence from China directly contradicted the evidence given by Indian doctors about the effectiveness of opium in preventing malaria. Rowntree argued: 'The sooner the opium trade to China is stopped, the sooner will be closed the record, in the words of the late Earl of Shaftesbury, of "a sin and a shame"'.⁵¹²

Rowntree's study concluded with what he viewed as the two errors in these five volumes. The first was 'the announcement that the policy of Government had been greatly to diminish the cultivation of the poppy in India'; and the second was that 'China could, by terminating her existing engagement with regard to Opium, put herself into a position of perfect freedom with regard to its import for the future'.⁵¹³ Rowntree pointed out that 'both of these statements were made and confirmed by responsible statesmen in their official capacity, and both are shown beyond all gain-saying to be mis-statements of the actual facts'.⁵¹⁴ Rowntree analysed the Commission's report and raised many criticisms which discredited it. His criticism was successful. His judgment was that the Royal Commission on Opium, appointed by the British Parliament whitewashed completely the opium problem and rubber-stamped the opium trade and monopoly. Rowntree's conclusions were accepted by much of the British public and have been supported by numerous modern scholars.

The second major work to challenge the report of the Commission was Arnold Foster's *The Report of the Royal Commission on Opium Compared with the Evidence from*

⁵¹¹ Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*, 137-138.

⁵¹² *Friend of China* (May 1895), 144.

⁵¹³ Rowntree, *The Opium Habit in the East*, 103.

⁵¹⁴ Rowntree, *The Opium Habit in the East*, 104.

China that was submitted to the Commission: An Examination and An Appeal. It was published in 1899 with a preface signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, six bishops of the Church of England and 141 other eminent persons in Britain and China. The signatories included J. G. Alexander from the SSOT; J. B. Braithwaite from the British and Foreign Bible Society; William Wright from the Society of Friends and; B. Broomhall, late founder of the Christian Union; Theodore Howard and Archibald Orr-Ewing from the China Inland Mission; R. W. Thompson from the London Missionary Society; H. E. Fox and Eugene Stock from the Church Mission Society; James E. Maxwell from the London Medical Missionary Association; Henry M. Williamson from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church; H. Arnold Thomas from the Congregational Union of England and Wales; George Williams the president of the Young Men's Christian Association; Joseph W. Pease, Joshua Rowntree, and Basil Wilberforce who was the Canon of Westminster. As well as presidents of the anti-opium organizations, secretaries of various protestant mission societies and medical doctors, other signatories included church leaders and members of Parliament.⁵¹⁵

In Foster's study, he only devoted attention to the part of the Commission's report which referred to China. Foster was from the LMS and had lived in China over twenty years, so he was fluent in Chinese and acquainted with current events. Foster only used the anti-opium evidence which had been presented to the Royal Commission in his book, and then systematically set about proving that the conclusion directly conflicted with the evidence. He gave two examples from the Commission's conclusion. One was 'in British Consular service in China, the prevailing opinion is that opium smoking in moderation is not harmful, and that moderation is the rule... The medical opinions were in general accord with those of the Consular body'; another was 'there is no evidence from China of any popular desire that the

⁵¹⁵ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, iii-vi.

import of Indian opium should be stopped'.⁵¹⁶

From Foster's own 'personal knowledge of Chinese feeling and opinion, and of medical opinion in China',⁵¹⁷ he felt that these statements were not in accordance with the facts, so he dedicated himself to study the Chinese evidence in the report of the Commission. He stated, 'The result of this examination showed beyond possibility of gainsaying': first, 'the Commissioners had received a considerable body of evidence from China of a popular desire that the import of Indian opium should be stopped, and that this evidence was both weighty in character and emphatic in tone'; secondly, the proposition that 'opium smoking in moderation is not harmful'.⁵¹⁸ Actually, when actually the majority of the medical witness in China which the Commission had before them asserted the opposite opinion. Foster stated these discrepancies between the evidence and the report were 'sufficiently unsatisfactory to awaken grave suspicions as to the trustworthiness of the China Report as a whole'.⁵¹⁹

After Foster examined more evidence, he was led to consider 'the general attitude of the Commission towards the whole questions submitted to them, and their treatment of all China evidence that was adverse to the export opium trade of the Indian Government'.⁵²⁰ On the moral objection to the India export of opium trade, it was often argued that if Britain did not to supply China with opium, China would supply herself with opium. Foster claimed that Joseph Pease already dealt with this question on the day of the Commission's hearing at Westminster. Pease stated, 'That is an argument which is well met in Dymond's 'Essay on Morality'. I have no right to do that which is wrong, if it is wrong, because somebody else is

⁵¹⁶ Royal Commission on Opium, *Final Report of the Commission on Opium with Annexures*, Vol. VI, Part I, 51, 61.

⁵¹⁷ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 1.

⁵¹⁸ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 1

⁵¹⁹ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 2.

⁵²⁰ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 2.

going to do wrong'.⁵²¹ Foster found support for his critical views on the Commission's findings in a statement in the Minority Report of Henry J. Wilson, a member of the Royal Commissioners. Wilson stated, 'however that may be, a traffic which is contrary to the principles of humanity cannot be justified on the ground that, if we do not engage in it, it will fall into the hands of others who have no such scruples'.⁵²² Foster criticized the Commission because it based its justification for the continuation of the opium trade on the very grounds which Pease and Wilson condemned.

With regard to the Commission's statement that 'there is no evidence from China of any popular desire that the import of Indian opium should be stopped',⁵²³ Foster examined evidence presented by witnesses in or from China. Yu Keng-pak, the son of the Chief Secretary at the Governor's Yamen in Guangzhou, said that 'they [Britain] may take the opportunity of joining heart and soul in the suppression of the cultivation and sale of opium'. Furthermore, he urged, 'There is no room for empty excuses, let them make haste to help China and do away with this huge evil'.⁵²⁴ Dr. Cousland, a medical missionary of the English Presbyterian Mission, said that an influential Chinese gentleman had organised a large petition which was 'signed by all the officials, literati, gentry, and business men, to be presented to the Queen of England, begging her not to send any opium to China'.⁵²⁵ Lu Pao-yu, a Chinese literate official writer, said, 'Every chest of opium imported is so much injury

⁵²¹ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 7.

⁵²² Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 7-8.

⁵²³ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 8. Royal Commission on Opium, *Final Report of the Commission on Opium with Annexures*, Vol. VI, Part I, 61.

⁵²⁴ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 8. *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Jan. 1896), 24.

⁵²⁵ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 9. Foster, Arnold. "The Report of the Opium Commission", *The Contemporary Review* (July 1898), 121-138, esp. 130. Royal Commission on Opium, *Proceedings Vol. V, Appendices with Correspondence on the Subject of Opium with the Straits Settlement and China appendices*, 241.

to the people, and the flood of poison is never ending'.⁵²⁶ Rev. J. Macgowan said that when missionaries travelled to the interior preaching the Gospel, they were charged that 'his practice is not consistent with his teaching, they say that his countrymen, having brought opium to destroy the Chinese, he is so far involved in their wrong'.⁵²⁷ Foster also provided more evidence from other sources including: Chinese citizens, the British consul, medical doctors, further evidence from J. Hudson Taylor, and a memorandum from British missionaries who had all been in China for at least 25 years. Foster used these sources to discredit the conclusions of the Commission.⁵²⁸

Foster criticised the Commission's pro-opium bias and how they had based their conclusions on the partial, or out of context, evidence of missionaries. Such missionaries included: J. Hudson Taylor, the founder of the CIM; James Legge, a missionary in China for 33 years and a professor of Chinese at Oxford University; James L. Maxwell, a medical doctor from the English Presbyterian Mission; and Broomhall, general secretary of the CIM and the founder of Christian Union. They gave evidence before the Commission and presented a memorandum denouncing the use of opium and the opium trade. It was signed by 5,000 medical men in Britain; ten of them were fellows of the Royal Society and 35 had practiced medicine either in India or China.⁵²⁹ However, the Commission concluded that 'the evidence of these witnesses was practically unanimous as to the evil effects of opium-smoking upon the Chinese, though that of Dr. W. Lockhart, a medical missionary of the London Missionary Society, was less pronounced than that of the others'.⁵³⁰ Actually

26. ⁵²⁶ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 9. *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Jan. 1896),

⁵²⁷ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 10.

⁵²⁸ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 10.

⁵²⁹ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 18.

⁵³⁰ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 17.

Lockhart had told them that he did not allow any opium-smoker to be a member of his church because of ‘the disgrace they brought upon themselves and their fellow-converts by smoking opium’.⁵³¹ Lockhart stated before the Commission:

Many of them take it in small quantities. It is not particularly injurious to them if they continue to take in small quantities, but it is so seductive a thing, that they very generally increase it; and if they fall into evil circumstances and become poor, they take it in larger quantities.⁵³²

Nonetheless, the Commission’s report made it seem as if Dr. Lockhart was the only medical missionary who had given testimony, which conveniently supported their conclusion that if people only took small quantities, it was not particularly injurious, but his view of the evils wrought by opium was ‘less pronounced’.⁵³³

The Commission had stated that ‘by the majority of the missionaries of every Christian community in China the use of opium is strongly condemned’,⁵³⁴ and then quoted two missionaries who dissented from that opinion. One was W. Ashmore, who had worked for the American Baptist Mission in China for 43 years. Ashmore’s evidence, as quoted in the report, was that, ‘some men will use opium for years and show no marked results’.⁵³⁵ However, his unedited statement continues in a way that qualifies this assertion: ‘some men of vigorous vitality will use opium for many years and not show marked results. Others show the effects almost immediately in a general, physical, and moral deterioration’.⁵³⁶

The Commission concluded that the use of opium in China was comparable to the use of alcohol in Britain, an opinion commonly held by the pro-opium party in Britain. Foster refuted the statement and argued that there was no true parallel between these two because

⁵³¹ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 19.

⁵³² Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 19.

⁵³³ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 19.

⁵³⁴ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 21.

⁵³⁵ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 21.

⁵³⁶ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 22.

opium was commonly used for suicide in China, but alcohol, in Britain, was not.⁵³⁷ Foster also quoted evidence from witnesses in China that highlighted the serious harm that opium caused both to individuals and to Chinese society as a whole:

There does not seem much hope for the juvenescence of China so long as this terrible evil remains in their midst....If the habit continues to spread, the Chinese race is doomed to decrepitude, there can be no hope of general social improvement or of physical and intellectual vigour among a race of opium smokers.⁵³⁸

At the end of Foster's book, he appealed for 'the Report of the Opium Commission must be overthrown'.⁵³⁹ He wrote that opium habits contributed to the present weakness of China, and 'nothing can save China unless she can shake herself free from opium'.⁵⁴⁰ Foster recognized that if Britain had not pursued the opium policy in China during the last forty years, then China would never have fallen to 'the condition of helplessness in which she now lies'.⁵⁴¹ Calling on Britain to help China to end the opium trade, Foster expressed concerns that other nations might accept the Commission's report as an accurate assessment and enter 'with a light heart into competition with the Indian Government in this miserable trade'.⁵⁴²

In the view of David E. Owen, 'The achievements of the inquiry were wholly quantitative. The report was an impressive document, but the changes which it produced in terms of British opium policy were so trivial as to be unworthy of mention'.⁵⁴³ However, Owen acknowledged that historians were more interested in the process of producing the report than its content. He argued that Lord Brassey made crucial errors in giving over the commission to the Indian government and their officials, allowing themselves to be managed

⁵³⁷ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 34.

⁵³⁸ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 35.

⁵³⁹ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 38.

⁵⁴⁰ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 38.

⁵⁴¹ Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 39.

⁵⁴² Foster, *An Examination and An Appeal*, 39.

⁵⁴³ Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 319-320. Johnson, "Righteousness before Revenue: The Forgotten Moral Crusade against the Indo-Chinese Opium Trade", 315.

by the Indian authorities, and that ‘the auspices under which its inquiry was conducted prejudiced the acceptance of its conclusion’.⁵⁴⁴ Another of Owen’s criticisms of the report was that China imported and consumed more than nine-tenths of the opium produced by India, but received comparatively little attention in the report. Also troubling for Owen, China was not mentioned, and if ‘the opium habit was pernicious, China was the place to study its effects, not Calcutta and Patna’.⁵⁴⁵ Testimonies about the opium situation in China, taken from missionaries and diplomats during the hearing in London was also mishandled. The majority of missionaries strongly condemned the use of opium and only three took a less pronounced view. However, the writers of the report cited two of the three who were not obviously anti-opium, giving undue weight to their minority opinion.⁵⁴⁶

Arthur Davenport attempted to attack the missionary witnesses who had spoken against opium and discredit the accusation that England had forced opium on China.⁵⁴⁷ In April 1902, the Archbishop of Canterbury sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister from the anti-opium societies in Britain which was intended to counter Davenport’s attacks. It was signed by the leaders of: the Church of England, the Church of Ireland, the Church of Scotland, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, and the Society of Friends. It was also endorsed by the anti-opium society.⁵⁴⁸ An extract from the memorandum asserted:

That British action in respect to the importation of opium into China had had disastrous results. That the use of Opium in China is a vast national curse, and that assertions to the contrary can be met decisively by the public testimony of disinterested Chinese statement of today. That accordingly it is unworthy of a great Christian power to be commercially interested, in any degree, in the supply of Opium in China.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁴ Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 323-324.

⁵⁴⁵ Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 324-325.

⁵⁴⁶ Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 325.

⁵⁴⁷ Davenport, Arthur. *China from Within: A Study of Opium Fallacies and Missionary Mistake* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1904), 312.

⁵⁴⁸ Lodwick, *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917*, 63.

⁵⁴⁹ *Friend of China* (April 1902), 26-27.

Archdeacon Moule who opened the debate on opium at the first Protestant Conference in China in 1887, had followed this issue with deep interest ever since. Before he returned to China after visiting England in 1902, a farewell meeting was held at Lambeth Palace. The Archbishop of Canterbury presented a certificate to him on behalf of the anti-opium society in recognition of his service to the cause.⁵⁵⁰ The Archbishop told him: 'I empower you to tell the people of China that the Church of England and all Christian people in England are in the fullest sympathy with the anti-opium movement and will do all in their power to bring it to a successful result'.⁵⁵¹ With strong evangelical language, the SSOT blamed opium as an obstruction to the progress of Christianity in China because the Chinese could not distinguish white missionaries from white opium traders at that time. A. Hosie, who later investigated poppy cultivation in China, stated: 'For every soul our missionaries sent to heaven from China the British Government were sending ten to hell by this traffic'.⁵⁵²

If the publication of the Royal Commission's report on Opium in 1895 marked the beginning of the stagnation of the Anti-Opium Movement, then the increased resignations from anti-opium societies intensified the sense among its members that it was in decline. This feeling was further compounded by the defeat of Pease's motion and the election of the Conservative Party. The report came to be used to justify the government policy in India, which was disastrous for the anti-opium forces, inhibiting them from making progress on the opium problem for almost two decades. The following decade marked a low point in the Anti-Opium Movement, and it took over ten years for the anti-opiumists to recover after being defeated so emphatically in Parliament by the Indian Government. The matter was not raised

⁵⁵⁰ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 646-648.

⁵⁵¹ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 648

⁵⁵² *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Traffic" (30 May 1906).

again in Parliament until 1906 after the Liberal Party returned to power in 1905.⁵⁵³

5.4. The Period from 1906 to the End of the Opium Trade

There were remarkable changes of attitude on the opium question in the West from the early 1900s. Even though English people had been misled for a long time on the subject of the true nature of the opium trade, public opinion was beginning to change. Many causes contributed to this shift in opinion, but there were three principal causes for this change in popular sentiment. They were ‘the Report of the Philippines Opium Commission, the object lesson afforded by Japan, and the anti-opium laws enacted in some of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire’.⁵⁵⁴

The U.S. Philippine Commission on Opium was established in 1903 to investigate opium use and study laws regulating the use and trade of opium. The Commission was composed of Edward C. Carter, a major in the US Army, as its chairman; Jose Albert, a Filipino medical doctor; and Rev. Charles H. Brent, the Episcopal bishop of the Philippine Islands. The Commission met with diplomats, missionaries, and businessmen on its visit to Shanghai. Their testimonies showed that opium use was harmful, and moderate users were unknown. This conclusion was supported by the evidence the Commission had gathered from other cities.⁵⁵⁵ The Commission reported its findings in 1904 and recommended that opium should be ‘made immediately a strict government monopoly’, and that no opium should be imported, brought, or introduced into the Philippines after three years except for medical use by the government. The committee also learned from Japanese authorities that the use of

⁵⁵³ Johnson, “A Forgotten Moral Crusade: The Victorian Anti-Opium Movement”, 372-378.

⁵⁵⁴ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 388.

⁵⁵⁵ United States, War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs. *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Philippine Commission to Investigate the Use of Opium and the Traffic Therein and the Rules, Ordinances and Laws Regulating Such Use and Traffic in Japan, Formosa, Shanghai, Hongkong, Saigon, Singapore, Burmah, Java, and the Philippine Islands* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 3-4.

opium was regarded as a vice and horror in Japan, and pointed out that ‘China’s curse has been Japan’s warning’.⁵⁵⁶

A sign that victory for the anti-opium forces was in sight finally appeared in England as the publication of Joshua Rowntree’s work *The Imperial Drug Trade* again revived a sense of moral responsibility to end the evil of the opium trade.⁵⁵⁷ In the introduction, Rowntree highlighted what the publication of the Opium Commission Report had showed:

A recrudescence of materialism in the national life threw ethical considerations for a time into the background. Ideals for the betterment of humanity have not prospered. War has cast its deadly shadow over the comity of nations, and selfishness, if only on a sufficiently large scale, has been greatly exalted. The victory for the moment has rested with the forces of organised wealth. These causes have all favoured non-interference in an exceptionally lucrative branch of commerce, carried on with all the prestige of the British Empire.⁵⁵⁸

However, Rowntree observed that ‘the signs of the times suggest that the world is getting through the trough of its recent moral depression’.⁵⁵⁹

The election of 1906 which brought the Liberals into power finally turned the tide in favour of the Anti-Opium Movement, and the society no longer lacked champions. Many new MPs were members of the nonconformist churches who had already been actively involved in the crusade against the opium trade for several years. The general election voted in about 250 new members of Parliament who expressed their support for the anti-opium cause formally and made public their approval for the policies of the anti-opium society. Many were ready to combat the evil of the opium trade and wished to see the stain cleared from Britain’s name in

⁵⁵⁶ United States, *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Philippine*, 21-22. Anti-Opium League in China. *Opium in the Orient: Report of the Philippine Commission* (Shanghai: Anti-Opium League in China, 1905), 23-24. Derks, Hans. *History of the Opium Problem: The Assault on the East, ca. 1600 - 1950* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 540. *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* (Dec. 1906), 886.

⁵⁵⁷ Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 129.

⁵⁵⁸ Rowntree, *The Imperial Drug Trade*, vii-viii.

⁵⁵⁹ Rowntree, *The Imperial Drug Trade*, viii.

Asia.⁵⁶⁰ John Morley became the head of the India Office, and Edward Grey became foreign secretary. They both had supported Joseph Pease's motion in 1891 which declared that the opium trade was 'morally indefensible', and they played an important role in the elimination of opium traffic. John Ellis who had been a leader of the anti-opium society for years became an under-secretary of the India office.⁵⁶¹

On 30 May 1906, Theodore Taylor introduced a motion in the House of Commons, arguing that the opium trade was 'morally indefensible' and requesting the government to bring it to an end. Taylor pointed out that the House had not discussed this subject for eleven years, and a debate was overdue because of the change of public opinion evident from the correspondence and telegrams they had recently received.⁵⁶² He noted that the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium mainly dealt with opium-eating in India, not opium-smoking in China, and gave a warning to the House of Commons:

The missionaries of all sects and nationalities in China were against us. European and American medical men in China were against us. The best classes among the Chinese themselves, not only in China but everywhere where the Chinese had settled, were against the traffic.⁵⁶³

Taylor asked how long Britain would support the trade, and argued that 'if it were true that opium was to China a great curse, then the revenue argument would not stand. Wrong could not be justified by revenue nor misery by money'. He further asserted: 'This hideous traffic had two sides—the Chinese got their sensual pleasure and paid a terrible price for it, but was not the money we got in return the wages of our national sin?'⁵⁶⁴ During the debate, Dr. Rutherford, a medical professional, also claimed, 'Opium was after all a narcotic poison' from

⁵⁶⁰ Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*, 150.

⁵⁶¹ Lim, Margaret J. B. *Britain and the Termination of the India-China Opium Trade, 1905-1913* (London: University of London, 1969), 49.

⁵⁶² *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Traffic" (30 May 1906).

⁵⁶³ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Traffic" (30 May 1906).

⁵⁶⁴ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Traffic" (30 May 1906).

a scientific aspect. He was the first person who gave his opinion from strictly scientific and medical aspects on the subject in the House of Commons.

The Secretary of State for India Mr. Morley declared that if China sincerely wanted to restrict the consumption of opium in China, then the British government would be willing to cooperate.⁵⁶⁵ With respect to the revenue that Britain received from the opium trade, Mr. Morley admitted that it should not and could not be relied upon because the average revenue from opium between 1880 and 1894 was £5,000,000, but it fell to £3,000,000 between 1894 and 1905. Moreover, the opium revenue which had been fourteen percent of the aggregate revenue in 1880, was now, in 1905 only seven percent.⁵⁶⁶ Theodore Taylor's motion passed unanimously without division in the House, and finally the anti-opium forces had achieved their goal. J. G. Alexander and others were a 'happy band of pilgrims...who had fought so long to reach the goal now in sight, linked each other's arms and marched down from the lobby to the street singing the doxology'.⁵⁶⁷

Following Theodore Taylor's motion in Parliament on 30 May 1906, the British government agreed to consider any proposal by China for eliminating the opium trade, and this met with a favourable response from the Qing court. On 20 September 1906, the Chinese government issued an imperial decree to command that 'within a period of ten years, the evils arising from foreign and native opium be equally and completely eradicated'.⁵⁶⁸ On 21 November 1906, the government issued ten regulations to prohibit opium-smoking in

⁵⁶⁵ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Traffic" (30 May 1906).

⁵⁶⁶ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Traffic" (30 May 1906).

⁵⁶⁷ Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 130.

⁵⁶⁸ *China Year Book* (1912), 425. International Opium Commission, *Report of International Commission, Shanghai China, February 1 to February 26 1909, Vol. II Reports of the Delegations* (Shanghai: North China Daily News and Herald, 1909), 8.

China.⁵⁶⁹ Along with the domestic prohibition of opium, the Qing court also sought to restrict the importation of opium from British India. The Chinese sent their request on 26 January 1907, and the British responded on 12 August after correspondence between India and London.⁵⁷⁰ The British agreed to reduce exports of opium by one-tenth annually for ten years while the Chinese correspondingly made the same reductions in opium production in China.⁵⁷¹ The agreement would be for an experimental period of three years beginning on 1 January 1908, then run for the entire ten years if China kept its part in suppressing opium cultivation. Many Englishmen doubted the sincerity of the Chinese government to honour their commitment, and thought that they would seek to suppress the Indian opium in order to monopolize the trade for themselves. Edward Grey suggested that Alexander Hosie should investigate poppy cultivation in western China to see if the Chinese kept their part of the agreement, and Chinese officials agreed to the proposal.⁵⁷²

At the end of 1907, Mr Leech, Councillor of the British Legation at Beijing, gave a positive report of the surprising success of the Chinese government's suppression policy which had been in force since 1906. He reported that China had not hesitated to deal with the opium issue, and that the amount of success they had achieved indicated that the task would be accomplished by the government.⁵⁷³ On 24 March 1908, China issued an Imperial Decree with reference to the arrangement:

We have already directed by Imperial Decree that regulations should be issued under which the use of opium, both foreign and native, should be totally suppressed within the period of ten years. The British Government have now agreed to effect an annual reduction in the amount of opium exported into China, and other friendly powers are willing to assist. This enlightened policy on their part has deeply

⁵⁶⁹ *China Year Book* (1912), 426-428. International Opium Commission, *Report of International Commission, Shanghai China, February 1 to February 26 1909, Vol. II, Reports of the Delegations*, 78-82.

⁵⁷⁰ *China*, No. 1 (1908), Inclosure in No. 6.

⁵⁷¹ *China*, No. 1 (1908), Inclosure in No. 20.

⁵⁷² Lodwick, *Chinese Missionary, and International Efforts to End the Use of Opium in China, 1890-1916*, 192-193.

⁵⁷³ *China*, No. 1 (1908), Inclosure in No. 28

impressed us.⁵⁷⁴

On 6 May 1908, the fourteenth anti-opium motion was made in the British Parliament to take further action to bring the Indo-Chinese opium traffic to a speedy end. Mr W. Johnson pointed out that religious authorities including archbishops, bishops, and leaders of the churches, and the great body of public opinion, acknowledged the evil of the opium trade and wanted to abolish it, but the pace was too slow. He described the drastic measures which the Chinese government had adopted to strictly enforce the prohibition of domestic opium cultivation. Johnson said that even though ‘it was a question between money and righteousness’, the British government ‘must put the righteousness of the cause before money’.⁵⁷⁵ Mr. Taylor who visited China to study the opium issue spoke authoritatively in support of the motion. He believed that the anti-opium reform was a great national movement in China and the wider world, as he stated: ‘Not only in China itself, but in the Straits Settlements, South Africa, Vancouver and Australia the national and anti-opium feeling was growing among the Chinese’.⁵⁷⁶ J. Ellis, Under-Secretary for India, said that ‘If they had declared twice that the thing was morally indefensible’ in 1891 and in 1906, his opinion was that ‘they could not put an end to it too soon’.⁵⁷⁷ Archdeacon Mollie stated that as ‘it were by an electric flash, England and China had, within the last two years, awakened almost simultaneously to the disgrace and danger of the continuation of this opium traffic’.⁵⁷⁸

Despite the growing body of evidence, the British government was unwilling to accept the Chinese reports and was dissatisfied about obtaining reliable statistics from China, especially from the provinces where most of the opium was cultivated. It made Britain

⁵⁷⁴ *China Papers*, No. 2 (1908), 13.

⁵⁷⁵ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Traffic” (06 May 1908).

⁵⁷⁶ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Traffic” (06 May 1908).

⁵⁷⁷ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Traffic” (06 May 1908).

⁵⁷⁸ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Traffic” (06 May 1908).

reluctant to reduce the exportation of opium from India to China without certain proof that the Chinese kept their part of the agreement of 1907. For that reason, Britain insisted on sending their own inspector Alexander Hosie to investigate the opium cultivation in China.⁵⁷⁹ He served in the British diplomatic service in several parts of China and had been interested in the opium question for a long time. He undertook an investigation from 1910 to 1911 for Britain to report on the opium suppression in China. He published his findings as *On the Trail of the Opium Poppy* in two volumes. His plan was to visit six provinces which produced most of the domestic poppies: Shanxi, Shenxi, Gansu, Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou. Hosie concluded that the success of the opium suppression movement depended on the local officials in any area and his report was favourable towards Chinese efforts on the whole.⁵⁸⁰

The World Missionary Conference was held in Edinburgh in June 1910, and it came out with four resolutions about the opium trade. The Commission believed that they had presented the feeling both of missionaries and the supporters of missions in a statement which asserted the following:

(1) Their conviction that the traffic in opium should cease, unless under the restrictions proper for a dangerous drug; (2) their regret that the history of this traffic in China has brought discredit upon Christian missions by associating them in Chinese mind, through the action of some Western Governments, with the spread of opium; (3) their sympathy with the Chinese government in the steps at present being taken to restrict the use of opium; (4) their hope that the British Imperial and Indian governments may be able to meet the financial difficulties created by the cessation of the opium revenue, and in a way which shall not increase the taxation

⁵⁷⁹ Morse, Hosea B. *The Trade and Administration of China* (London: Longmans Green Co., 1908), 345.

⁵⁸⁰ Hosie, Alexander. *On the Trail of the Opium Poppy: A Narrative of Travel in the Chief Opium-Producing Provinces of China*, Vol. II (London: George Philip & Son, 1914), 287-288. Hosie's Conclusion:

"In a word, the result of my investigation in the three northern provinces of China was that in 1910 poppy cultivation had been completely eradicated in Shanxi, and that there had been reduction of 30 and 25 per cent respectively in Shensi [Shenxi] and Kansu [Gansu] as compared with the year 1907. As regards the three southwestern provinces, cultivation had ceased in Szechwan [Sichuan] in 1911, while Yunan and Kweichow [Guizhou] had reduced their cultivation in the same year by 75 and 70 per cent respectively. This was, on the whole, a notable achievement which was, however, nullified by the outbreak of the revolution in October 1911 when the Central and Provincial Governments lost control and were unable, for the time being to prevent a recrudescence of poppy cultivation."

of the mass of the people in India nor injure the Feudatory State concerned.⁵⁸¹

Bishop Brent of the Philippines also added to these points, in his own speech, that it was also the feeling of ‘every Christian colonial government in the world and of some non-Christian governments’.⁵⁸²

The Archbishop of York also addressed the conference on the duty of Christian nations with reference to the Indo-Chinese opium trade. He said:

Can we reflect, we of the British race, without shame upon the fact that we made wars, we extorted treaties, in order that, for our commercial advantage, we should face on a non-Christian race the purchase of a drug which was ruining its moral character? Here, again, Christian citizenship can never rest until that shame has been removed... Could there be anything more prejudicial to the credit of Christianity in the eyes of the world than this, that when a non-Christian race shows itself eager to liberate itself from a moral curse, a Christian nation should be backward or suspicious in cooperating with its desires.⁵⁸³

On 2 February 1911, a joint memorandum was sent to the Foreign Office by the London and Edinburgh Committee for Suppressing the Indian-Chinese Trade, signed by five separate bodies of representatives of the Board of British Anti-Opium Societies: Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade; Christian Union for the Severance of the Connection of the British Empire with the Opium Traffic; Women’s Anti-Opium Emergency Committee; Chinese Anti-Opium Committee; and Edinburgh Committee for Suppression of the Indo-Chinese Opium Traffic. It referred to the Chinese wishes which were expressed at the International Opium Commission in Shanghai and concerned the revision of the 1907 Agreement.⁵⁸⁴

The tentative arrangement of the three years’ experimental period from 1908 had

⁵⁸¹ World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission VII: Missions and Governments* (London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910), 117.

⁵⁸² World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission VII*, 117.

⁵⁸³ World Missionary Conference, *The History and Records of the Conference together with Address Delivered at the Evening Meetings* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1910), 275

⁵⁸⁴ Lowes, *The Genesis of International Narcotics Control*, 165.

expired. However, Britain transformed it into a definitive agreement on 8 May 1911, and continuity of cooperation from 1911 to 1917 between these two nations was assured. The British Indian opium trade with China would cease no later than 1917 by process of annual reduction.⁵⁸⁵ Even though the collapse of the Qing Dynasty and the establishment of the new Republic of China in 1911 reduced the opium suppression in some areas, the new government made real progress in eradicating it. However, the opium problem was not settled yet because opium merchants still had approximately 20,000 chests of opium in Shanghai which were valued at between £8,000,000 and £10,000,000.⁵⁸⁶ The stocks were unsaleable, British and other banks had advanced about £4,000,000, and merchants had put pressure on the British government to compel China to buy these stocks or bear their losses because China had violated the Opium Agreement of 1911.⁵⁸⁷ The Consul in Shanghai Jordan suggested,

The spontaneous withdrawal of the stocks would produce an excellent impression and would go far towards removing the feelings of resentment and soreness which now exist in the minds of the Chinese. It would be a just and generous act which would form a fitting end to a trade which has become a moral anachronism; whereas if we prolong the sales and extract the last farthing from the traffic, we shall certainly go down in Chinese history as a people who ended as we began, by forcing opium upon China. The end, if generous, will do much to obliterate the remembrance of the past and to remove the only blot which has stained our reputation in the Far East.⁵⁸⁸

The final opium debate arose in Parliament on 7 May 1913 due to the huge Indian opium stocks in Shanghai. Towyn Jones cited the burning words of China missionaries Griffith John, Timothy Richard, and other great spiritual and social leaders who, he said, had set ‘the hearts of my countrymen ablaze with the desire to see the end of this Indo-Chinese Opium Traffic—the greatest curse of China, and the greatest disgrace of Britain’.⁵⁸⁹ Hones stated that China

⁵⁸⁵ *Treaty Series* (1911), no. 13.

⁵⁸⁶ Lodwick, *Chinese Missionary, and International Efforts to End the Use of Opium in China, 1890-1916*, 283-290

⁵⁸⁷ Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*, 171.

⁵⁸⁸ Great Britain, Foreign Office, *Opium Trade III, Part VIII*, 8.

⁵⁸⁹ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Opium Traffic” (7 May 1913).

had reduced poppy cultivation by seventy to eight percent by the middle of 1910, but India had only cut opium exportation to China by thirty percent.⁵⁹⁰ As Jones described:

China now became intensely conscious of the fact that she would have a much better chance of ridding her people of opium if the period for terminating the trade were shortened. Consequently the Chinese Government, supported by the anti-opium societies in this country, made an earnest appeal to the British Government to release China from her treaty obligations.⁵⁹¹

During the debates, Jones argued that China should be released from the treaty obligations which were an immoral obligation, because ‘in Britain we label opium as poison, and what is poison in Britain cannot be food in China’.⁵⁹² He also quoted what Archdeacon Moule had said at Lambeth Palace years ago: ‘The Opium Traffic is the greatest hindrance to the spread of Christianity in that great country’ because of the legalisation of opium and Christianity in China together by the Treaty of Tianjin. Moule was told ‘hundreds of times while preaching to the Chinese to keep his Christ as long as Britain cursed China with her opium’.⁵⁹³ Jones stated, ‘The Indo-Chinese Opium Traffic has been a tremendous loss to Britain from the beginning’, and ‘the opium trade is a stupendous sin’. As Towyn Jones described, the newly established Chinese Republic appealed to ‘the Christian communities of the world to pray for the Government and the nation in the present great crisis. The Christian Churches of Britain responded to the call’.⁵⁹⁴

The under-secretary of State for India Mr. Montagu acknowledged that there was always a small but growing minority in the House who were determined to eliminate the opium trade like Joseph Pease, Samuel Smith, Mark Stewart, more recently Henry Wilson, and now Theodore Taylor. Montagu thought that the first and foremost credit should go to

⁵⁹⁰ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Opium Traffic” (7 May 1913).

⁵⁹¹ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Opium Traffic” (7 May 1913).

⁵⁹² *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Opium Traffic” (7 May 1913).

⁵⁹³ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Opium Traffic” (7 May 1913).

⁵⁹⁴ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Opium Traffic” (7 May 1913).

those who had laboured for so many years for the abolition of this trade. However, the whole complexion of the situation had changed when a large number of Chinese people, united with those people who abhorred the trade in England, were determined to rid themselves of the terrible curse.⁵⁹⁵

In June 1913, China offered to pay the cost of shipping the stocks back to India, but the British government declined to accept the offer.⁵⁹⁶ The president of the Chinese National Opium Prohibition, General L. Chang visited England unofficially in the same year to ask the British government not to press for the sale of the stocks, but his mission was a failure.⁵⁹⁷ Eventually, the problem of the opium stocks was resolved by selling it quietly to several opium monopolies in different provinces in China. Grey wrote to Jordan saying that the solution to the problem was to ‘make it a criminal offence for any British subject to have any interest in opium’ after 31 March 1917.⁵⁹⁸

On 17 October 1918, Mr. Stewart asked ‘whether the stipulations of our agreement with China in regard to the cessation of the opium trade are being carried out by the Chinese Government; and whether there has been any increase in the local production of opium in China since the Indian import has ceased?’⁵⁹⁹ Robert Cecil, the Foreign Secretary replied during what was to be the last debate against the opium trade in Parliament:

The last six provinces remaining open to the introduction of Indian opium under the 1911 Agreement were examined in August 1917 and reported free from opium cultivation. The agreement of 1911 terminated on December 31, 1917. His Majesty’s Government have received no information of any increase in local production of opium in China since the termination of that agreement and cessation of the Indian imports.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁵ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Opium Traffic” (7 May 1913).

⁵⁹⁶ Taylor, Theodore C. “Opium: An Unsettled Question”, *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. 103 (Jan. 1913), 783-786.

⁵⁹⁷ *China Year Book* (1914), 699-701.

⁵⁹⁸ Great Britain, Foreign Office, *Opium Trade*, III, Part X, 17.

⁵⁹⁹ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “China: Opium” (17 Oct. 1918).

⁶⁰⁰ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “China: Opium” (17 Oct. 1918).

The British government of India had been engaged in the opium trade for a century, and now it finally had ended. If the British and other foreigners suspected Chinese sincerity to eradicate opium in 1906 when the program began, they soon admitted that many Chinese were sincerely determined to eliminate the poison from China once and for all. As David E. Owen pointed out, 'A nationalist reform in China, a change of front in Parliament, and a new spirit of accommodation in India created an atmosphere in which agreement was a relatively easy matter'.⁶⁰¹ The year 1917 marked a new page in the annals of the British Anti-Opium Movement. Those working for the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade had extended their efforts over forty-three years from its establishment in 1874 to 1917, when their mission finally concluded with the cessation of the Anglo-Chinese opium trade. They published their final issue of the *Friend of China* under the title 'A Victory for Righteousness' to celebrate it.⁶⁰²

Conclusion

In the first part of this thesis we saw how Chinese conceptions of Christianity were influenced by historical events from the fourth entrance of the Christian missions, during the Opium Wars, up to the 1950s. The examination of this period can assist western readers who are interested in Chinese Christianity to have a better understanding of why some Chinese people in mainland China are not anti-religious but anti-Christian and why the Chinese government is anti-religious but, particularly, anti-Christian. In this chapter we have studied Protestant Christians' efforts regarding the Anti-Opium Movement in Britain. From one side, we could see that foreign mission societies and western missionaries recognized that opium was a great hindrance to the progress of the Christian missions in China and had a negative

⁶⁰¹ Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 329.

⁶⁰² Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*. 179-180.

impact on Chinese views of Christianity. For Chinese readers who have negative impression about Christianity, hopefully this chapter helps them to understand that not all British people and Christians supported the British government's policy on the Opium Wars or the opium trade. On the contrary, it has been shown that many British people stood up for Chinese people, denounced their own government, debated in Parliament, held on during difficult times, and fought until their mission has accomplished.

During the early stages of the anti-opium movement before the SSOT had been founded, Christian churches, missionary societies and China missionaries had already raised their concerns through Lord Shaftesbury and other prominent members in the House of Commons. After the establishment of the SSOT, journals and booklets on the harmful effects of opium were published: church meetings against opium policy were arranged for missionaries to speak on the hindrance for Christian missions in China because of the opium trade; petitions on termination of opium were signed by churches and missionaries in China; and resolutions were presented to the House of Commons and Parliament. Although the Royal Commission on Opium's report was damaging to the SSOT, the anti-opiumists strived on through a dark period despite the negative impact of the RCO's report on its anti-opium activities and its own division. Finally, due to the unremitting efforts of the anti-opium societies, the changing tide of international opinion on opium, and the political change in Britain, the Anti-Opium Movement were victorious in achieving their goal of ending the opium trade.

As mentioned in the section on methodological considerations, all history is selected and interpreted. History is, therefore, effected by the historian's point of view, motives, interests, intentions, and the values and worldview of the society to which the historian

belongs. As we have seen, British opinion on the opium trade was not homogenous and there were dissenting voices. Protestant Christians opposed their own government, sided with the Chinese people, and eventually succeeding in abolishing the opium trade. Therefore, our consideration of the Anti-Opium Movement in Britain which was established mainly by Protestant Christians serves to paint a fuller picture for mainland Chinese people and hopefully prompts them to reconsider their conceptions of Christianity. In the next chapter, we will look at Protestant missionaries' opposition to the opium trade in China.

Chapter 6 Protestant Missionary Opposition to the Opium Trade in China

Kathleen L. Lodwick pointed out that ‘the numerous China missionaries represented all sects of Christianity and as a group could agree on no single religious viewpoint, yet on the opium question they were of one opinion: opium was harmful’.⁶⁰³ From Robert Morrison, who in 1807 was the first Protestant missionary from the LMS to China, to the end of the fourth Christian mission in China in the early 1950s, opium and western Christian missionaries were closely associated in the minds of many Chinese people in mainland China. Later, Christianity as a religion was viewed as the opium of the people, missionaries as the agents of imperialism, and missionary activities as religious infiltration.

In this chapter we will look at Protestant missionary opposition to the opium trade in the nineteenth century in order to have a more nuanced picture of the situation from which to rethink contemporary Chinese conceptions of Christianity and missionary activity. We will focus on Protestant missionaries in China because, as Lodwick describes, ‘Roman Catholic missionaries were slow to become involved in the anti-opium movement, as the Vatican did not publicly denounce the opium trade and the use of the drug until 1892’.⁶⁰⁴ We will examine missionaries’ attitude and activism regarding the opium trade from the beginning of the fourth entrance of Christianity in China until the cessation of the opium trafficking in the 1910s.

6.1. The Period Prior to the first Opium War

Robert Morrison (1782-1834), the first Protestant missionary, appointed by the LMS, reached China in September 1807, and later became an interpreter for the East Indian Company for 25 years from 1809. He was criticized by some Chinese scholars for being

⁶⁰³ Lodwick, “Missionaries and Opium”, 356.

⁶⁰⁴ Lodwick, “Missionaries and Opium”, 356.

working for the East Indian Company. Some contemporary western historians attempted to be more generous and concentrated on the contribution he made through translation works and the English-Chinese dictionary that he compiled.⁶⁰⁵ However, his attitude towards opium was revealed in a letter replying to George Staunton in Guangzhou on 7 October 1822. Morrison wrote, 'This is a traffic which is far from being reputable either to the English flag, or to the character of Christendom'.⁶⁰⁶ Morrison also wrote to the Secretary of the London Missionary Society in 1826:

There is a great influx of new commercial agents, especially for opium, that disreputable smuggling commerce. The sale of this drug, it is said, has much increased, and with it there is great increase of crime.⁶⁰⁷

However, as the first Protestant missionary in China, Morrison did not denounce the opium traffic publically.

Morrison's colleague William Milne (1785-1822), the second Protestant missionary sent by the LMS, arrived at Guangzhou in 1813. He was the first Principal of an Anglo-Chinese College, and spent most of his missionary career in Malacca. Milne baptised Liang Ahfa in 1815 who became the first Protestant Chinese preacher and evangelist. Liang also wrote a Christian tract *Good Words to Admonish the Age* that inspired Hong Xiuquan, the founder of the Taiping Kingdom.⁶⁰⁸ In 1820, Milne wrote an article which was published by E. C. Bridgman in the *Chinese Repository* which was the earliest expression of missionary concern regarding opium's harmful influence on individuals and society. Milne listed opium

⁶⁰⁵ Townsend, W. J. *Robert Morrison: The Pioneer of Chinese Missions* (London: Pickering & Inlis, 1928), 156.

⁶⁰⁶ Morrison, Eliza A. *Memoirs of the Life and Labours Robert Morrison*, Vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1839), 173-175.

⁶⁰⁷ *The Christian Observer* (May 1840), 318.

⁶⁰⁸ Wylie, Alexander. *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese: Giving a List of Their Publications and Obituary Notices of the Deceased* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867), 12-21.

with slavery and gambling as three obstacles to effective evangelizing.⁶⁰⁹ He argued:

But while this inhuman traffic exists, it will cause missionaries, especially in parts less frequented by Europeans, to be regarded with distrust and suspicion...I cannot, however, but regard it as one of the many obstacles, which hinder the moral improvement of eastern India and China.⁶¹⁰

Milne's description of the nature of opium and the morality of the opium trade resulted in a firestorm of controversy in Britain.

The pioneer British and American Protestant missionaries in China supported the early anti-opium cause in England, and held the view that opium was a poison and that opium smoking was a great moral evil. Opium trafficking was a dishonour to a Christian nation and it impeded Christian missions in China. The missionaries alleged that the imperial edict issued against Christianity in 1836 well illustrated the effect of the opium traffic on Chinese minds.⁶¹¹ Elijah C. Bridgman, from the American Mission in Guangzhou, quoted the following from an imperial edict in 1837:

To spread the Christian religion is to deceive the people; that religion is, in fact, the ruin of morals and of the human heart...Why do you believe fables which only destroy the human heart? Who do you seek vile gain, and thus procure your destruction?⁶¹²

E. P. Squire, a missionary sent to China in 1836 by the CMS, stated, 'Let it never be forgotten that a nation professing Christianity supplies the means; and further, that that nation is England'.⁶¹³

⁶⁰⁹ Milne, William. "Remarks on the Political, Moral, and Religious State of Ultra Gangetic India", *Chinese Repository* (April 1836), 551-557.

⁶¹⁰ Milne, "Remarks on the Political, Moral, and Religious State of Ultra Gangetic India", 556.

⁶¹¹ Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*, 43.

⁶¹² "China", *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly: Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australasia*, Vol. 20 (Feb. 1837), 112. *The Missionary Register: Containing the Principal Transactions of the Various Institutions for Propagating the Gospel; with the Proceeding, at Large, of the Church Missionary Society* (Feb. 1837), 90.

⁶¹³ "The Missionaries, and the Christian Opium-Smugglers in China", *The Christian Observer*, Vol. 38 (Oct. 1839), 603-604.

The first debate regarding the nature of opium and the morality of the opium trade occurred in the *Chinese Repository* in 1836. J. C. Stewart, a British Christian submitted an article entitled ‘Remarks on the Opium Trade with China’ for publication. In it, Stewart remonstrated that the opium trade was immoral because it disordered the digestive organs, stupefied and deranged the intellectual power, and corrupted the moral sense. Furthermore, he indicated that opium was addictive and pernicious, that opium-smoking was against the teachings in the Bible, and he denounced the opium traders who sold the poison.⁶¹⁴ Stewart’s article ended with an appeal to his countrymen and the clergy not to be silent but to stand up and condemn the nation’s sin:

Our sin is growing, and encouraging the trade in opium, is, indeed, one of the darkest that ever invoked the wrath of the Most High God upon a people. Where are preachers of the gospel, where is the spirit of common humanity fled, that this sin should till this moment exist unrebuked?⁶¹⁵

However, an English opium trader defended his trade by writing that opium was ‘a useful soother, a harmless luxury, and a precious medicine, except to those who abuse it...Many millions of the Chinese do participate in opium, using it as a rational and sociable article of luxury and hospitality’.⁶¹⁶ Two writers responded and exposed the unsoundness of the opium trader’s logic, and wrote, ‘Supposed the consumption to increase annually, and to arouse the attention of the government and of those sound-thinking men who foresaw misery and destruction from the rapid spread of an insidious, unprofitable, and dangerous habit’.⁶¹⁷ These writers refuted the claim that opium was a harmless luxury or means of providing hospitality like wine or beer in England; they wrote, ‘How could he be made to comprehend

⁶¹⁴ Stewart, J. C. “Remarks on the Opium Trade with China”, *Chinese Repository* (Nov. 1836), 297-305.

⁶¹⁵ Stewart, “Remarks on the Opium Trade with China”, 304-305. “China: Opium Trade”, *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, Vol. 18 (1840), 36.

⁶¹⁶ “Remarks on the Opium Trade, being a Reply”, *Chinese Repository* (Dec. 1836), 367-370.

⁶¹⁷ “Remarks on the Opium Trade, Contained in a Letter Written in Reply to those of a Reader”, *Chinese Repository* (Jan. 1837), 407-412.

that the believers in and practisers of Christian morality advocated a trade so ruinous to his country?’⁶¹⁸

Walter H. Medhurst (1796-1857), an English Congregationalist missionary, sailed in 1816 to join the LMS mission station at Malacca, and later founded the London Missionary Society Press at Shanghai in 1842. Medhurst criticised the Indian government and the British public who ‘can plead unconsciousness in the matter’ to ignore that ‘opium is demoralizing China, and becomes the greatest barrier to the introduction of Christianity which can be conceived of’.⁶¹⁹ Medhurst described the difficulty of Christian missions in China because of opium, a description which became widely quoted:

Almost the first word uttered by a native, when urged to believe in Christ is, ‘Why do Christians bring us opium, and bring it, directly, in defiance of our own laws?...Surely, those who import such a deleterious substance, and injure me, for the sake of gain, cannot wish me well, or be in possession of a religion that is better than my own. Go, first, and persuade your own countrymen to relinquish this nefarious traffic; and then I will listen to your exhortations on the subject of Christianity.’⁶²⁰

Medhurst also disapproved of missionaries who travelled on opium vessels, especially if a missionary was connected with a regular boat, as he would be viewed as disreputable by the Chinese. This would greatly compromise his missionary work as it would make him unable to remain neutral on the opium question due to his dependency on the captain of the vessel, strengthen the position of the opium traders, and weaken the force of the arguments of those who were against it.⁶²¹ It was not easy to find a vessel along the northern coast without opium on board, so Medhurst suggested that different missionary societies manage a ship together

⁶¹⁸ “Remarks on the Opium Trade, Contained in a Letter Written in Reply to those of a Reader”, 409.

⁶¹⁹ Medhurst, W. H. *China: Its State and Prospects with especial Reference to the Spread of the Gospel* (London: John Snow, 1838), 90-91.

⁶²⁰ *The Calcutta Christian Observer* (April 1839), 238. *The Missionary Chronicle* (March 1840), 95. “The Opium Trade with China”, *Fraser’s Magazine* (Nov. 1839), 572-588, esp. 583. “Christianity in China”, *Foreign Missionary Chronicle* (March 1840), 95.

⁶²¹ Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects*, 298-301.

which would only be used for missionary purposes, such as to transfer Bibles and Gospel tracts. When an American brig, the Huron, was leased in 1839, Medhurst's plan was achieved. It was chartered by the house of Olyphant and Co., and the owner David W. C. Olyphant (1789-1851) was an American Christian and trader. He was also a member of the ABCFM which sent the first American missionary to China, and was called 'the father of the American Mission to China'.⁶²²

Karl F. A. Gützlaff (1803-1851), a German missionary, was sent to China by the Netherlands Missionary Society and arrived in 1827. He became an interpreter for the British diplomatic missions when the first Opium War began, and was later appointed as Chinese Secretary of the Government of Hong Kong. Gützlaff was criticized for being an interpreter for the opium merchants and for distributing tracts on one side of the vessel while traders were smuggling opium on the other side at the coast.⁶²³ Opium traders were searching for northern markets even as far as the Liaodong peninsula while carrying an incongruous cargo of opium and the missionary Gützlaff.⁶²⁴ The *Chinese Repository* also recognized, 'The circulation of tracts may have been extended somewhat by means of the opium trade'.⁶²⁵

During his journal of voyage when he proceeded from Tianjin to Beijing, Gützlaff mentioned in an article that his experiments to cure the habit of opium-smoking were so successful that even some mandarins paid him a visit. Later his whole stock of medicine was exhausted and he had to send people away, whom, regrettably, were really in need of assistance.⁶²⁶ 'An Angelic Remedy for Opium Smoking' was also published in the *Chinese*

⁶²² Bridgman, Eliza J. G. Ed. *The Pioneer of American Missions in China: The Life and Labors of Elijah Coleman Bridgman* (NY: A.D.F. Randolph, 1864), 37.

⁶²³ Lutz, Jessie G. *Opening China: Karl F.A. Gützlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827-1852* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2008).

⁶²⁴ *Chinese Repository* (Feb. 1834), 474.

⁶²⁵ *Chinese Repository* (Oct. 1836), 242.

⁶²⁶ *Chinese Repository* (Sep. 1832), 184.

Repository as early as November 1832.⁶²⁷ Gützlaff described the harmful effects of opium both in individual life and the wider Chinese society, and noted that, despite several imperial edicts which prohibited opium smuggling ‘the importation of opium increased to an alarming extent’.⁶²⁸ From Gützlaff’s own writing, it seems evident that he was aware that the opium trade was immoral and prohibited by the Chinese government because of its evil influence on individuals and society, but no evidence has been found that he either supported or fought against it.

Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801–1861), the first American Protestant missionary appointed by the ABCFM, arrived in China in February 1830. He was one of the first Americans who mastered the Chinese language and became an expert on Chinese culture and politics. As a publisher of the first journal of Sinology in the world, the *Chinese Repository* (1832-1853), he was one of the most distinguished of the first generation of missionaries in China and had great influence as a pioneering scholar and cultural intermediary. He was also the first missionary who used news media to express his anti-opium position. As an editor of the *Chinese Repository*, he wrote and translated sixteen articles which mainly expounded the nature of opium, and the history and results of opium smuggling. He permitted different people to express various opinions in the journal, but his position was consistently anti-opium throughout his articles.⁶²⁹

In 1834, Bridgman recognized that opium as ‘poison had taken so deep effect’,⁶³⁰

⁶²⁷ *Chinese Repository* (Nov. 1832), 295.

⁶²⁸ Gützlaff, Karl F. A. *A Sketch of Chinese History, Ancient and Modern: Comprising a Retrospect of the Foreign Intercourse and Trade with China*, Vol. 2 (London: Smith & Co., 1834), 195, 344.

⁶²⁹ Phillips, Clifton. *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810–1860* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969). Lazich, Michael C. E. *C. Bridgman (1801–1861): America’s First Missionary to China* (NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000).

⁶³⁰ *Chinese Repository* (July 1834), 142.

because during the whole period of the trade ‘the chief article of profitable traffic has been opium’.⁶³¹ In 1836, Chinese high officials began to debate different solutions to the opium smuggling problem in the imperial court. Xu Nanji proposed the legalization of opium in order to regulate and control it effectively because ‘the more severe the interdict against it are made, the more widely do the evils arising therefrom spread’.⁶³² However, Choo Tsun opposed the proposal, citing opium’s baneful effect on property, physical, and moral character. He gave an example, ‘In the army sent to Leenchow, great numbers of the soldiers were opium-smokers; so that although their numerical force was large, there was hardly any strength to be found among them’.⁶³³ Heu Kew sub-censor over the military department also obtained information that the purchase of opium was ‘the chief medium through which money is drained off’, and suggested that foreigners should be required to ‘write a letter to the king of their country, telling him that opium is a poison which has pervaded the inner land, to the material injury of the people’.⁶³⁴

In addition to the debate among the Chinese officers on the issue of the opium trade, missionaries also debated with merchants about the morality and legality of trafficking the drug. Opium trafficking was being criticised by missionaries, ‘the fact is far too notorious to be questioned for one moment, that there is in opium, once indulged, a fatal fascination, which needs almost super-human powers of self-denial, and also capacity for the endurance of pain, to overcome’.⁶³⁵ This argument was presented to major opium merchants who admitted the evils opium created but justified their participation in the trade because of the profits to be

⁶³¹ *Chinese Repository* (Jan. 1835), 433.

⁶³² *Chinese Repository* (July 1836), 139.

⁶³³ *Chinese Repository* (Jan. 1837), 393.

⁶³⁴ *Chinese Repository* (Jan. 1837), 399-402.

⁶³⁵ *Chinese Repository* (Nov. 1836), 300. *The Foreign Quarterly Review* (1840), 119. *The Eclectic Review* (Oct. 1839), 459

made. Opium traders would make counter arguments such as ‘if I don’t trade others will; so the evil will be the same, and I may as well profit by it as my neighbour... I do sell them what we both know to be poison...their very government tells them opium is pernicious; the fault therefore is theirs, not mine’.⁶³⁶ Missionaries warned of the harmful effects of opium and appealed to the British government and opium merchants:

Think then of THE MILLIONS who have already thus perished, and then ask yourself how long is this to continue and no man in a Christian land regard it? How long is a British government to be seen drawing revenue from this source, *admitting the misery, and excusing itself for abetting, by a fallacy the most contemptible and insulting even to common sense?* How long is a whole community of British merchants to be content with *earning the price of blood, because if they do not, others will in their stead?*⁶³⁷

In the *Chinese Repository* from May 1836 to April 1837, Bridgman published seventeen articles related to the history and current situation of opium smuggling to illustrate its deleterious consequences and evil influence on social, moral, economical, and political aspects of the country. Some key memoranda were translated and sent to Emperor Daoguang by Chinese officials. Bridgman tried his best to expose the harm inflicted by the drug and inform the public of the evil of the trade. Even though the opium dealers were still waiting to hear the results of the debate about the legalization of the opium trade, which was going on among Chinese officials in the imperial court, the native opium traffickers were sentenced to death by the government. The Chinese government had come to a conclusion and enforced its anti-opium decrees to bring the illegal trafficking to an end.⁶³⁸

In 1839 before the outbreak of the first Opium War, Charles King, an American Christian and merchant, published a letter that he had sent to Charles Elliot, plenipotentiary and chief superintendent of the British trade with China, against British opium Policy. He

⁶³⁶ *Chinese Repository* (Nov. 1836), 302.

⁶³⁷ *Chinese Repository* (Nov. 1836), 304-305. [Emphasis in the original]

⁶³⁸ Lazich, “American Missionaries and the Opium Trade in Nineteenth Century China”, 197-223.

charged the British government with increasing the supply of opium to such a high level that it had resulted in ‘the impoverishment of the empire, and the disruption of every tie of morality and order’.⁶³⁹ He called it, ‘The flowing poison’, the ‘vile dirt’, the ‘dire calamity’ brought by foreigners, and stated, ‘The opium trade has dishonoured the name of God among the heathen more extensively than any other traffic of ancient or modern times’.⁶⁴⁰

In 1839, Lin Zexu was appointed as an imperial commissioner by Emperor Daoguang and tasked to eliminate the opium trade in Guangzhou. Lin made a proclamation to the foreign merchants with earnest appeal: ‘Supposing you cut off and cast away your traffic in the single article of opium, then the other business which you do will be much increased; you will thereon reap your threefold profit comfortably, and you may as previously go on acquiring wealth in abundance’.⁶⁴¹ Lin also sent a letter to Queen Victoria to appeal to her to stop the opium traffic, his appeal was, again, unsuccessful.⁶⁴²

Bridgman denounced the British government for the opium smuggling in his “Remarks on the present crisis in the opium traffic” in May 1839. He wrote:

We name England, because it stands first and almost alone in the production of opium. That England, enlightened and Christian, should grow and farm a means of vice, with the proceeds of which, even when in her possession, China, benighted and pagan, disdains to replenish her treasury, is one of the most singular moral contrasts ever exhibited, yet we are slow to believe that one of the first nations in Christendom for her philanthropy and religious principle in a heathen government, resisting the demoralizing temptations presented by a Christian people, cannot and will not be without its effect.⁶⁴³

Analysing the reasons for the opium traffic, Bridgman argued: ‘we are constrained to

⁶³⁹ King, Charles W. *Opium Crisis: A Letter Addressed to Charles Elliot* (London: Edward Suter, 1839), 5, 6, 30, 69.

⁶⁴⁰ King, *Opium Crisis: A Letter Addressed to Charles Elliot*, 52.

⁶⁴¹ *Chinese Repository* (April 1839), 613.

⁶⁴² *Chinese Repository* (Feb. 1840), 497-503. *The Annual Register: Or a View of the History and Politics of the Year* (1840), 430.

⁶⁴³ *Chinese Repository* (May 1839), 3

place the low state of morality...our disbelief of all sincerity in the wishes of the imperial government to suppress the traffic...the apathy of foreign governments regarding the course of events here'.⁶⁴⁴ He also made suggestions to resolve the tensions between China and Britain:

Truly noble and Christian standard of conduct...the resolution of all western states, having commercial relations with the east, to maintain none other than a just and honourable intercourse with China...an effort to bring the united moral power of the western world to bear, with an irresistible pressure, on the high barriers which have so long separated China from the most enlightened and peaceful states of Christendom.⁶⁴⁵

When the first Opium War broke out, it was the beginning of the humiliation for China as a nation. It was also considered by S. W. Williams to be 'a turning point in the national life of the Chinese race, but the compulsory payment of six million dollars for the opium destroyed has left a stigma upon the English name'.⁶⁴⁶ As John W. Pease remarked, 'I have witnessed three wars in China. The two first of these wars were directly connected with the opium traffic, and grew out of it'.⁶⁴⁷ Hamilton Lindsay who served at the EIC in China even admitted:

As it is, nothing can be more injurious to the British character than the mode in which the opium trade is at present conducted. It is now real smuggling, accompanied by all its worst features of violence, and must frequently be attended with bloodshed and the sacrifice of life.⁶⁴⁸

6.2. The Period from the first Opium War to the Establishment of the SSOT

In America, there was a strong feeling that 'an unjust attempt was being made to force a poisonous drug on an unwilling nation...The thoughts of crowding the deadly opium on another nation, and even forcing her to accept any trade she did not want, antagonized the

⁶⁴⁴ *Chinese Repository* (May 1839), 2, 4, 6.

⁶⁴⁵ *Chinese Repository* (May 1839), 7-8.

⁶⁴⁶ Williams, S. W. *The Middle Kingdom*, Vol. II (London: Wiley and Putnam, 1848), 464.

⁶⁴⁷ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, "The Opium Trade—Observation" (4 June 1880).

⁶⁴⁸ Lindsay, Hamilton. *Is the War with China a Just One?* (London: James Ridgway, 1840), 31.

independent American spirit'.⁶⁴⁹ *Hunt's Merchant Magazine* came out with a strong statement:

China has as perfect a right to regulate the character of her imports, as either of the countries with whom she trades; and we can imagine no more glaring violation of the law of nations than the successful attempt which has been made to cram down her throat by force, an article which she has deliberately refused to receive.⁶⁵⁰

The Opium War was not only about trade, but also about the role of the missions in China. In 1843, the Baptist and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies in China signed petitions to denounce the trafficking of opium on political, commercial, moral and religious grounds, and the Earl of Shaftsbury presented these petitions before the House of Commons on 4 April 1843.⁶⁵¹ The importation of opium increased from 20,000 chests in 1838 to 50,000 in 1850, and reached 85,000 in 1860. From about the year 1850, the British policy of “forcing opium on China” was opposed by the leaders of religious and philanthropic organizations not only through Parliamentary means but also through gathering public opinion. This opposition was reinforced by the view of the vast majority of English and American Protestant missionaries in China that the opium trade was a disgrace to a Christian nation, and hampered the spread of the Gospel.⁶⁵² The Bishop of Hong Kong used more emphatic language:

If those who profess to doubt the magnitude of this obstacle to the progress of Christianity could hear the more patriotic of the Chinese, frequently with a sarcastic smile, ask the missionaries if they were connected with those who brought them poison, which so many of their countrymen ate and perished by, they would perceive that it is vain—I will not say vain—but it is certainly inconsistent in us as a nation to send the Bible to China.⁶⁵³

In 1858, Justus Doolittle (1824-1880), an American Board missionary in China, acknowledged that by giving way to the ‘overwhelming pressure from the ministers of

⁶⁴⁹ Latourette, *The History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784-1844*, 125.

⁶⁵⁰ *Hunt's Merchant Magazine* (March 1843), 205.

⁶⁵¹ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “Suppression of the Opium Trade” (04 April 1843).

⁶⁵² Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*, 50-51.

⁶⁵³ Allen, *The Opium Trade: Including a Sketch of Its History, Extent, Effects as Carried on in India and China*, 71.

England, France, and America', Emperor Xianfeng had legalised the 'nefarious trafficking', and, furthermore, 'on the same legal platform as the Gospel messenger and the Bible distributor'.⁶⁵⁴ On one occasion, the American Minister said to the Bishop of Victoria, 'It is the triumph of successful crime'.⁶⁵⁵ Sir Rutherford Alcock who had served as Minister Plenipotentiary of the British government both in China and Japan testified before the East India Finance Committee of the House of Commons in 1871. He said: 'We forced the Chinese Government to enter into a treaty to allow their subjects to take opium'.⁶⁵⁶

Opium, as an obstacle to the progress of Christianity in China, was a prominent topic in the reports sent home by missionaries. A memorandum was addressed to the Foreign Secretary Henry J. Temple from the Society for the Suppression of the Contraband Trade in Opium which was considered as 'the first concerted effort to register a protest against the governmental policy concerning opium in China'.⁶⁵⁷ This society was a group of evangelicals and Quakers, 'whose unconquerable reformism penetrated so many dark areas in nineteenth-century life'. They initiated a protest against the government's connection with the opium trade because they saw the issue not only as 'a matter of public morality, but in the narrower sense as a religious issue'.⁶⁵⁸

In 1869, when Schereschewsky, the bishop of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, visited the ancient city Kaifeng in Henan province, a mob led by the native gentry drove him out of the city shouting after him: 'You burned our palace, you killed our Emperor,

⁶⁵⁴ Doolittle, Justus. *Social Life of the Chinese: with some Account of Their Religious, Governmental, Educational, and Business Customs and Opinions* (Singapore: Graham Brash, 1866), 589-590.

⁶⁵⁵ Royal Commission on Opium, *First Report of the Royal Commission on Opium with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*, Vol. I, 58.

⁶⁵⁶ Willoughby, W. W. *Opium as an International Problem: the Geneva Conferences* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1925), 14.

⁶⁵⁷ Chatterjee, S. K. *Legal Aspects of International Drug Control* (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1981), 21.

⁶⁵⁸ Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India*, 229-230.

you sell poison to the people, and now you come to teach us virtue!’⁶⁵⁹ The Bishop of Victoria also testified that he had been stopped again and again by the Chinese with similar questions while preaching: ‘Are you an Englishman? Is not that the country the opium comes from? Go back and stop it, and then we will talk about Christianity’.⁶⁶⁰

Missionaries working in China showed a particular interest in the opium problem, as is evident from the description of them: ‘It is mainly the missionary class who have felt the interest and taken the trouble to [publish their views on the subject] as they believe this to be ‘in their line of duty’.⁶⁶¹ J. L. Maxwell (1836-1921), was a medical missionary and eminent physician, who was the first Presbyterian missionary to travel to Taiwan with the English Presbyterian Mission and who was engaged in hospital work for many years. He said, ‘It is this insidious and quiet and comparatively speedy way in which it takes firm hold of its victim that renders opium-smoking so much more dangerous a vice in many respects than spirit-drinking’.⁶⁶²

William Gault who worked in a hospital in Shantou City for eighteen years described the effects of opium smoking: ‘It acts upon every nerve-cell, and probably every nerve-fibre. At first the effect of it is slightly stimulant, but afterward it is depressing and deadening... The blood gradually becomes less and less oxidized, and the venous system becomes congested’.⁶⁶³ D. B. M’Cartee spoke about the effects of opium on the smokers from the twenty-five years he spent as a medical doctor at Ningbo. Notably, he distinguished between

⁶⁵⁹ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Sep. 1869), 99. Chesson, *The Opium Trade between India and China in Some of Its Present Aspects*, 28. *The Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Jan. 1870), 13.

⁶⁶⁰ *The Church Missionary Review* (June 1874), 170. *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* (June 1874), 170.

⁶⁶¹ *Chinese Customs: Reports on Opium 1864-1909* (Shanghai: Statistical Dept. of the Inspectorate General, 1909), 36.

⁶⁶² *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 422.

⁶⁶³ *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 422-423.

the physical and moral effects:

1. Physically: it enervates them, gradually undermines their constitutions, and very frequently, either from their inability to procure the drug, or from its losing its effect upon them or owing to a resolute endeavour to break off the habit, an incurable “opium diarrhoea” sets in, and carries off the victim in a short time.
2. Morally: it not only undermines the physical constitution, it also blunts the moral sense, and in aggravated or even confirmed cases there is no depth of meanness or depravity to which the poor wretches will not stoop to stop the insupportable craving for the drug.⁶⁶⁴

Medical work was attempted by F. F. Gough and Hudson Taylor on a very small scale in the early years of their mission, but their work was mainly directed towards the cure of opium smokers. In 1858, an official who had worked as a manufacturer of opium in India felt guilty about his involvement in the trade and contributed £3,000 for the rescue of opium-smokers in China. With some of these funds, an opium refuge and hospital was opened in 1871 in Hangzhou under the direction of the medical missionary Dr. Galt. In 1886 this small building was incorporated into a great mission hospital under another medical missionary D. Main from the CMS. In the same year, an opium refuge and hospital was founded in Ningbo with the help of Dr. Daly.⁶⁶⁵ Another opium refuge was opened in Beijing in 1878, and had treated more than 750 opium smokers by 1879.⁶⁶⁶

6.3. The Period from the Establishment of the SSOT to the Appointment of the RCO

In 1874, the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade was established with Earl Shaftesbury as its president, and the Bishops of Durham, Ripon, Salisbury, Liverpool, and Mid-China as Vice-Presidents. As Lodwick pointed out, ‘anti-opium advocates were largely

⁶⁶⁴ *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 423. “Opium Smoking in China”, *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Jan. 1869), 181-182. “Opium versus Christianity”, *The London and China Telegraph* (14 Feb. 1870), 102-103.

⁶⁶⁵ MacGillivray, D. Ed. *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907) being the Centenary Conference Historical Volume* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907), 27.

⁶⁶⁶ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (May-June 1880), 196-207.

clergymen, missionaries, and missionary doctors'.⁶⁶⁷ However, it was the zeal of the missionaries in China for the anti-opium cause which provided the impetus for, and sustained, the anti-opium agitation in England. The missionaries were uncompromisingly averse to the opium traffic because they had first-hand experience of how opium smoking was debasing the Chinese morally, physically, and socially. Furthermore, they could see how the Chinese were resistant to the Gospel they sought to spread because of the opium trade which they had become associated with. Therefore, they never stopped attacking the Indian opium revenue system, sent petitions to the British government for its early abolition, and missionaries testified about the effects of the opium trade upon the spread of Christianity in China.⁶⁶⁸

For campaigning missionaries and Christians, the linking of Christianity with the British opium trade was bitterly ironic, but to the Chinese, 'they came together, spread together, have been fought for together, and were finally legalized together'.⁶⁶⁹ Sixteen missionaries in China from different denominations and nations concurred and made the following statement in the spring of 1875: 'The fact that people of Christian nations engaged in the traffic, and especially that Great Britain supplies the China market with opium, is constantly urged as a plausible and patent objection to Christianity'.⁶⁷⁰ In 1876, the CMS printed an article in its monthly periodical, stating, 'It is right that those who are interested in Christian Missions should have their attention once more pointedly recalled to that which is the chief hindrance in the progress of the Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and which bars against that Gospel the hearts of one third of the human race'.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁷ Lodwick, *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917*, 75.

⁶⁶⁸ Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*, 75

⁶⁶⁹ Rowntree, *The Imperial Drug Trade*, 242. Davidson, R. John & Isaac Mason. *Life in West China: Described by Two Residents in the Province of Sz-Chwan* (London: Headley Brothers, 1905), 9.

⁶⁷⁰ Carey, Henry C. *Commerce, Christianity, and Civilization, versus British Free Trade. Letters in Reply to the London Times* (Philadelphia: Collins, 1876), 32.

⁶⁷¹ *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* (July 1876), 400.

For the Chinese people, Christianity was brought to them by the same people who brought opium, and it was not easy for them to distinguish between western missionaries and white opium merchants. As the Anti-Opium Society of Canton [Guangzhou] said to the Anti-Opium Society in England:

Since the removal of the restrictions from the opium trade, the profits accruing therefrom have been shared only by a few of your countrymen resident in China, while the rest, who have been pursuing other lawful callings, are, by the Chinese, mixed up with them, and all are tarred with the same brush... Your countrymen come here to preach the Gospel, and their object is to make converts, and thus spread the love of God to men. But their hearers continually ask, "Why don't you go home and exhort your own people not to sell opium, since you are so bent on exhortation?" And it is impossible for the missionaries entirely to stop their mouths. On this account not only are few converts made, but the whole Christian doctrine is suspected to be an imposition. Thus the zeal of your missionaries is wasted.⁶⁷²

When missionaries endeavoured to teach Christianity to the Chinese, the hearts of the Chinese rejected the message because of the hatred opium trafficking which they were familiar with before the Gospel message appeared. Missionaries constantly heard the Chinese people saying,

The foreigners who preach the doctrine of Jesus affirm that he taught men to love others as themselves, and always to bear in mind the Golden Rule; but every year they import opium into China, and injure thereby millions of their fellow-creatures... When men only think of what profits themselves, and are regardless of the injury done to others as themselves? How can we believe their doctrine and follow their religion?⁶⁷³

Chinese Christians also argued in emphatic terms to the Anti-Opium Society that the opium traffic was a hindrance to the propagation of the Christian faith. The Anti-Opium Society of Canton [Guangzhou] argued:

Suppose the case reversed, and that some other nation had a poisonous article which was injurious to Great Britain. We know well Great Britain would not suffer it to be brought to her own detriment. And if you would object to its being brought, you ought equally object to its being sent to hurt others. The New Testament says again, "Whatever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." *Is it*

⁶⁷² *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 426-427.

⁶⁷³ *China's Millions* (1878), 146. *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 426. *Friend of China* (Dec. 1875), 246.

*possible that the instruction of the Saviour has never yet reached the ear of your honoured country?*⁶⁷⁴

During the Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China in 1877, Arthur E. Moule (1836-1918), an English missionary from the CMS in China from 1861 until his retirement in 1910, presented an article on the opium question. He quoted a Chinese Christian writer who described Chinese thoughts on this subject:

It is clear, say they,—the Chinese—that our country is being ruined. These mission schools and hospitals are not really established with a good intention. Why do they not put an end to the sale of Opium? Would not this be better than ten thousands hospitals, and ten thousand preaching halls? The hindrance presented by Opium to the Missionaries, whether physicians or preachers, renders fruitless their efforts.⁶⁷⁵

Opium was considered by missionaries as a thing ‘which constitutes one of our greatest hindrances, and which shuts the brazen gates of Chinese hearts against our message more stiffly than anything else’.⁶⁷⁶ Moule said that he would not forget the melancholy and disastrous history that English guns caused in China. He stated: ‘Our great object is to rid Christian England of the shame and wrong connected with her opium-selling, more than to cure Heathen China of her vice of opium-smoking’. This was because, although hospitals and opium refuges were ameliorative, there were too few and they were inadequately resourced to meet the massive demand for them.⁶⁷⁷ Moule suggested that missionaries in China join the SSOT and actively help by supplying sober facts and reliable information to the *Friend of China*. He further recommended that Christian missionaries distinguish themselves from the opium traders through a public manifesto because missionaries were ‘disliked as men as much as opium’ since ‘the Opium Trade is a Christian monopoly, its history is a Christian sin, a

⁶⁷⁴ *The Illustrated Missionary News* (02 July 1877), 84. *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 426-427. Mander, *Our Opium Trade with China*, 57. [Emphasis in the original]

⁶⁷⁵ Moule, “The Use of Opium and Its Bearing on the Spread of Christianity in China”, 352-361, esp. 352.

⁶⁷⁶ Moule, “The Use of Opium and Its Bearing on the Spread of Christianity in China”, 352.

⁶⁷⁷ Moule, “The Use of Opium and Its Bearing on the Spread of Christianity in China”, 353.

Christian shame'.⁶⁷⁸

The Committee of the 1877 Conference passed a resolution and gave a report on the opium trade, which concluded:

1. That opium smoking is a vice highly injurious physically, morally and socially.
2. That the opium trade... both from its past history, and its present enormous extent, producing suspicion and dislike in the minds of the Chinese, it is a most formidable obstacle to the cause of Christianity; and it is the earnest desire of this Conference that the trade may be speedily suppressed, except so far as it is necessary to supply the strictly medicinal use of the drug.
3. That while fully aware of the serious commercial and financial difficulties in the way of abolishing the trade... It is the solemn conviction of the Conference that in this case, as always, "nothing which is morally wrong can be politically right."
4. That in addition to the dissemination of strictly accurate information, the Conference believes that the labours of those in Great Britain opposed to the opium trade, may at present, be most practically and beneficially directed towards the effort to sever the direct connection of the Indian Government with the growth, manufacture and sale of opium; and to oppose any attempts to obstruct the action of the Chinese Government in all lawful endeavours to regulate, restrict or suppress opium smoking and the opium trade in China.
5. Finally, this Conference urgently appeals to all the Churches of Christendom to pray fervently to God that He may prosper the means used, so that this great evil may speedily come to an end.⁶⁷⁹

Consequently, missionaries refused to accept opium addicts as church members because of their untrustworthiness and their willingness to do anything to obtain money to buy the drug. Finding opium addiction was a hindrance to Christian missions and, having sympathy for the opium addicts, missionaries established opium refuges to help them break their opium habits.⁶⁸⁰ However, Chinese Christians complained that not receiving opium smokers in church was a double standard because the principle was wrong, but because English merchants who engaged in the opium traffic attended services at English churches and were

⁶⁷⁸ Moule, "The Use of Opium and Its Bearing on the Spread of Christianity in China", 361.

⁶⁷⁹ *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877*, 472-473.

⁶⁸⁰ Drake, Samuel B. *Among the Dark-Haired Race in the Flowery Land* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1897), 27-39.

not refused the Lord's Supper.⁶⁸¹ Healing opium addicts and establishing opium refuges became the preferred methods of Protestant missions, and it is probable that every one of the medical missionaries was engaged in the treatment of opium addicts.⁶⁸² Women missionaries also worked in hospitals and helped opium addicts, some even becoming famous doctors for curing the opium habit.⁶⁸³

However, missionaries were not content to deal with the opium problem by establishing opium refuges and curing opium addicts, they also wished to remove the temptation to start smoking opium, and there was no division of opinion on the subject because it was an obstacle to Christian missions. As E. Osgood stated: 'The trade has damaged the Christian name in China to an extent hardly conceivable by people at home. Not only has it retarded the progress of Christianity by creating a strong prejudice against us, the preachers of it; it has brought Christianity itself into contempt'.⁶⁸⁴ The Chinese Churches were one with missionaries in their Christian duty to combatting the evils of Chinese society, but they were particularly stern on the use of opium and poppy growing.⁶⁸⁵ Missionaries unanimously threw their weight behind opposing the evil which carried death and destruction with it.⁶⁸⁶

When Li Hongzhang wrote a letter to Rev. F. S. Turner, the secretary of the SSOT, dated 24 May 1881, he praised the society's efforts to terminate the opium trade, and addressed the

⁶⁸¹ Dukes, Edwin J. *Everyday life in China: Scenes along River and Road in Fuh-Kien* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1885), 208.

⁶⁸² Osgood, Elliott I. *Breaking down Chinese Walls from A Doctor's Viewpoint* (London: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 44-54.

⁶⁸³ Ashmore, Lida S. *The South China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society: A Historical Sketch of Its First Cycle of Sixty Years* (Shanghai: Methodist Publishing House, 1920), 123.

⁶⁸⁴ Thompson, R. Wardlaw. *Griffith John the Story of Fifty Years in China* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1906), 408.

⁶⁸⁵ Ross, John. *Mission Methods in Manchuria* (London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1903), 129.

⁶⁸⁶ Muirhead, William. *China and the Gospel* (London: James Nisbet Co., 1870), 110-127.

moral questions around the opium trade:⁶⁸⁷

Opium is a subject in the discussion of which England and China can never meet on common ground. China views the whole question from a moral standpoint; England from a fiscal. England would sustain a source of revenue in India, while China contends for the lives and prosperity of her people...*The war must be considered as China's standing protest against legalizing such a revenue.*⁶⁸⁸

In June 1881, a petition of 'the Ministers of the Gospel in China' was signed by Missionaries working in China, and sent to the British House of Commons. It stated that 'the opium traffic is a great evil to China and that the baneful effects of opium smoking cannot be easily over-rated'.⁶⁸⁹ This was because it had become a source of misunderstanding, suspicion, and dislike towards foreigners especially the British. As it stated in the petition that 'the connection of the British Government with the trade in this pernicious drug excites a prejudice against us as Christian missionaries and seriously hinders our work'.⁶⁹⁰ It was, therefore, inconsistent for Chinese people that Britain offered 'the beneficent teaching of the Gospel' and brought enormous quantities of a drug at the same time which degraded and ruined them. This was the basis for the missionaries' criticism that 'the traffic in opium is wholly indefensible on moral grounds, and that the direct connection of a Christian government with such a trade is deeply to be deplored'.⁶⁹¹

The theory was established, by defenders of the opium trade, that opium smoking was a comparatively innocuous habit in western China. They argued that the trade in opium was

⁶⁸⁷ Broomhall, *The Truth about Opium Smoking*, 76-77. *Friend of China* (Sep. 1881), 97-98. *The Times* (29 July 1881).

⁶⁸⁸ *The Christian Advocate* (17 Aug. 1916), 1080. Dyer, Alfred S. *Word Pictures of Chinese Life: Illustrating an Unclosed Chapter of History* (London: All Nations Missionary Union, 1905), 42. *Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad* (Oct. 1881), 396. [Emphasis in the original]

⁶⁸⁹ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (May 1882), 235. *Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad* (Oct. 1882), 393.

⁶⁹⁰ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (May 1882), 235. *The United Methodist Church's Magazine* (1883), 62. *The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal* (1883), 126.

⁶⁹¹ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (May 1882), 235. *Evangelical Christendom* (1883), 266. *The Friend of Missions* (1883), 112.

scarcely different from the trade of alcoholic spirits in England. Moule considered opium trafficking as the responsibility of the church, and exposed this shadowy argument by asking why ‘opium is a curse in the one and a harmless luxury in the other’.⁶⁹² He also quoted Thomas Wade’s words: ‘It is to me in vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China, than as a habit many times more pernicious, nationally speaking, than the gin and whisky drinking which we deplore in England.’⁶⁹³ Moule asked, ‘does this *mercantile* question concern the *Church*?’ His answer was, ‘Yes, immediately and urgently. England and Christianity are united in Chinese thought...the acts of the British Government are supposed to be the expression of Christian morality. If the policy is condemned, Christianity is condemned’.⁶⁹⁴

With regards to the church’s responsibility, Moule asked, ‘Is it nothing to be told by Chinese moralists, that “the hindrance presented by the Opium Trade to Christian Missionaries, renders their efforts fruitless”?’⁶⁹⁵ He urged, ‘*We must act at once...we must act INSTANTLY*’. His demand for immediate action was probably influenced by the fact that the opium trade was already worth £8, 468, 000 in 1880. He insisted: ‘Let the clergy therefore master this subject...Let the clergy bring the subject before their people...Be practical, and join the *Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade*...and Pray’.⁶⁹⁶

The year 1882 marked the peak of opium controversy in Britain, and this was largely the result of the enthusiasm of both British and American missionaries working in China. The

⁶⁹² Moule, *The Responsibility of the Church as regards the Opium Traffic with China*, 17-18.

⁶⁹³ Moule, *The Responsibility of the Church as regards the Opium Traffic with China*, 18-19. The Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, *Our National Responsibility for the Opium Trade*, 19. *Friend of China* (Oct. 1875), 194.

⁶⁹⁴ Moule, *The Responsibility of the Church as regards the Opium Traffic with China*, 22. [Emphasis in the original]

⁶⁹⁵ Moule, *The Responsibility of the Church as regards the Opium Traffic with China*, 23.

⁶⁹⁶ Moule, *The Responsibility of the Church as regards the Opium Traffic with China*, 23-24. [Emphasis in the original]

anti-opium forces used memorable phrases to describe the trade such as ‘this iniquitous and poisonous traffic’,⁶⁹⁷ ‘opium is demoralizing China’,⁶⁹⁸ ‘no page of our annals is more full of humiliation’.⁶⁹⁹ Anti-missionary parties defended the opium trade and referred to the anti-opium movement as an ‘undiscriminating and manufactured agitation’,⁷⁰⁰ by ‘well-meaning but certainly mistaken persons’,⁷⁰¹ and asserted that the missionary report on the opium question was an ‘outrageous exaggeration’.⁷⁰²

Three figures stood out among the anti-missionary and pro-opium forces: George Birdwood, former professor of Materia Medica and Curator of the Government Central Economic Museum in Bombay; William. J. Moore, the Deputy-Surgeon-General of the Bombay Presidency; and W. H. Brereton, a solicitor and legal advisor to the opium farmers in Hong Kong.⁷⁰³ George Birdwood had the privilege to publish his opinion in the columns of *The Times* which promoted ‘the down-right innocence of opium smoking’.⁷⁰⁴ Moule pointed out that this conclusion was not only opposed to the scientific facts, but also ‘to the well-known unanimous opinion of medical men in China’.⁷⁰⁵ For example, Birdwood was criticised

⁶⁹⁷ Chesson, *The Opium Trade between India and China in Some of Its Present Aspects*, 29. Edwards, John P. *The Triple Curse: Or, the Evils of the Opium Trade on India, China, and England* (London: Judd & Glass, 1858), 4. Thelwall, Algernon S. *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China: Being a Development of the Main Causes Which Excluded the Merchants of the Great Britain from the Advantages of an Unrestricted Commercial Intercourse with that Vast Empire* (London: Wm. H. Allen, 1839), 13. *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge* (1841), 73. *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany for British and Foreign India, China, and Australia* (May-Aug. 1840), 1.

⁶⁹⁸ Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects*, 90. Martin, Robert M. *China: Political, Commercial and Social in an Official Report to Her Majesty's Government*, Vol. II (London: James Madden, 1847), 185.

⁶⁹⁹ Smith, George B. *The Life and Times of the Right Hon. John Bright* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1881), 13.

⁷⁰⁰ Brereton, William H. *The Truth about Opium: Being a Refutation of the Fallacies of the Anti-Opium Society and a Defence of the Indo-China Opium Trade* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1882), 230.

⁷⁰¹ Moore, William. J. *The Other Side of the Opium Question* (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1882), 5. *China's Millions* (1881), 121. *New Baptist Miscellany* (Oct. 1828), 408. *The Medical Quarterly Review* (July 1834), 320.

⁷⁰² “Sir Rutherford Alcock’s Paper”, *All about Opium*, Hartmann H. Sultzberger Ed. (London: Wertheimer, Lea & Co., 1884), 28, 29. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (1882), 202. Lockhart, William. *The Medical Missionary in China: a Narrative of Twenty Years’ Experience* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1861), 395.

⁷⁰³ Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*, 100-102.

⁷⁰⁴ *The Times* (06 Dec. 1881). *The Times* (20 Jan. 1882).

⁷⁰⁵ Moule, *The Responsibility of the Church as Regards the Opium Traffic with China*, 28.

in the leading English journal in China, in an article which stated: ‘Sir G. Birdwood would have been far better employed in twiddling his own thumbs than in writing such mischievous nonsense to a leading paper’.⁷⁰⁶ Dudgeon condemned *The Times* for publishing Birdwood’s letters, asserting that ‘its standard of morality and Christian principle are very low for an influential English journal’.⁷⁰⁷

For William J. Moore, opium smoking was ‘a source of enjoyment, of comfort, a necessity, and even a blessing’ for many Chinamen, and the Chinese government was ‘insincere in prohibition’.⁷⁰⁸ He stated, ‘the effects of opium are not more deleterious than those arising from alcohol’,⁷⁰⁹ but Moore was rebuked in *The Lancet*, which argued:

Mr. Moore’s statements, which Sir George Birdwood anticipated “would furnish a complete vindication of the perfect morality of the revenue derived from the sale of opium to the Chinese,” seem to every unprejudiced reader to darken rather than vindicate the morality of the proceeding, the vindication consists of a violent tirade against the Chinese as the most drunken, debauched, and dissolute on the face of earth, and we are therefore justified in forcing upon them an additional intoxicant.⁷¹⁰

W. H. Brereton put forward a similar argument to William J. Moore and claimed that opium smoking was perfectly innocuous to the Chinese, and on a par with tea-drinking and tobacco-smoking, so should this be missionaries’ charge against England’s reputation was unjust and untenable. In his book *The Truth about Opium* which was subtitled: *Being a Refutation of the Fallacies of the Anti-Opium Society and a Defence of the Indo-China Opium Trade*. Bereton argued that it was fallacious to claim that ‘the introduction of Indian opium into China has arrested and is impeding the progress of Christianity in that country, and that if

⁷⁰⁶ *North China Herald* (31 Jan. 1882). Liggins, John. *Opium: England’s Coercive Opium Policy and Its Disastrous Results in China and India: The Spread of Opium-Smoking in America* (NY: Funk & Wagnalls, 1883), 26. Broomhall, *The Truth about Opium Smoking*, 32.

⁷⁰⁷ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (May 1882), 232.

⁷⁰⁸ Moore, *The Other Side of the Opium Question*, 6. *China’s Millions* (1882), 121. *The Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology* (1883), 154.

⁷⁰⁹ Moore, *The Other Side of the Opium Question*, 59.

⁷¹⁰ *Lancet* (11 Feb. 1882). Broomhall, *The Truth about Opium Smoking*, 8.

the trade were discontinued, the Chinese, or large numbers of them, would embrace the Gospel'.⁷¹¹ However, his views were disproved by higher colonial authorities who argued that, 'it invariably deteriorates the moral character and increases crime. The crime arising from opium smoking it is not easy to repress... The responsibility of creating and spreading such crime in a nation... is a responsibility that I trust England may soon be able to shake off'.⁷¹²

John Spencer Hill investigated the opium controversy in China, from when public discussion on it began in 1836 to the middle 1880s. Regarding how the opium trade influenced public perceptions about Christianity, he concluded: 'the question of its influence on Christian missions was shortly considered, and proved to be in the highest degree injurious and harmful to the spread of Christianity'.⁷¹³ Missionaries played an important role in the debate over the morality of opium and the evil of the opium trade, and many missionary doctors saw first-hand the harmful effects of opium addiction. They reported the problems associated with opium directly to their churches, their mission boards, and the public in their home countries. Missionaries, especially missionary doctors compiled scientific data on the effects of the drug, and supported the efforts of anti-opium societies to keep the opium problem before the British government and public until the end of the opium trade.⁷¹⁴

During the World Protestant Missionary Conference in London in 1888, two special meetings were held to discuss the opium question on 13 and 16 June. Silvester Whitehead, a missionary in Guangzhou under the Wesleyan Missionary Society, presented a paper on the opium trade. He talked about his personal knowledge, and claimed that opium smoking was a

⁷¹¹ Brereton, *The Truth about Opium*, 44-46.

⁷¹² Hill, *The Indo-Chinese Opium Trade*, 44.

⁷¹³ Hill, *The Indo-Chinese Opium Trade*, 92.

⁷¹⁴ Lodwick, *Chinese Missionary, and International Efforts to End the Use of Opium in China 1890-1916*, 39-41.

curse which all missionaries condemned. As he clearly expressed:⁷¹⁵

The missionaries in China are absolutely one on this important question. Can you point out any other question on which they equally agree? They are men of different nationalities and training; they hold various creeds; they are apt to look at questions from diverse standpoints; they are not men living on the sea coast only, but in inland places. They are some of them young, and others have grown grey in the work; and yet the whole six hundreds of them with one accordant voice proclaim the opium a curse, and they tell you that the trade in the past was a monstrous wrong, and thus it is still a gigantic evil.⁷¹⁶

Hudson Taylor, the founder of the CIM also introduced a resolution, and it was adopted unanimously by the conference. The resolution proposed:

That this conference, representing most of the Protestant missionary societies of the Christian world, desires to put on record its sense of the incalculable evils, physical, moral and social, which continue to be wrought in China through the opium trade—a trade which has strongly prejudiced the people of China against all missionary effort. That it deeply deplores the position occupied by Great Britain. Through its Indian administration, in the manufacture of the drug and in the promotion of a trade which is one huge ministry to vice. That it recognizes clearly that nothing short of the entire suppression of the trade, so far as it is in the power of the government to suppress it, can meet the claims of the case.⁷¹⁷

In the discussion which followed the keynote presentation by B. Broomhall, the administrator of the CIM, said, ‘So far as we are concerned, I look upon this question as a question of national sin, more as a question to be dealt with on the ground of righteousness than on grounds of benevolence merely to the Chinese’.⁷¹⁸ Goodeve Mabbs, the leader of the Anti-Opium Prayer Union, urged missionary to do their part ‘earnestly and persistently, until we get rid of this opium curse’ because of the falling off of the opium revenue in India. He asked, ‘Shall we let it slide away, or shall we, while yet there is time, do what we can to

⁷¹⁵ Whitenhead, Silvester. “The Opium Trade”, *Report of the Century Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World held in Exeter Hall (June 9th-19th) London 1888*, Vol. I. James Johnson Ed. (NY: F. H. Revell, 1888), 128-130.

⁷¹⁶ Whitenhead, “The Opium Trade”, 129.

⁷¹⁷ Taylor, J. Hudson. “The Opium Trade with China”, *Report of the Century Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World held in Exeter Hall (June 9th-19th) London 1888*, Vol. I. James Johnson Ed. (NY: F. H. Revell, 1888), 470-475.

⁷¹⁸ “The Relations of Commerce and Diplomacy to Missions”, *Report of the Century Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World held in Exeter Hall (June 9th-19th) London 1888*, Vol. II. James Johnson Ed. (NY: F. H. Revell, 1888), 535-564.

retrieve the honour of our country and make an end of this great curse?’⁷¹⁹ Rev. J. F. B. Tinling believed that ‘the true Anti-Opium Society is, or ought to be, the union of all the Missionary Societies. I believe we are making a great mistake in leaving a cause of this kind as a speciality in the hands of certain persons outside the organisation of our Missionary Societies’.⁷²⁰

On 3 May 1889, Samuel Smith called attention to the opium trade at the House of Commons, citing the latest missionary reports from the London Missionary Conference. He said that missionaries often had to endure humiliation in China which no other nationality had to bear, and wished they did not live under a flag which was stained with ‘the poisonous, polluted opium drug’ which to ‘the Chinese is the emblem of the moral ruin of their nation’.⁷²¹ J. Pease asserted, ‘The drink misery is undoubtedly bad enough, but the opium misery is ten times worse, and opium has a very much more degrading effect than alcohol’.⁷²² He also presented a petition to Parliament which had been signed by 256 missionaries who worked in China, and which stated, ‘Opium is great evil to China and the baneful effects of its use cannot be overstated’.⁷²³ Pease told his fellow MPs that he had papers sent to him from China in which ‘people are warned in the same placard against the missionary and against England which sends with the missionary the opium’.⁷²⁴ Regarding missionary work in China, he

⁷¹⁹ “Commerce and Christian Mission”, *Report of the Century Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World held in Exeter Hall (June 9th-19th) London 1888*, Vol. I. James Johnson Ed. (NY: F. H. Revell, 1888), 111-138, esp. 137.

⁷²⁰ “The Relations of Commerce and Diplomacy to Missions”, 553.

⁷²¹ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Trade with China” (3 May 1889). *Friend of China* (Jan. 1889), 41. *Missionary Review of the World* (1889), 295. *The Church Missionary Review* (Aug. 1889), 484.

⁷²² *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Trade with China” (3 May 1889).

⁷²³ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Trade with China” (3 May 1889). *The Gospel in All Lands* (1883), 170. *The Friend of Missions* (1883), 112. *The General Baptist Magazine Repository and Missionary Observer* (1883), 348. *The Missionary Intelligencer and Record* (Sep. 1883), 575. *Evangelical Christendom* (1883), 265.

⁷²⁴ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Trade with China” (3 May 1889).

declared, ‘As long as you are sending your missionaries to China, taking with them the hard-earned money of your constituents, you ought to see that no unnecessary impediments are placed in the way of their work.’⁷²⁵ However, J. M. Maclean rejected the statement sneering ‘After all, missionaries are but human, and it must be a great temptation to them when they know their mission has failed to raise a cry likely to appeal at once both to the hearts and the pockets of the English people’.⁷²⁶ Sydney Gedge, who had been interested in the operations of the CMS in China for many years, did not allow the attack made upon the Bishops and missionaries in China to go unopposed. He reminded people of the fact that ‘many years ago—about the time we first planted Christian Missions there—opium was introduced into that country by the gun and at the point of the bayonet’.⁷²⁷

During the Centenary Missionary Conference in Shanghai in September 1890, the SSOT sent a brief memorial regarding its new policy in England to the conference, and encouraged the missionaries in China to take measures.⁷²⁸ The conference adopted some of the suggestions in the following resolutions:

- (1) That we as a Conference reaffirm and maintain our attitude of unflinching opposition to the opium traffic.
- (2) That we recommend all Christians in China to use every endeavour to arouse public opinion against the spread of this evil, and to devise means to secure, as far as many be, its suppression.
- (3) That we advise the formation of a Chinese anti-opium society with branches at all mission-stations.⁷²⁹

The conference also adopted three additional resolutions. The fourth resolution was that

⁷²⁵ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Trade with China” (3 May 1889).

⁷²⁶ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Trade with China” (3 May 1889).

⁷²⁷ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate, “The Opium Trade with China” (3 May 1889).

⁷²⁸ “Communications Relating to the Opium Evils”, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890), 703-705.

⁷²⁹ “Report of Committee on Opium”, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890), li.

missionaries have learned with ‘alarm of the rapid increase in the consumption of morphine in China’ which was considered as anti-opium medicine by Chinese.⁷³⁰ The Medical Missionary Association of China urged all missionaries to prevent its use because it contained opium or its alkaloids, and they laid down the rule that trade in morphine was trade in opium. The fifth was that the efforts of all Christian churches throughout the world would be directed towards ‘the restriction and final abolition of this great evil’. The sixth was to express their sympathy with the efforts of the SSOT to increase their agitation towards the opium trade and work towards its suppression.⁷³¹

Timothy Richard (1845-1919), a Welsh missionary in China from 1869 under the Baptist Missionary Society until his death, was a contributor to the monthly influential journal *A Review of the Time* (1868-1907). It was a long running and influential missionary magazine and had a great and far-reaching influence on the development of modern China. At that time, if Chinese intellectuals wanted to understand the knowledge of the West, then they had to read the journal. Richard also influenced the modernisation of China and the rise of the Republic of China.⁷³² He also communicated how the Christian missions in China were regarded by the Chinese: ‘As foreign trade is to take away China’s wealth, missionary work takes away Chinese people’s hearts’.⁷³³

Joseph Edkins (1823-1905) was a British missionary, sinologist, and translator, who specialised in Chinese religions and spent 57 years in China. He studied contemporary

⁷³⁰ “Report of Committee on Opium”, li. *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Oct. 1891), 452.

⁷³¹ “Report of Committee on Opium”, li.

⁷³² Richard, Timothy. *Forty-Five Years in China: Reminiscences* (NY: Frederick A. Stokes, 1916), 349-355. Reeve, B. *Timothy Richard: China Missionary, Statesman and Reformer* (London: S.W. Partridge & Co., Ltd., 1911), 91-106.

⁷³³ Richard, Timothy. “Relation of Christian Missions to the Chinese Government”, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890), 401-414.

Chinese literature to learn the extent to which it was antagonistic to Christianity, and presented a paper in the Centenary Missionary Conference. He pointed out: ‘The question of the spread of Christianity in China is looked on by living writers in intimate connection with commerce and especially with the opium trade.’⁷³⁴ However, quoting a Chinese scholar’s statement, Edkins indicated the negative effects that this “connection” had on the relations between the Chinese and westerners: ‘It is nothing but missions and opium that have caused hatred between the Chinese and Western men’.⁷³⁵

In 1891, the ‘Editorial Comment’ of the *Chinese Recorder* included an account of the proceedings of the annual meeting of the SSOT in London. It reported the Rev. Canon Wilberforce’s remarks that ‘the recent vote in Parliament had doomed the traffic, and said he was very glad to find that the Christian Churches had taken up the question’.⁷³⁶ The account also mentioned that many missionaries had collected photographs of opium smoking and sent them back to anti-opium societies in England. It encouraged both anti-opiumists in Britain and western missionaries in China to ‘Let thousands of these photographs from all parts of China be sent to England and America, that the people may see with their own eyes something of the waste of body caused by the evil habit’.⁷³⁷ Furthermore, it urged, ‘Now is the time to send home floods of literature on the subject. Old arguments re-vamped, new facts tersely put, illustrations from real life, are all in place’.⁷³⁸ Appeals to end the opium trade came from Christian churches in Hong Kong, Guangzhou, and Shanghai, and also from the anti-opium society at Beijing. Additional petitions were sent from Christian churches in

⁷³⁴ Edkins, Joseph. “Current Chinese Literature: How Far Is It Antagonistic to Christianity”, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890), 559-581, esp. 573.

⁷³⁵ Edkins, “Current Chinese Literature: How Far Is It Antagonistic to Christianity”, 574.

⁷³⁶ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Aug. 1891), 391.

⁷³⁷ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Aug. 1891), 391.

⁷³⁸ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Aug. 1891), 391.

England, and missionaries in China and India denouncing the opium trade as ‘morally indefensible’. In 1891, the agitation against the opium trade resulted in the first sanction by Parliament.⁷³⁹

Griffith John (1831-1912), who arrived at Shanghai in September 1855, was a pioneer evangelist in China with the LMS for 55 years. He established more than one hundred mission stations in Hunan and Hubei, and saw the harmful effects that opium was having on individuals and their families in inland China. He continued to oppose opium trafficking throughout his lifetime in China as a missionary. In 1890 he became one of the founders of the Permanent Committee for the Promotion of Anti-Opium Societies. Many people who favoured the continuation of the opium trade argued that even if the trade was ended, China would not stop using opium because of the domestic opium production.⁷⁴⁰ Griffith John responded:

It is useless to say that the Chinese are growing opium themselves, and they will continue to do so, whether we import it or not, we have nothing to do with the possible or probably action of the Chinese in this matter. It is for us to wash our hands clean of the iniquity, and allow them to deal with it as they please. The trade is immoral, and a foul blot on England’s escutcheon. It is not for us to perpetrate murder in order to prevent the Chinese from committing suicide.⁷⁴¹

In 1892, the ‘Editorial Comment’ in the *Chinese Recorder* mentioned a leaflet that had been published recently under the name of Archdeacon Moule and which strongly condemned the trafficking of opium. It argued that even though China was not strong enough to prevent the importation of opium fifty year ago and the opium cultivation on her own soil now, if external powers stopped bringing opium into China this would help. As Moule asserted: ‘the

⁷³⁹ Wu, *The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action*, 123.

⁷⁴⁰ Bonk, Jonathan J. “John, Griffith”, *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, Gerald H. Anderson Ed. (NY: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998), 334.

⁷⁴¹ Cleife, Henry H. T. *England’s Greatest National Sin: Being Selections and Reflections on our Asiatic Opium Policy and Traffic* (London: Elliot Stock, 1892), 75.

outside pressure once removed, and the Chinese Government left free and independent to act, possibly vigorous reforms would be inaugurated if only from the motive of self-preservation'.⁷⁴² Archdeacon Wolf from the CMC gave 'a remarkable testimony as to the utter hopelessness of the missionary effort in localities where the people are almost universally addicted to the use of the drug'.⁷⁴³ Furthermore, he stated, 'we recoil in horror from that term now coming into use in some parts of China, — "Jesus opium"' because these words expressed 'the almost universal Chinese idea with reference to the foreign drug. To say that this state of things does not seriously hinder the progress of missions, is to call darkness light and evil good'.⁷⁴⁴ Since the Chinese failed to distinguish between England and Christianity, Griffith John said that they were given to 'look upon the acts of the British Government as the expression of Christian morality', and the Chinese themselves condemned 'opium smoking as evil and evil only'.⁷⁴⁵

Some British missionaries were so embarrassed about the opium question and their government's engagement in the trade, that they were even reluctant to admit they were citizens of the nation. They stated: 'our conviction is unshaken that no Christian government ought to continue the deadly traffic for another day'.⁷⁴⁶ This conviction was reflected in the article "The Opium Traffic in China" which was published in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, which recognised that 'Missionaries of all nationalities, and of all denominations, are unanimous in their testimony as to the evil effects of the drug'.⁷⁴⁷ Just such testimony was given by Alexander Wylie, a superintendent of the LMS's press at Shanghai who had also

⁷⁴² *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Nov. 1892), 541.

⁷⁴³ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Nov. 1892), 540.

⁷⁴⁴ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Nov. 1892), 540.

⁷⁴⁵ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Nov. 1892), 540.

⁷⁴⁶ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Dec. 1893), 595-596.

⁷⁴⁷ *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 424.

travelled extensively throughout the Chinese empire for the fifteen years he spent as an agent of British and Foreign Bible Society. He testified:

Anyone who has lived half of that time among the Chinese, can scarcely have a doubt as to the destructive effects of opium, physically, mentally, and morally. Undoubtedly this is one of the greatest evils with which China is affected, and, unless some means be found to check the practice, it bids fair to accomplish the utter destruction, morally and physically, of that great empire.⁷⁴⁸

6.4. The Period from the Appointment of the RCO to the Abolition of the Opium Trade

When the missionaries in China heard about the establishment of the Royal Commission on Opium, it was applauded in the *Chinese Recorder*, which was the leading journal for the foreign missionary community in China. The editorial was celebratory: ‘We rejoice with and congratulate the home anti-opium crusaders who accept the decision of the House of Commons as the greatest and most solid forward step that the movement for the suppression of the opium trade has yet made’.⁷⁴⁹ Missionaries were optimistic and believing that the Commission would come out with fair and objective report, the *Friend of China* stated: ‘all that we have seen of those members of the Commission who have attended its sittings in London, and all that we hear of the two native members of the Commission, lead us to believe that the Commission is as fair-minded and impartial a tribunal as we could have desired to hear our case’.⁷⁵⁰ However, when Li Hongzhang heard that the Commission was appointed to inquire if the opium was harmful, he remarked, ‘everybody knows that opium is most injurious’.⁷⁵¹

In 1893, the missionaries in China were aware that it was probably too much to hope that Britain would stop the trafficking of opium to China immediately, but at least there had

⁷⁴⁸ *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 424. *Friend of China* (Nov. 1875), 222.

⁷⁴⁹ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Oct. 1893), 494.

⁷⁵⁰ *Friend of China* (Oct. 1893), 146. *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Jan. 1894), 46-47.

⁷⁵¹ *Friend of China* (Dec. 1901), 58.

been a step in the right direction. However, an editorial of the *Chinese Recorder* encouraged: 'It behoves the missionaries of China to redouble their prayers in this important matter, and beseech God to grant them deliverance from the stigma of offering salvation with one hand while with the other they hold out the opium'.⁷⁵² William Muirhead, from the LMS, wrote to appeal to the missionaries on the opium question:

It has engaged your attention more or less during all your missionary life, having been forced upon you by the circumstances in which you are placed, and in regard to it there are not two opinions among us. Opium, as it is currently used in China, is an acknowledged evil, a curse, fraught with misery and mischief throughout the country, and producing the most baleful effects in every department of social life. Our great desire is to get rid of it, and in this we have the fullest sympathies of all right-minded Christian men at home and abroad, natives and foreigners.⁷⁵³

D. Matheson came to China in 1837 as a merchant with the Jardine & Matheson Company, but resigned from the firm in 1849 because of its involvement in opium trafficking, and subsequently became active in the missions. Later he was chairman of the executive committee of the SSOT, and gave evidence in the hearing of the Royal Commission on Opium in London.⁷⁵⁴ James Legge, a missionary of the LMS in China for 33 years and the first professor of Chinese at Oxford University, also testified at the Commission. He said in advance of appearing before the commission, 'It is as certain as anything can be that the opium traffic, unless it be arrested, will reduce the empire of China to beggary and ruin'.⁷⁵⁵

After the Royal Commission hearing ended in India in February 1894, Joseph G. Alexander left for China intending that 'if the Chinese Government showed any readiness to carry out a mutual scheme with the British Government for the suppression of the opium

⁷⁵² *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Jan. 1894), 47.

⁷⁵³ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (May 1898), 254. *Friend of China* (Oct. 1898), 94-95.

⁷⁵⁴ Royal Commission on Opium, *First Report of the Royal Commission on Opium with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*, Vol. 1, 57-59.

⁷⁵⁵ *Methodist Quarterly Review* (July 1884), 425.

traffic, to offer them his services in carrying it out'.⁷⁵⁶ When he passed through Hong Kong, the Rev M. Pease of the LMS and Mr Wong a Chinese pastor and a leading anti-opiumist in Hong Kong strongly requested that he stay a few days to encourage the Christians in Hong Kong and Guangzhou in their anti-opium work. Alexander visited two opium dens in one evening in Hong Kong, and asked the opium-smokers why they took it. They answered that 'they began by taking it for pleasure, not intending to become slaves to the habit; now they cannot leave it off'.⁷⁵⁷ Alexander also asked if they would like the Government to close all the dens; they answered, 'Yes, it would be a very good thing; but we should need some medicine to help us to get over the craving...it would be a blessing to the present and future generations'.⁷⁵⁸

In Hong Kong, Guangzhou and other cities which Alexander visited, he had opportunities to explain the purpose of the Anti-Opium Society and his own purpose in visiting China to large Chinese audiences. At times he was even able to persuade Chinese officials that he was sincere in his intentions. He conferred with missionaries and Chinese leaders, and was convinced that

The right policy to work for was a gradual, concurrent suppression of poppy culture in China, and of the trade from India, covering perhaps ten years; and his main purpose was to get authoritative expressions of Chinese opinion in favour of such a policy. He could then return to England armed with an irresistible argument for insisting on the British Government carrying out its part of the transaction. China would have proved her desire to get rid of the habit, and there could then be no further excuse for forcing Indian opium upon her.⁷⁵⁹

Alexander travelled up to Hankou from Shanghai, and interviewed the Ambassador-elect—His Excellency Kung who was just leaving for London and Paris. Alexander also had a

⁷⁵⁶ Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 82.

⁷⁵⁷ Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 85.

⁷⁵⁸ Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 85.

⁷⁵⁹ Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 88-89.

chance to get in touch with Chang Chih-Yung, the Viceroy of Hubei and Hunan, a man who was 'notorious for his anti-foreign feeling, and generally believed by the missionaries to be the real instigator of the anti-foreign riots of the last two or three years'.⁷⁶⁰ One of the missionaries at Hankou arranged an interview for Alexander with the chief magistrate of Wuchang, Tsai Sih-Yung. Three missionaries went to this interview, and one of them was Griffith John. Alexander, who later said 'I by no means represented the British Government; on the contrary I represented those who had been and were fighting the Government for years, to induce them to give up this trade'.⁷⁶¹ Tsai promised to present Alexander's case to the Viceroy, and, the next day on 25 April 1895, he came back to Alexander with the following letter:

I have laid your views before His Excellency and am in a position to state that H.E. generally agrees with the view of the Anti-Opium Society. He thinks it a benefit for his fellow-countrymen if the use of opium could be restricted or abolished, and is of opinion that the prohibition of producing opium in India would go a long way towards the beneficial aim.⁷⁶²

Finally after a delay of two months at Beijing, Charles Tenney arranged for Alexander to meet the appropriate official Li Hongzhang. Li had negotiated opium duties with Britain between 1869 and 1895, who had also expressed hostility to opium in a letter to the SSOT in 1881. Tenney, a former missionary and an anti-opiumist, became secretary of the American Legation in Beijing.⁷⁶³ Alexander got the impression that Li had no hesitation about 'giving the assurance that China will stop the home growth, when the imports are stopping, saying: 'you may be sure that if you cease sending our people poison, we shall prevent them from providing themselves with it''.⁷⁶⁴ However, Li refused Alexander's scheme of concurrent

⁷⁶⁰ Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 89.

⁷⁶¹ Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 91.

⁷⁶² Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 91-92.

⁷⁶³ Taylor, Arnold H. *American Diplomacy and the Narcotics Traffic, 1900-1939* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1969), 54.

⁷⁶⁴ Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 95.

suppression of the poppy in India and China, and declined to take action because of treaty obligations.⁷⁶⁵

The darkest period in the history of the anti-opium movement followed the report of the Royal Commission on Opium in 1894, and it took a long time for the anti-opium society to mount a fresh attack. However, missionaries in Suzhou proposed to establish a nationwide missionary anti-opium society in 1896. The Anti-Opium League was formed and held their first meeting in Shanghai in 1897. A survey among medical missionaries on the effects of opium on Chinese smokers of the drug was conducted as their first action. The organizer of the survey, Dr. William Park, sent the questions to every foreign missionary in China. Because the missionaries involved in the survey were professionally trained doctors with first-hand experience, the findings were authoritative on the harmful effects of opium.⁷⁶⁶ In the survey, the first question was ‘What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers?’ The answers from medical missionaries to this question were overwhelmingly about the adverse effects of opium on its consumers. An example of one of these negative assessments of the harms of opium came from Josephine M. Bixby who answered: ‘Moral—thoroughly demoralizing. Physical—most injurious. Social—bad every way’. The findings were published as a pamphlet both in Chinese and English in 1899 under the title *Opinions of over 100 Physicians on the Use of Opium in China*.⁷⁶⁷

The early 1900s provided more fresh testimonies from missionaries in China, and anti-opium literature from authority figures both in China and the West. For instance, Viceroy Zhang Zhidong testified:

⁷⁶⁵ *Friend of China* (Aug. 1894), 13-15.

⁷⁶⁶ Zhou, *Anti-drug Crusades in Twentieth-century China*, 23.

⁷⁶⁷ Park, William H. *Opinions of Over 100 Physicians on the Use of Opium in China* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1899), 1.

Opium has spread with frightful rapidity and heart-rending results through the provinces. Millions upon millions have been struck down by the plague. To-day it is running like wildfire. In its swift, deadly course it is spreading devastation everywhere, wrecking the minds and eating away the strength and wealth of its victims.⁷⁶⁸

Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs expressed the generally held opinion of the Chinese government class by quoting Prince Kung's words: 'Take away your opium and your missionaries, and you will be welcome'.⁷⁶⁹ Chester Holcombe, American Minister to Beijing, said that there was a common belief that missionaries were 'the main cause and the special object of the anti-foreign feeling, so universal and so intense throughout China', but 'missionaries have had little to do with this bitter and persistent hostility to foreigners among the Chinese', and actually 'they have suffered heavily from it, but it is not of their creation'.⁷⁷⁰ He also pointed out, 'the opium traffic is the intense hatred of all things and all men foreign...the largest single cause, the most important factor, is the source, history and results of opium'.⁷⁷¹

William E. Soothill was a missionary in Wenzhou from the United Methodist Free Church. He arrived in 1882 and remained there for 29 years until his return to England in 1920. He was appointed as a professor of Chinese at Oxford University, and became a leading British sinology expert. In addition to these achievements, he built a college, many elementary schools and two hospitals in China.⁷⁷² Regarding opium, he noted: 'What book on this country is complete that does not refer to "China's curse and England's shame?"'⁷⁷³

⁷⁶⁸ Chang Chin-Tung, *"China's Only Hope: An Appeal"*, trans. Samuel I. Woodbridge (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1901), 72-73.

⁷⁶⁹ Hart, Robert. *"These from the Land of Sinim" Essays on the Chinese Question* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1901), 68.

⁷⁷⁰ Holcombe, Chester. *The Real Chinese Question* (Toronto: Copp Clark Co. 1900), 155. Welsh, Robert E. *The Challenge to Christian Missions: Missionary Questions and the Modern Mind* (London: H.R. Allenson, 1902), 33.

⁷⁷¹ Holcombe, *The Real Chinese Question*, 286.

⁷⁷² *Who's Who in the Far East, 1906-7* (Hong Kong: China Mail, 1906), 295-6.

⁷⁷³ Soothill, William E. *A Typical Mission in China* (London: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1906), 164.

Soothill said that he had listened to many excuses for the trade, ‘though never from a Missionary—not one of which was not an accusation’, and he agreed with what the anti-opiumists’ claim that opium was ‘the deadliest scourge the world has even known’.⁷⁷⁴ He established an opium refuge to help addicts with simple remedies, foods, Bible teaching and prayers which he thought would effect a cure. He also lamented, ‘what a hindrance the cultivation of the poppy is to the growth of the native church’.⁷⁷⁵ However, a new era was dawning in China, and opium-smoking was regarded as one of the key points in the scheme of the reformation movement from 1898.

Anti-opium teaching by missionaries had been in place for a long time and produced effects on hundreds of thousands of Chinese. The anti-opium agitation of students swept the nation, and officials had great sympathy with popular feeling on the subject. Four Viceroy presented a memorandum to the throne in 1908, which stated, ‘China can never become strong and stand shoulder to shoulder with the powers of the world, unless she can get rid of the habit of opium smoking by her subjects, about one-quarter of whom have been reduced to skeletons, and look half dead’.⁷⁷⁶ Tang Shaoyi, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, had previously visited India to negotiate a Tibet trade convention in 1905, and approached the Indian government on the opium question.⁷⁷⁷ He was very pleased with India’s readiness to cooperate with China, and informed the Chinese government that, ‘it was the Chinese craving for the drug, and not England’s desire to force it upon China, which was responsible for the continuance of the traffic in India opium’.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁴ Soothill, *A Typical Mission in China*, 165-166.

⁷⁷⁵ Soothill, *A Typical Mission in China*, 170.

⁷⁷⁶ *China Times* (16 Jan. 1906). *The Church Missionary Review* (Dec. 1906), 892. Merwin, *Drugging a Nation: The Story of China and the Opium Curse*, 13.

⁷⁷⁷ Hosie, *On the Trail of the Opium Poppy*, Vol. II, 191.

⁷⁷⁸ Wright, Hamilton. “The International Opium Commission”, *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (July 1909), 648-673. *Friend of China* (Jan. 1909), 13. Dunn, Wie T. *The Opium Traffic in Its International Aspects* (NY: Columbia University, 1920), 42-43.

The Chinese government also sought to regulate the importation of morphine because it has gained such a hold in Chinese society by 1903. The anti-morphine movement was ‘one of the first indications of the awakening of Chinese public opinion against the abuse of opium and opiates’.⁷⁷⁹ In response, China issued an imperial decree on 20 September 1906:

Since the restrictions against the use of opium were removed, the poison of this drug has practically permeated the whole of China. The opium smoker wastes his time and neglects work, ruins his health, and impoverishes his family. The poverty and weakness which for the last few decades have been daily increasing amongst us are undoubtedly attributable to this cause, when we are striving to strengthen the Empire, it behoves us to admonish the people, that all may realize the necessity of freeing themselves from these evils and thus pass from sickness to health. It is hereby commanded that within a period of ten years, the evils arising from foreign and native opium be equally and completely eradicated. Let the government council frame such measures as may be suitable and necessary for strictly forbidding the consumption of the drug and the cultivation of the poppy.⁷⁸⁰

On 21 November 1906, Ten Regulations were promulgated.⁷⁸¹ The decree and regulations were described as ‘the most masterly state document issued in China for many years, leaving no loophole for evasion’.⁷⁸²

In the Centenary Missionary Conference in Shanghai from 25 April to 8 May 1907, ‘the awakening of China’ was mentioned, and one of the indications of this awakening was said to be the ‘crusade against opium’.⁷⁸³ In the list of Christian literature extant in Chinese, there were twelve published anti-opium books.⁷⁸⁴ Regarding medical missions in China, the conference heard how most hospitals established opium refuges since ‘the evils arising from the abuse of opium are widespread, and so extreme that it is difficult to exaggerate them. Chinese public opinion and the whole missionary body are unanimous as to the degrading and

⁷⁷⁹ Lowes, *The Genesis of International Narcotics Control*, 56.

⁷⁸⁰ *China Year Book* (1912), 425. Lo, Ren Yen. *The Opium Problem in the Far East* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933), 25.

⁷⁸¹ *Chinese Year Book* (1912), 425-428. Bland, J. O. P. *Recent Events and Present Policies in China* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1912), 436-437.

⁷⁸² *The English Review*, Vol. 60 (1935), 659. *The Atlantic*, Vol. 155 (1935), 722.

⁷⁸³ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 178.

⁷⁸⁴ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 194.

degenerating effect of opium on body and mind'.⁷⁸⁵ The Conference expressed to hold 'the same attitude of unflinching opposition to, and unhesitating condemnation of, the opium trade that was taken by the Missionary Conference of 1877 and reaffirmed by the Conference of 1890'.⁷⁸⁶ The 1907 conference recognised: 'The people of Great Britain have long been misled as to the true character of the Indo-China opium revenue, but now that at last they begin to understand the situation, they desire to do justice by retreating from a false position'.⁷⁸⁷ The Conference also presented resolutions for medical missions:

To urge on missions throughout China that they should seek more energetically to combat this great evil in every possible way; that they should extent the work of opium refuges; and that they should above all make prominent in all their efforts and in each individual case the power of Christ as the only sure hope of permanent salvation from the degradation of this vice.⁷⁸⁸

W. H. Park, a medical missionary who established a mission hospital for men in Suzhou with the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society, encouraged church members to help with the work of opium refuges, and join in the anti-opium societies which they were starting all over the country. He suggested that all missionaries must urge their church members to not in any way engage in the opium trade or 'anti-opium remedies containing opium or any of its derivatives', and 'church organizations should be free of opium and as energetic in fighting it as any anti-opium league in the land'.⁷⁸⁹ He further explained:

This was absolutely essential; for the Gospel had suffered immeasurably at the hands of opium. Opium was brought into China many years ago, hundreds perhaps—but the ordinary Chinese regarded it as having been brought in by foreigners about the time of the introduction of Protestant Christianity; so that in the minds of many Chinese all over the Empire, opium and the Christian religion are associated together. "Away with your opium and your missionaries" had been the cry.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁵ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 265.

⁷⁸⁶ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 750.

⁷⁸⁷ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 388.

⁷⁸⁸ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 626.

⁷⁸⁹ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 647.

⁷⁹⁰ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records*, 647.

An International Opium Commission was held at Shanghai between 1 and 26 February 1909, and delegates attended from thirteen nations. One of the most vital subjects discussed was the anti-opium medicines containing morphine and how they had spread almost imperceptibly. The problem was caused by the ignorant use of 'anti-opium' pills which contained the alkaloid morphine to satisfy the addict's craving by giving him opium in another form without his knowledge.⁷⁹¹ Worldwide public opinion putting pressure on the Indian-Chinese negotiations to stop poppy cultivation and the opium trade. The international nature of the debate and the problem was expressed by the leader of the American delegation to the Opium Commission at Shanghai:

It was debatable as to how far the British Government would have gone in suppressing the excessive production of opium in India had not the whole problem assumed a new phase by the entrance of the United States into the larger affairs of the Far East, through the acquisition of the Philippines. Those who see no good in the American occupation of the islands should take comfort out of the fact that because the United States too had a vast opium problem there, it gave new hope to the anti-opium movement and took the initial step to raise the Indo-Chinese Opium Question from its national confines and place it squarely before the international world for discussion and final settlement.⁷⁹²

The International Opium Convention was signed at the Hague Conference on 23 January 1912, and linked what had begun at Shanghai and the organized international narcotics control that had grown out of the Shanghai agreement.⁷⁹³

The World Missionary Conference was held at Edinburgh between 14 and 23 June 1910, and its central theme was 'The Evangelization of the World in This Generation'. The Hon. Seth Low pointed out in his address the duty of missionaries who belonged to nations involved in the opium trade: 'when the Government of a country whose public opinion is predominately Christian fails to illustrate such ideals, the work of a missionary is made

⁷⁹¹ International Opium Commission. *Report of the International Opium Commission*, Vol. I, 3-7.

⁷⁹² Wright, "The International Opium Commission", 669.

⁷⁹³ Lowes, *The Genesis of International Narcotics Control*, 176.

infinitely more difficult. The missionary can face with equanimity risks to his own life, because he knows that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church'.⁷⁹⁴ Missionaries felt embarrassed about their government's current negotiations with China and pressed for more vigorous anti-opium action. Low acknowledged these efforts at the conference:

I should like to point out, for our own encouragement, that the missionary protest against opium, so long continued and so eloquently voiced, has not been in vain, because within a month or two from now there is to meet at the Hague an International Conference upon that subject, which will be presided over by a member of this Conference, Bishop Brent of the Philippines Island.⁷⁹⁵

The Commission of the Conference passed four resolutions which Bishop Brent of the Protestant Episcopal Church U.S.A. and the Archbishop of York supported. The Commission also stated:

When the Commission says it voices the feelings of missionaries and the supporters of missions regarding the opium problem, it might have added with truthfulness that it voices also the feelings of every Christian colonial government and of some non-Christian governments.⁷⁹⁶

24 October 1910 was also decreed as a national day of humiliation and prayer by the Conference because it was the fiftieth anniversary of the ratification of the Treaty of Tianjin (24 October 1860) by which the opium trade had first been legalized.⁷⁹⁷

Alexander Hosie who had investigated most of the opium-growing districts in China said, 'No question has ever stirred the Chinese Empire so profoundly as that of opium suppression. It affects all classes, and public opinion, backed by a young but growing patriotism, is gradually but surely branding opium-smoking as an evil that must be

⁷⁹⁴ World Missionary Conference, *The History and Records of the Conference together with Address Delivered at the Evening Meetings*, 279.

⁷⁹⁵ World Missionary Conference, *The History and Records of the Conference together with Address Delivered at the Evening Meetings*, 279.

⁷⁹⁶ World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission VII: Missions and Government*, 164.

⁷⁹⁷ *China Year Book* (1916), 663.

eradicated'.⁷⁹⁸ On 8 May 1911, a fresh agreement was signed between China and Britain, and some important provisions included in the new agreement. The Indian-Chinese opium trade was finally extinguished under the terms of the Agreement of 1908 and 1911.⁷⁹⁹

In February 1917, the Chinese government purchased the last 2,000 chests of opium stocks from opium merchants for the sum of 25 million dollars and burned it publically.⁸⁰⁰ There was no further importation of opium into China through legitimate channels from that day.⁸⁰¹ The Agreement of 1911 terminated on 31 December 1917, and the following passage describes English opinion regarding the success of the opium reformation in China:

The 31st of December, 1917, is a date to be held in perpetual remembrance in China, as on that day the legitimate foreign opium trade with China and the legitimate Chinese cultivation of opium ceased, in accordance with the Anglo-Chinese Agreement of May, 1911. Both the British and Chinese government, may be congratulated on the step then taken, but chiefly the Chinese government, for this was the crowning act of a remarkable reformation. The Manchu government started the reform, and it was completed under the Republic, and by rigorous enforcement of the mandates that had forbidden the cultivation of poppy and any trade in opium, together with the sale of the smoker's pipe and other accessories, the country for a brief period was actually almost clear of the evil.⁸⁰²

Conclusion

Lodwick acknowledged that 'missionaries were most successful not in convincing the Chinese to giving up the drug', but by 'constantly keeping the issue before the British government until it was forced to take action'.⁸⁰³ Through looking at Protestant missionary opposition to the trafficking of opium we have examined another perspective in order to gain a fuller picture of missionary activity from the fourth entrance of Christianity and attempt a

⁷⁹⁸ Scheltema, J. F. "The Opium Question", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Sep., 1910), 213-235.

⁷⁹⁹ *China Year Book* (1916), 663-666.

⁸⁰⁰ Dunn, *The Opium Traffic in Its International Aspects*, 123.

⁸⁰¹ Lowes, *The Genesis of International Narcotics Control*, 168.

⁸⁰² International Anti-Opium Association, *The War against Opium* (Tientsin: Tientsin Press Ltd., 1922), 25. Lo, *The Opium Problem in the Far East*, 26.

⁸⁰³ Lodwick, *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917*, 182.

reinterpretation of the relationship that existed between the missionaries and the opium trade. We have studied the attitudes of a few prominent Protestant missionary pioneers, who were active during the period before the first Opium War. These included: Robert Morrison, William Milne, Walter Henry Medhurst, Karl F. A. Gützlaff, and Elijah Coleman Bridgman. We also examined the debates between missionaries and opium traders on opium published in missionary journals especially the *Chinese Repository*.

From the first Opium War to the establishment of the SSOT, after missionaries shortly enjoyed the relative freedoms that accompanied the legalization of Christianity in China, they began to realize the negative impact that the legalization of opium had inflicted on the progress of Christianity. To many Chinese, Christianity was deemed guilty by its association with opium, another British import. Recognising this, missionaries started to sign petitions denouncing the opium trade, and sent reports back home to oppose British opium policy. Missionaries also set up hospitals and refuge centres to help opium smokers and refused to accept opium addicts as church members in order to differentiate themselves and their values in the minds of the Chinese from the opium traders. From the establishment of the SSOT to the appointment of the RCO, the zeal of missionaries in China against the trafficking of opium provided the impetus to the SSOT. They attacked the opium revenue system in India, gave testimonies about the harmful effects of opium on Chinese people, and shared their difficulties arising from Chinese hostility towards missionaries and Christianity due to the opium trade. During Protestant Missionary Conferences in China and England, the opium issue had been discussed, Chinese missionaries presented papers on opium and its related problems, resolutions were passed, and all those missionaries condemned opium traffic with a unanimous view that opium was a disgrace to a Christian nation and a hindrance to the Christian mission in China.

Although missionaries had hoped that the trade would end shortly after the appointment of the RCO, they were quickly disappointed by its reports. Missionaries helped to arrange for Joseph G. Alexander the secretary of the SSOT to meet Chinese officials during his trip in China to discuss the opium issue. The anti-opium societies had been formed in China, surveys had been sent out to medical missionaries to ask their first hand experiences of the harmful effects of opium, and the results had been published. Finally, a sustained period of anti-opium teaching by Chinese missionaries, the changing of international opinion about opium, the reformation and awakening in China, the missionaries' expressions of embarrassment and condemnation of British government involvement in the opium trade during the World Missionary Conference, many years of hard work by the SSOT, and political change within the British government, all contributed to bringing opium trafficking to an end.

The positive impact of the Christian missions in China on education, technology, medicine, women's rights and other aspects of Chinese society has been recognized gradually by Chinese scholars who have researched Christianity in China. However, due to the fourth entrance of Christianity during the Opium Wars and the negative impact of subsequent historical events on the Chinese conception of Christianity, Christian and opium were associated in Chinese minds. Therefore, many Chinese Christians in mainland China struggled with their identity as both Chinese and Christian. This was partially because although many Chinese people were not anti-religious they were anti-Christian, and the Chinese government was both anti-religious and particularly anti-Christian. However, through studying the contemporary missionary opposition to the opium trade we can see that western missionaries were also, to an extent and in a different way from the Chinese people, victims of their own governments' involvement in the opium trade. Research on missionary

opposition to the opium trade has been neglected by Chinese scholars intentionally or unintentionally, so hopefully this study will help some Chinese people to rethink their conceptions of Christianity and their existing notions about missionary activity in China.

CONCLUSION: CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

The intention behind this thesis is to build bridges between the western and eastern understandings of Christian missions after the fourth entrance of Christianity and during the Opium Wars in the 1840s. With regard to western readers who are interested in Chinese Christianity, it has aimed to show why some Chinese people were not anti-religious but anti-Christian and why the Chinese government was anti-religious and particularly anti-Christian. This provides an alternative to western perspective which has, often, described the experiences of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians in China in terms of human rights abuses and the lack of religious freedom in order to criticise the Chinese regime. For Chinese readers in mainland China, this thesis is intended to give them a fuller understanding of missionary activities in the nineteenth century and prompt a reinterpretation of the relationship between western missionaries and the opium trade; a reinterpretation based on Protestant Christians' efforts in the Anti-Opium Movement in Britain and Protestant Missionaries' opposition to the opium trade in China.

Westerners have to appreciate the hardships that western powers inflicted on China and its people, from the Opium Wars right up until the establishment of the New China in 1949. Instead of just criticizing the regime's suppression and persecution of Chinese Christians, we should ask not only what some Chinese people and government thought about Christianity but also why Chinese Christians were particularly suspected as a destabilizing influence on the unity of the nation. Furthermore, we should question why Chinese Christians struggled with their identity as both Chinese and Christian, especially those who had contact with western churches and foreign missionaries.

The Opium War in 1840 was considered as the first large-scale war launched by the western countries against China, and it opened up the nation to the outside world. It marked the beginning of China's modern history, but it was a period during which China was gradually relegated to the status of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Moreover, the first Protestant missionary Robert Morrison worked for the East India Company as an interpreter for 25 years is evidenced by both Chinese and western literature. Western missionaries worked as interpreters for their governments during the Opium Wars, directly participated in the planning and drafting of the Unequal Treaties including the clauses related to the progress of Christianity, and built churches freely in the trading ports named in the Treaties. Therefore, from the Chinese point of view, opium and Christianity/missionaries were forced on the Chinese people through gunboat diplomacy.

After the first Opium War, China's economy and society had changed radically. The opium trade was rampant, and China's public finances and monetary circulation were in serious damage because of the massive importation of opium and exportation of silver which was used as currency at that time. One of the dramatic impacts of large quantities of goods shipped to China from the West was the undermining of its previously self-sufficient economy, and its feudal economic system began to disintegrate. The outflow of gold and silver caused by the opium trade, the destruction of national industries because of foreign competition, and the corruption of state administration led to new taxes being levied on the population on top of the almost unbearable existing government taxes. Consequently, the average Chinese person was forced to live in extreme poverty and bankrupted refugees from all parts of the country eventually converged around the Taiping.⁸⁰⁴

⁸⁰⁴ Lindesay, Brine. *The Taiping Rebellion in China: A Narrative of Its Rise and Progress, Based Upon Original Documents and Information Obtained in China* (London: J. Murray, 1862), 8.

The founder of the Taiping Hong Xiuquan was a Christian and influenced by Protestant missionaries. Hong, who considered himself as God's second son and Jesus' younger brother, travelled around Guangxi and other provinces to preach Christianity and recruit believers. When he launched the anti-Qing uprising in Guangxi in 1851, more than 10,000 believers joined. Hong took over Nanjing as his capital city, and established the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom in 1853. In the next twenty years before it was finally suppressed by the Qing government and foreign troops, Taiping conquered more than 600 cities in sixteen provinces, which was about half of the territory of the Qing government. As David Aikman commented, 'It must have etched in the minds of Chinese officialdom that Christianity could become an ingredient in a revolt against the ruling dynasty'.⁸⁰⁵ This quote suggests that the rulers of China were concerned about the threat to their power that Christianity posed. In the light of the potential threat to their regime, the restrictions on Chinese Christians imposed by Chinese officials becomes more understandable. Especially, nowadays, the Chinese Churches, especially the unregistered churches, are not only well organized with large numbers, but also in close contact with western churches and Christians, even though they themselves had no political ambitions.

Western powers protected their own missionaries in China in accordance with their right of consular jurisdiction. As a result, missionaries enjoyed extraterritoriality, extended it to support their mission to convert Chinese people to Christianity, and interfered in Chinese judicial authority. This interference caused conflicts and disputes between Chinese people and western missionaries, which became known as 'religious cases'. Western countries used these religious cases as an excuse to impose military and political pressure on the Qing government.

⁸⁰⁵ Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity Is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power*, 39.

For example, during the Tianjin incident in 1870, when twenty Chinese people were executed and twenty-five were exiled. Christianity and missionaries were unwelcome in China as the Chinese felt that they had been imposed on them along with opium. Moreover, the religious freedom which had been gained by the Unequal Treaties and gunboats had been misused by some missionaries. In light of these facts, it is unsurprising that right up until the present day, western missionaries are not permitted to carry out missionary work in China, and Chinese Christians are still suspected and suppressed.

During the Boxer Uprising in 1900, Boxers launched and killed a large number of Chinese Catholics. The death toll resulting from the massacres of foreigners and Chinese Christians including 241 foreign missionaries and more than 20,000 Chinese believers (18,000 Catholics and 5,000 Protestants). This was the culmination of the resistance, hatred, and resentment which had built up towards Christianity over the sixty years since the first Opium War in 1840. However, the Boxer Uprising eventually led to the Eight-Power Allied Expedition, during which some missionaries worked for the western powers as guides, interpreters, and intelligence officers. During the uprising, Beijing was captured, the Summer Palace, Yuanmingyuan, was set on fire, and, subsequently, 450 million taels of silver was paid to the western powers as war reparations. The burning of the Summer Palace was considered as the Chinese people's shame and a national humiliation. In this context, it is not surprising that many Chinese people had such a negative impression of Christianity, or that missionaries were viewed as the agents of imperialists who had participated in the western powers' invasion of China.

With regards to the Anti-Christian Movement in the 1920s: Germany occupied Qingdao in 1897, ignored China's sovereignty, and wanted to turn it over to Japan in the Paris

Conference of 1919. The Qing Dynasty was overthrown during the revolution of 1911, so the feudal imperial examination system collapsed before a new educational system could be established. Therefore, almost all of the colleges and universities were set up by western missionaries which meant that the next young generation of Chinese people would be educated at western missionary schools. Moreover, the 11th World Student Christian Federation Conference was planned to be held at Qinghua University in Beijing in 1922, and a book *The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China* was published in Shanghai in 1922. In this context, Christianity was regarded by many Chinese people in mainland China as an alternative form of western invasion through cultural and religious infiltration. It was believed that missionaries conducted surveys in order to gain more information to advance the western occupation of China, while educating China's next young generation. This explains, to an extent, why Chinese church ministries were being closely watched, and, except for a few seminaries which were established by the government for the officially sanctioned churches, no educational institutes were allowed to be set up by Christian churches or western missionaries.

From the 1930s to the establishment of the New China in 1949, was a chaotic and violent time in Chinese modern history. When Japan occupied the northeast three provinces and established the puppet Manchuria Regime in 1931, the Vatican was the second state to recognise the regime after Japan. During the Eight-Year War of Resistance against Japan from 1937 to 1945, missionaries helped with medical works and supported the Chinese people during the War. However, during the Civil War between the Communists and the Nationalists from 1945 to 1949, even though the Communist Party changed their religious policy and permitted western missionaries to carry out missionary work, western missionaries were still

pro-Nationalists. Americans, in particular, tended to be anti-communists and allied themselves with the Nationalists. The Vatican also issued several anti-Communist edicts and encyclical letters against the Communists. Subsequently, after the Communist Party took power in China in 1949, the Vatican refused to recognize it as a legal regime in China, and established their apostolic internunciature in Taiwan in 1952. Up until the present day, China has still not established diplomatic relations with the Vatican and, therefore, priests and bishops in China are consecrated in the, government sanctioned, Chinese Catholic Churches.

The historical events that have been discussed thus far, particularly in terms of their relation to Christianity and western missionaries, were not only recorded in contemporary Chinese materials but also in English literature. In Chinese minds, western countries brought hardship to China during the period from the first Opium War in 1840 to the establishment of the New China in 1949. For the Chinese, two western countries were considered as Christian (Protestant) nations, one was Britain and the other America. During the Opium Wars, Britain had forced China to open the door through the use of gunboats, sold opium and sent missionaries to China at the same time. America had taken part in the Unequal Treaties, played an important role in the western invasion of China, and supported the Nationalists during the Civil War. With regards to the Catholic Church, the Vatican was well known for its anti-Communist policy especially regarding the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. What kinds of religious policy would the western countries expect when the Communist Party took power in China? Nowadays, western countries ignore these historical events and their negative impact on Chinese conceptions of Christianity and, instead, focus on criticising the lack of religious freedom in China. Have they considered the role they played in the difficulties and hardship that China went through as a nation? Have they realized that they contributed to the situation in which Chinese Christians suffered and

endured persecution for their faith? Should western countries apologize for what they have done in the past and give time and space for the nation to heal its own pain and wounds? Hopefully, this thesis will help western readers who are interested in Chinese Christianity to understand why some Chinese people in mainland China are not anti-religious but anti-Christian, and why the Chinese government is anti-religious but particularly anti-Christian.

A number of historical events have been selected and examined to help us understand the formation of Chinese conceptions of Christianity. However, as mentioned in the methodological considerations section, history not only involves selection but also involves interpretation. Research is always political, and history is the meaningful narrative of events and intentions. Historical events have been recorded from points of view, and we view the past through the eyes of our present context, and historians are of their own era. However, no point of view is right or wrong, as each is the only one possible for the historian who adopts it. All history involves selection and interpretation which is related to human aims, intentions, and motivations. Moreover, history is not just influenced by the individual historian writing it, but also the cultural norms and general worldview of the societies in which historians live and belong.

This study is also about how cultural, historical, and political aspects of the societies to which historians belong influences their interpretation of the historical events related to the history of Christianity in China and Chinese conceptions of Christianity. From the beginning of the 1950s to the early 1960s, Chinese academic research on Christianity was mainly restricted to the study of the history of philosophy. Due to China's one hundred years' experience of invasion by the western powers and their interpretation of Marx's religious

theory, Christianity was regarded as part of the invasion.⁸⁰⁶ Criticism of imperialists for utilising Christianity to invade China became the basic direction and main topic of research on Christianity, which tended to include three arguments: Religion (Christianity) was the opium of the people; western missionaries were the tools of imperialist aggressors in China; and educational and charitable undertakings by western mission societies were a means of cultural invasion and religious infiltration. From the early 1960s to the end of the 1970s, research on the history of Christianity in China became a ‘forbidden zone’, and a ‘precarious subject’ to study. Political influence on academic research was obvious in this period. Because of Christianity’s contact with imperialism, its links with the Nationalist Party, and the Vatican’s attitude toward the Communist Party, Christianity became a symbol of the evils of imperialism and capitalism. Even though not every missionary was suspected as a spy, it was still perceived as an inglorious role.⁸⁰⁷

Gu Changsheng’s book, *Missionary and the Modern China*, was the first book about the missionaries’ activities in China and was published in 1981. Gu reviewed missionaries’ activities from a Marxist political perspective. While describing the general events, it introduced a number of examples of missionaries, religious cases, church charities, and Christian schools. The purpose of these examples was to indicate how imperialist used missionaries to invade China, and to demonstrate how the missionaries were simultaneously dependent on and helping to implement the imperialist policies of aggression. His comments

⁸⁰⁶ Guo Hailiang 郭海良. “1980 年以来国内基督教研究评述 [Summary of the Research on Christianity in China from 1980]”, *历史教学问题 [History Teaching Problems]*, Vol. 6 (2006).

⁸⁰⁷ Long Xiuqing & Wang Xingyun 龙秀清 & 王兴昀. “近百年来的基督教入华史研究 [Research on the History of Chinese Christianity in Recent Hundred Years]”, *中国宗教研究年鉴 2005-2006 [Yearbook of Chinese Religious Studies 2005-2006]*, Cao Zhongjian Ed. 曹中建 主编 (Beijing: Religion & Culture Press 宗教文化出版社, 2008), 477-506.

on missionary activities and their influence on modern China was rather negative.⁸⁰⁸

In the 1980s after the Cultural Revolution and the Open-Door Policy, surprisingly Christianity in China did not disappear as expected, and the next ten years saw the dramatic growth of Christianity in rural areas of China. In 1987, Luo Zhufeng compiled *Religious Problems in the Chinese Socialist Period* which dealt with the ‘theory of religion as opium’ and ‘the extinction of religion’ as a critique of the religious ideology of the ‘Left’.⁸⁰⁹ However, the 1980s should be seen as a transitional period as most research on the history of Christianity was in regard to its negative effects on China, such as the Boxer Uprising and the religious cases. In Luo’s evaluation of the historical effects of church activities, the orientation of the research on Christianity was also changed from the ‘theory of imperialist aggression’ to ‘modernization theory’.⁸¹⁰

In the 1990s, research methods and theories around religious studies had improved. For example, sociological sampling for questionnaire surveys and anthropological fieldwork had been applied to Christian studies. However, most research topics focused on the emergence of ‘Christianity Fever’ since the 1980s, and research questions tended to concern themselves with topics such as: the growth in the number of Christians in China; the structure and composition of church members; reasons for the growth in the number of believers; the church’s positive and negative functions within a socialist society; how religion could adapt to socialism; and how the government could deal with religious affairs more effectively. The government tasked a number of research institutes and scholars with investigating these

⁸⁰⁸ Tang Han 汤汉. “‘传教士与近代中国’书评 [Book Review of Missionary and the Modern China]”, 桥 [Bridge], (May 1983), 15-16.

⁸⁰⁹ Luo Zhufeng Ed. 罗竹风 主编. 中国社会主义时期的宗教问题 [*Religious Problems in the Chinese Socialist Period*], (Shanghai: Social Sciences Press 社会科学院出版社, 1987).

⁸¹⁰ Long Xiuqing & Wang Xingyun 龙秀清 & 王兴昀. “近百年来的基督教入华史研究 [Research on the History of Chinese Christianity in Recent Hundred Years]”, 477-506.

questions. The aim of this research was not to advance the discipline of religious sociology or to cater for the needs of the church, but to satisfy the demand for religious materials that would assist the government's administration of religious affairs.⁸¹¹

Since 2000, the research of Christianity in China has developed to incorporate new areas of study. Whereas the focus of past research was mainly confined to the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China and tended to focus on Protestantism, contemporary research incorporates a much greater span of Christian history including post 1949. Scholars also looked at Chinese Christian history within the context of the global history of Christianity, and from cross-national and cross-cultural perspectives. Whereas previous research emphasized undertakings by western missionaries including education and teaching, medicine, publications and charity work, more recent research has looked at issues such as the ideological value of the spread of Christianity in China and what Christianity contributed to Chinese civilization. However, some historical figures such as Ni Tuosheng (Watchman Nee), and Wang Mingdao during the Three-Self Reform Movement are still sensitive topics for research and it can be difficult to collect data from archives and publish research on them. As a consequence of avoiding sensitive topics which were being discussed within international academia, mainland scholars found themselves unable to engage in international academic discourses about their own country's history. Because the spread of Christianity and western aggression in the late Qing Dynasty occurred simultaneously, the paradigm of Christianity as cultural invasion dominated the field of research on Christian missions for a long time. Even though scholars have subsequently experienced a research paradigm shift, and moved away from 'victim-preset-ideas', they are still subject to this subtle influence. Consequently, there is

⁸¹¹ Huang Jianbo 黄剑波. “二十年来中国大陆基督教的经验性研究述评 [A Review of Empirical Studies on Christianity in Mainland China in the Twenty Years]”, 基督教思想评论 [*Christian Thoughts Review*], Vol. 9 (2009).

less research on Christianity within Chinese academia than in other countries. There is cultural prejudice towards Christianity because of the history of colonialism and imperialism, and an unspoken belief that such research would not be permitted.⁸¹²

We have seen how the individual accounts of historical events have been influenced by the beliefs, ideology, and worldview of the society to which the historians belong. An individual historical account gives part of the picture of what happened but not the whole story. Lying beneath the official narrative and Chinese scholars' research on the history of Christianity in China is another set of stories, another collection of narratives, and another part of the picture, which speaks of a different dimension of the missionaries' activities and convictions. These are the unreported or briefly mentioned accounts that can be found in official records and the history of Christianity in China. All history involves selection which is influenced by research trends and the aims, intentions and motivations of the individual researcher. Therefore, a solely Chinese view cannot provide a comprehensive and whole account of historical events during that period. There are deficiencies, lacunas and gaps in the reporting and analysis of events, which can and should be challenged by analysing and searching for alternative accounts, which have been, deliberately or not, neglected within Chinese literature. Moreover, the Chinese have to appreciate that they cannot tar every missionary with the same brush. If you want yourselves and your pain to be understood, you also have the responsibility and obligation to use the same criteria and be willing to hear from others because their perspective contributes to a fuller and better understanding of a shared history and reality.

During the Boxer Uprising, many missionaries and even their children were killed.

⁸¹² Tao Feiya 陶飞亚. “中国基督教史研究的新趋向 [A New Trend in the Study of the History of Christianity in China]”, 史林 [*Historical Review*], Vol. 2 (2013).

From the recorded last words of missionary martyrs we can see that there are significant differences between missionaries and imperialists. For instance, from the Church Missionary Society, Miss Janet Stevens went to China in 1885, and later returned to England for a furlough when her health deteriorated. Her friend asked her if staying in England would be better and easier for her. She answered, ‘I don’t feel I have yet finished the work God has for me in China. I must go back. Perhaps—who knows?—I may be among those who will be allowed to give their lives for the people’.⁸¹³ Miss Mildred E. Clarke sailed for China in 1893 after a farewell meeting, and arrived at her final destination of Taiyuan city in Shanxi province in April 1894. She wrote back to her mother, ‘I long to live a poured-out life unto Him among these Chinese, and to enter unto the fellowship of His sufferings for souls, who poured out His life unto death for us’.⁸¹⁴ Stevens and Clarke both suffered martyrdom at Taiyuan on 9 July 1900.

Rev. Archibald E. Glover graduated from Oxford University, joined the Anglican Church, and later served in China with his wife A. E. Glover. During the Boxer Uprising, they fled from Lu’an Shanxi to Hankou with other missionaries while Mrs. Glover was heavily pregnant. Within forty days of their escape from Lu’an, the Glovers and their associates faced a number of trials. In one instance they were trapped by some local villagers who demanded that they pay 200 taels of silver in order to leave safely; otherwise they would die. They also encountered some people who posed as friends, but who ultimately deceived them and robbed them of everything. The missionaries were hungry and naked and lived on grass roots and tree

⁸¹³ Forsyth, Robert C. *The China Martyrs of 1900: A Complete Roll of the Christian Heroes Martyred in China in 1900, with Narratives of Survivors* (NY: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1904), 436-438. Hefley, James C. & Marti Hefley. *By Their Blood: Christian Martyrs of the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1996), 20.

⁸¹⁴ Broomhall, Marshall. *Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1901), 64-78. Forsyth, *The China Martyrs of 1900*, 438.

leaves. During their escape, the missionaries also faced plots to trample them to death, poison or shoot them. However, despite the hardships which they endured, they reached their final destination, but not without losses. Mrs. E. J. Cooper died on 6 August during the escape, and Miss Mary E. Huston also passed away on 12 August just two days before they reached Hankou. Finally, Mr. Glover and the other missionaries arrived in Hankou on 14 August, forty days after their escape from Lu'an Shanxi. Mrs. Glover gave birth on 18 August, but the baby died after ten days and Mrs. Glover passed away one month later.⁸¹⁵ In Mr. Glover's letter to their parents, he wrote: 'It is only through the infinite mercy of God that you see my handwriting again. Since you last heard from us, we have been literally "in deaths off", and have experienced deliverance after deliverance where all hope of escape seemed cut off'.⁸¹⁶ Rev. Glover began to write a book titled: *A Thousand Miles of Miracle in China*. However, Miss Caroline Gates completed it because Glover said, 'I am obliged to stop again very unwillingly. I have been very weary in body, and am not able yet to complete the story of those awful forty days. It is a trial to me to go over it in memory even just now'.⁸¹⁷

Hudson Taylor, the founder of the China Inland Mission, refused to accept compensation for the missionaries who were killed during the Boxer Uprising in order to demonstrate 'the meekness and gentleness of Christ' and show 'such a clear-cut distinction between the motives of the secular power and those of missionaries as witness to Christ and the Gospel'.⁸¹⁸ With regards to any indemnity and orphans whose parents were killed during

⁸¹⁵ Forsyth, *The China Martyrs of 1900*, 127-133. Huang Xipei 黄锡培. 回首百年殉道血: 1900 年义和团殉道宣教士的生命故事 [In Remembrance of Martyrs A Century Ago: Records and Documents Related to the Missionary Martyrs of the 1900 Boxer Incident], (CA: CCM Publishing House, 2010), 529-550.

⁸¹⁶ Marshall, *Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission*, 81.

⁸¹⁷ *China's Millions*, (1900), 209. Glover, Archibald E. *A Thousand Miles of Miracle in China: A Personal Record of God's Delivering Power from the Hands of the Imperial Boxers of Shan-si* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904).

⁸¹⁸ Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century, Vol. 7, It Is Not Death to Die!* 469-470.

the Boxer Uprising, the China Inland Mission made a decision that,

Whatever the Powers may do in this matter, it will be well for Missionaries to take a more Christ-like course: and even gladly to suffer the loss of all things, that the Gospel be not hindered. Our own Mission has decided to make no claim whatever, either for life or property, and has assumed the responsibility of the orphan children of the martyred Missionaries.⁸¹⁹

The foundation of the Chinese Church has been laid by the blood of foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians, and these missionary martyrs had a great influence on Chinese churches. In the last letter of Miss Emma G. Hurn, she expresses her dedication to bringing the gospel to China but, also, an awareness of the dangers she will face: ‘We know that after this time of trial China will be a very different land. Truly the foundation of the Church has been laid by blood; we know not at present how many lives have been laid down...One can only say, God ruleth over all’.⁸²⁰ In the last letter of Rev. William Adam M’Currach to his mother on 3 July 1900, he wrote, ‘This is a sad time for China. If all missionaries are murdered, it will move the Church in a remarkable way. If it is God’s way of evangelising China, then surely we ought to be ready to die for the Gospel’s sake. None of us want to die, but we all want to say “Thy will be done”’.⁸²¹ Rev. Carl L. Lundberg, his wife, and two children were killed on 23 August 1900, and in his letter, he stated, ‘If we are not able to escape, tell our friends we live and die for the Lord...I do not regret coming to China; the Lord has called me, and His grace is sufficient...We do not like to die with weapons in our hands; if it be the Lord’s will, let them take our lives’.⁸²² William W. Pigott, son of Rev. Thomas W. Pigott were killed with his parents at the age twelve on 9 July 1900, and he told his friend during his last journey to England, ‘We can’t be martyrs in England, but my father

⁸¹⁹ *China’s Millions* (1901), 62.

⁸²⁰ Broomhall, Marshall. *Last Letters & Further Records of Martyred Missionaries of the CIM* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1901), 33.

⁸²¹ Forsyth, *The China Martyrs of 1900*, 58.

⁸²² Forsyth, *The China Martyrs of 1900*, 84.

and mother and I might be in China'.⁸²³

This narrative speaks of a love, compassion, and sacrifice for China, and is delivered through voices which are motivated by a spiritual bond and conviction, far removed from the politics of imperialism. These missionaries shared this conviction and were willing to die so that Chinese people may know the fullness of salvation, and thought that their own lives were nought compared to the value of giving true life to the Chinese people they sought to serve. From the writings of these last letters, we note a desire for a community sense of belonging together, in which they can experience the fullness of Christ's life poured out alongside their Chinese neighbours.

This brings us, historiographically speaking to the question of the purpose of historical study: specifically, how do we evaluate and attribute value to historical events from different angles and perspectives. Needless to say this thesis would not be able to fully answer this tantalising question, but it does shed some light on the problematic nature of overarching dominant paradigms and all-controlling grand narratives which appear to definitively explain historical events. One significant facet within this study is, as we have already noted, that there cannot be any *carte blanche* acquittal of missionaries for their part in the atrocities in China's past. This is something which western historians, missiologists and members of the Chinese Church, as they seek to put forward their own interpretations of the history of Christianity in China, must come to fully realise and accept. This will be painful, and ancient and deep wounds will need time to heal. However, recognition must be granted within Chinese academia and official policy that not all facets of western missionary movements were motivated by, or directly involved with their governments' projects of colonial

⁸²³ Forsyth, *The China Martyrs of 1900*, 428.

dominance. Many historical sources, including those of missionary martyrs referenced here, speak of a love and commitment to the Chinese people, with little regard for their own personal safety or wellbeing. There is not a tone of political dominance, and these voices ought to be incorporated into the official narrative which has tended to over-simplify the impact of Christianity and missionaries in China.

The attitudes of missionaries towards the opium trade could also help us to evaluate which ones played inglorious roles in the trade and whether or not they were all agents of imperialists. As Cohen pointed out, in the first Protestant missions in China in the early 1800s, there was a shortage of human and other resources like there would be in any frontier territory. Moreover, because of the closed-door policy in the Qing Dynasty, these pioneer missionaries could not perform their primary role of proselytizing, and the roles of missionaries, merchants and diplomats became intermingled. Therefore, large number of these early missionaries took secular responsibilities and filled an assortment of participatory roles in the Opium Wars and the Unequal Treaties. Consequently, their identity as missionaries was blurred if not completely eclipsed. However, once the treaty framework had been structured, the frontier phase was over and, as Cohen describes: ‘Missionaries henceforth would be missionaries’ because ‘the divergent interests of missionaries, traders and diplomats came to the fore’.⁸²⁴

As an early missionary to Singapore and China from the Church Missionary Society, E. P. Squire, clearly stated his opinion on the influence of opium in 1839: ‘Truly it is an engine in Satan’s hands, and a powerful one; but let it never be forgotten, that a nation professing

⁸²⁴ Cohen, “Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900”, 543-590.

Christianity supplies the means; and further, that that nation is England'.⁸²⁵ In light of this opinion, he hoped that 'public opinion at home will exercise some influence in favor of its abolition... and public meetings held for the special purpose, it must be productive of good'.⁸²⁶ The Church Mission Society also expressed their attitude regarding the Opium War: 'a missionary coming in an opium-vessel was an enemy to the Empire; and practically all aggressive work was suspended...then came the first war with China... a war which, on England's side, it is hard to justify on any righteous principle of national conduct'.⁸²⁷ Broomhall described, 'The CMS deplored the use of any instrument to throw China open to the gospel and to opium'.⁸²⁸

The China Inland Mission, established in 1865 by Hudson Taylor, significantly contributed to the decline of the opium trade. Even before 1865, Hudson Taylor had already opened an opium asylum to heal opium addicts, rescue suicidal opium users, and it earned 'a reputation for breaking opium addicts'.⁸²⁹ In 1869, missionaries responded to Alcock's order to confine their ministry to the treaty ports in order to avoid damaging British commercial interest in China by denouncing opium as Britain's main commodity. They stated that 'honourable commerce has nothing to fear from Protestant missionaries'.⁸³⁰ In the International Missionary Conference of 1888, Hudson Taylor offered 'proof and testimony to the evil of opium-smoking and Britain's culpability for imposing the scourge upon China'.⁸³¹

⁸²⁵ "The Missionaries and the Christian Opium-Smugglers in China", *The Christian Observer* (Oct. 1839), 603-604.

⁸²⁶ Church Missionary Society, *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East*, 1838-1839, (London: Richard Watts, 1839), 59.

⁸²⁷ Stock, Eugene. *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, Vol. I (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 468-469.

⁸²⁸ Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century*, Vol. 3, *If I had A Thousand Lives*, 242.

⁸²⁹ Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century*, Vol. 3, *If I had A Thousand Lives*, 195-196.

⁸³⁰ *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Sep. 1869), 100. *The Church of England Magazine* (July to Dec. 1870), 20. *Church Missionary Intelligence and Record* (Feb. 1880), 80. *Christian Work* (Dec. 1869), 375.

⁸³¹ Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century*, Vol. 7, *It Is No the Death to Die!* 72.

He stated that the trade has ‘strongly prejudiced the people of China against all Missionary efforts’, and ‘it recognises clearly that nothing short of the entire suppression of the trade, so far as in the power of the Government to suppress it, can meet the claims of the case’.⁸³² Therefore, he argued, Christians in Britain should plead earnestly and give the government no rest ‘until the great evil is entirely removed’.⁸³³

Benjamin Broomhall was a childhood friend of Hudson Taylor and the general secretary of the CIM from 1878 to 1895. He declared: ‘We ought never to cease our protest until the Indian Government ceases to manufacture, or to encourage the manufacture of, opium for sale in China’.⁸³⁴ As part of his attempts to achieve this aim, he formed the Christian Union for the Severance of the British Empire with the Opium Traffic in 1888 and was a long-standing opponent to the opium traffic until its termination. When Broomhall was on his death bed in 1911, his son Marshall showed him *The Times* newspaper which stated, ‘the agreement means the extermination of the opium trade within at least two years’. His father gathered his strength and said with an effort, ‘A great victory. Thank God I have lived to see it’.⁸³⁵ Medical missionary J. L. Maxwell stated, ‘It was Mr Broomhall’s keen perception of the secret of the weakness of the anti-opium movement in the ignorance and apathy of the Churches. There could be no hope of victory until the Churches had been thoroughly aroused’.⁸³⁶

The legacy of the fourth entrance of Christianity in China was a negative one in which

⁸³² Taylor, “The Opium Trade with China”, 471. *Missionary Review of the World* (1888), 678.

⁸³³ *National Righteousness* (Dec. 1888), 8. *Friend of China* (July 1888), 268.

⁸³⁴ *China’s Millions* (1885), 86.

⁸³⁵ Broomhall, Marshall. *Heirs Together of the Grace of Life: Benjamin Broomhall & Amelia Hudson Broomhall* (London: Morgan & Scott 1918), 134-135. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor & China’s Open Century, Vol. 7, It Is No the Death to Die!* 519. *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Aug. 1911), 438.

⁸³⁶ Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor & China’s Open Century, Vol. 7, It Is No the Death to Die!* 75. Austin, *China’s Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society 1832-1905*, 202. [Emphasis in original]

Christianity and opium were left inextricably linked in Chinese minds. This negative association arose from the opium trade that led to two Opium Wars which ‘battered the Chinese national psyche, and tainted its view of the West and Christianity’.⁸³⁷ However, if Chinese people were victims of opium, so were missionaries because opium was the greatest hindrance to their missionary work in China and caused their ministries to be much less effective. The attitude of missionaries towards opium was evident in their rejection of opium addicts as church members; their development of anti-opium pills; the building of refuges and hospitals to help Chinese opium addicts; their work to bring to international attention to the harmful effects of opium; their denunciations of their own government; and their support for the anti-opium movement in Britain until the trade was abolished. However, these efforts and contributions were neglected by many scholars and went unreported in the history of Christianity in China intentionally or unintentionally.

As mentioned in the methodological considerations section of this thesis, ‘we can have true knowledge of real objects in nature but we must recognise that our knowledge is time and space specific and that may be overturned in the future’.⁸³⁸ Because all history involves selection at a general level, a major element in the process of selection is interpretation. What we call facts are, in reality, a product of ‘a context of response, perception, and interaction—a process which is both complex and continuing’ because ‘all knowing and understanding has to do with reflection on the part of human beings: all knowledge comes via somebody’s perceptions and reflections’.⁸³⁹ Therefore, any writing of history must take into consideration the complexities of human motivations and appreciate that history ‘contains particular lenses,

⁸³⁷ Sneller, Christopher D. ‘Take Away Your Opium and Your Missionaries’: The Opium Wars (1839-60) and the Chinese National Psyche’, *The Bible in TransMission* (Winter 2012), 20-22.

⁸³⁸ Dean, Kathryn & Jonathan Joseph & Alan Norrie. “Editorial: New Essays in Critical Realism”, *New Formations* 56 (2005), 7–26.

⁸³⁹ Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 83

arranged in a certain fashion. No doubt there are things outside its range. No doubt there are things which, because they are far apart from each other, cannot be seen through it at the same time'.⁸⁴⁰

A distinction can be made between writing about the history of Christianity in China from a Chinese and a western perspective. A Westerner may never understand the pain, the humiliation, and the wounds which have been caused to an ancient nation through the defeats inflicted upon it through wars, especially those related to the evil opium trade. Westerners may be unaware how much resistance, hatred, and resentment has been caused from the moment that missionaries boarded gunboats and accompanied opium traders into China. Westerners may not realise how negatively it effected the national psyche and put Chinese Christians under suspicion in mainland China. It is true that research has been carried out in China on the contributions that missionaries have made to Chinese society in areas such as education, medical work, and the elevation of the position of women. However, there is little written within the history of Christianity in China about the efforts of missionaries to help opium addicts and to stop the opium trade by opposing it in China and denouncing their own government in Britain. This may be because of a lack of access to the archives. Nevertheless, it is time to hear stories from other perspectives even if these viewpoints seem at odds with the Chinese point of view. It is time to have a fuller picture and a better understanding of the past, and allow the wounds to be healed. It is time for re-thinking and re-evaluating our conceptions of Christianity and to challenge the notion that religion is the opium of the people and that all missionaries are agents of imperialism.

Now we will turn to the significance and the limits of this thesis and the possibilities

⁸⁴⁰ Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 90-91.

for further research. The intention of the research is to try and build bridges between the West and China. Instead of criticising and challenging each other's grand narratives, this thesis argues that we should try to listen to other sides of the story and make an effort to empathise with those whose perspectives have hitherto been neglected within academic research. It is to be hoped that both sides, having a fuller picture of the past, will have a better understanding of each other for the future. If we can appreciate each other's efforts and forgive each other's wrongdoings, we can learn from history, put it behind us and move forward. It is desirable that research gradually influences the Chinese government to relax their restrictive religious policies, so that there is more trust and religious freedom for Chinese Christians, who have been under suspicion and suppression for more than sixty years. Hopefully, it will also help western readers who are interested in Chinese Christianity to understand how negative Chinese conceptions of Christianity were formed, so they can stop criticising the regime and take their responsibility for their own historical crimes and build better future relationships with both Chinese Christians and the Chinese government.

It is possible that, by studying numerous historical events in an effort to understand the Chinese conceptions of Christianity, some depth is lost with regard to its consideration of each historical event. Certainly, a limitation of this research is the impossibility of including every piece of important scholarly work on each historical event that has been discussed. Moreover, there is hardly any mention of the contribution of missionaries to the abolition of the opium trade in Chinese writings. This is possibly one of the reasons why the missions have been perceived negatively by the Chinese. Therefore, the anti-opium movement was chosen as the topic of this thesis in order to prompt Chinese readers to re-evaluate their conceptions about Christianity. As the contribution of the missionaries to the abolition of the opium trade became the main focus of the second half of the thesis, a thorough consideration

of other works by missionaries could not be included in this thesis. For example, their contribution to education, medical work, the position of women in Chinese society, and the reformation movement. A potential future area of research could be the consideration of those historical events, omitted from this thesis, which have also contributed towards Chinese conceptions of Christianity. Concerning contemporary Chinese perspectives on the interrelationship between Christianity, missionaries, and imperialism; it is too ambitious and unrealistic to present a fixed perspective on such an intricate and fluid situation.

There are some questions which ought to be considered for further research. For instance, why did the Chinese government select the high profile Wu Yaozong to establish the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in the Protestant Church, but selected the relatively unknown priest Wang Liangzuo to begin the corresponding movement several years later within the hierarchical Catholic Church? To what extent did politics and power relations play a part in it? For western readers who are interested in Chinese Christianity, it may be disturbing to discuss how many Chinese people feel about, and perceive, Christianity and western missionaries with regard to their actions during the Opium Wars. For some Chinese Christians in mainland China, it may be painful to live in such a society as a split existence. Regarding religious issues, how much did Communists really know and care what the Protestant and Catholic doctrines were? Was the clash and conflict between the church and Communists more ideological or political? Was it compatible for a Chinese citizen to be a patriotic Christian and keep contact with western missionaries? Such research could also more fully concentrate on the anti-opium movement in China and/or Britain as little research on this topic exists.

Another possible area for future research is to study the attitudes of missionaries during the Opium Wars to compare with the Chinese narrative. For example, the opinions of missionaries who criticised other missionaries for their use of opium ships to distribute Christian tracts and their involvement in the Opium Wars and the Unequal Treaties; missionaries who were opposed to other missionaries misusing extraterritoriality and interfering in local litigations; and how some missionaries criticized other missionaries' involvement during the Boxer Uprising. I am sure that further research would find additional criticism of their fellow missionaries and government for participating in these historical events, as I have come across such criticism in my research for this thesis. For example, although missionaries were involved during the Boxer Uprising as guides and interpreters for the allied army fighting against the Chinese, there is evidence that other missionaries were willing to sacrifice their lives for the Chinese people. In the intertwined history of the Chinese and the West between the 1840s and the 1940s, there is still much more to study from both perspectives including how the existing historical accounts have been recorded and interpreted. There are still lessons to be learned from history which can hopefully contribute to a fuller understanding of the past and a better future.

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