# New Perspectives on the Early China Mission Enterprise:

# A Study of the Weixian Station's

# Educational and Medical Enterprises,

# 1883-1920

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## Abstract

This study looks at the secular enterprises of the American Presbyterian missionaries in Weixian, Shandong, between its founding in 1883 and 1920. The ideas presented are important for both the studies of missions and social change in China. During the period covered by this study boarding and country schools for boys and girls were begun, and hospitals were built catering to the changing needs of medical care in the area. The station has been recognized as the most influential in the Shandong mission for these endeavors. It is therefore important to study how these institutions came into being and how they changed over this period. This thesis brings out many ideas that have never been fully explored at the station level in the Protestant missionary movement in China. The first among these is the increasing decision-making power of the foreign lay personnel in the station. These individuals took stronger control over the enterprises after 1900, which brought them into conflict with the evangelists over religious objectives. The conflict started with the move of the missionaries to make the mission's work more relevant to the Chinese situation. This idea will be explored in the analysis of in the curriculum of the schools and the itinerant medical care provided to the local population. It was one step towards the indigenization of the secular enterprises. A second step was the increased administrative power that the missionaries gave to the Chinese church members in the educational work, and the role that the assistants played in the success of the medical enterprise. In addition to supporting the station's enterprises, many of the Chinese educational workers, particularly the female teachers, and medical assistants left the employ of the station and took a leading role in developing the local area. Although many different ideas are brought out in this study, the guiding thread throughout is the development of cooperation in the missionary secular enterprises.

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However, this project was more than just the writing. On two research trips to China and the US many individuals aided my search for materials on Weixian. In the US the entire staff of the American Presbyterian Historical Association should be given due recognition for their knowledge of the library's holdings. I should also like to thank Kathleen Lodwick who gave excellent advice on the holdings in the Presbyterian Archives and materials that I might find in China.

From March to June 1999 I made a four-month research trip to Shandong to look for more material than could be found in the missionary archives. The partial funding for this trip was obtained from the University of London Central Research Fund. While there I was helped by a number of individuals. From the Shandong University Dr. Liu Tianlu, Dr. Tao Feiya, Dr. Su Weizhi, and Ms. Liu Xian helped me gain access to information in Jinan. I should also like to thank Dr. Xu Gendi. On a more personal note I should also like to thank Mr. Yu Xinli of the foreign department, Enneth and Sharon Frohman, and Ms. Liu Xian who made life in Jinan easier for me to adjust to. In Weifang the list of individuals who helped my research grew. The most prominent among these was Mr. Li Fengyi who helped procure free housing for me at the Weifang Waiguoyuyan Xuexiao (Weifang Foreign Languages School), and gave me any information available on the history of the No. 2 Middle School. In addition to his help Mrs. Shao Ping of the Weifang Medical School, Mr. David Chen, and Mr. Zhang Jianguei were able to locate information on Weifang's history for me. On a non-work related basis I should thank LeRoy and Jane Ramsey, Mike Williams, Robbie, and the staff and students at the Weifang Foreign Languages School.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

This dissertation examines the important role of the Chinese in missionary educational and medical institutions during the formative period of the Protestant movement in China (1880-1920). It specifically considers the American Presbyterian (North) Station located outside the walled city of Weixian, the largest Presbyterian station in the Shandong Province. Opened in 1883, it housed two high schools, the Arts College of the Shandong Christian University, one of the most proficient training schools for Bible Women and male evangelists, and a large hospital. This work will describe the general history of medicine and education as they developed at Weixian. Moreover, it will demonstrate the increasingly important role the Chinese played in the success of the missionary secular enterprises. Thus, it will provide one of the first histories of the early missionary work in the area, and it reveals the significant support of the missionary cause put forward by the Chinese. Their contribution to the development of the secular enterprises was a preamble to the movement towards the establishment of the Church in China.

This work is inserted in two main areas of historical research: the history of world missions and the wider history of social change in China. Scholars of the missionary movement will find a number of important contributions. It is a detailed analysis of the secular activities of American Presbyterian missionaries in the Weixian Station of the Shandong Mission. As such, it provides valuable insights into the historical evolution of missionary institutions in a rural setting, far removed from the more studied treaty port areas. Historians of China's social development will find useful ideas and information related to the introduction of Western medicine and education, and how Chinese population received these influences. Finally, although this work is not specifically concerned with the establishment of a Chinese Christian Church, it will raise important questions about the historical connections between the Chinese participation in secular institutions and the emergence of an organized Church in twentieth century China.

### Three-Self Principle and Institution Building

The starting point of this study is the three-self principle that was fundamental in missionary policies. The goal of this idea was to encourage the creation of a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating Chinese Church. This study will look at the importance of the three-self ideology in the establishment of secular enterprises. It will argue that, in the case of Weixian, this principle opened the door for the inclusion of

Chinese personnel. This early cooperation allowed for the growth and expansion of the educational and medical activities before the nationalist movements in the 1920s.

The idea of having a self-propagating, self-supporting, and self-governing Church in China had been around since the mid-nineteenth century. Karl Gutzlaff was an early proponent of the principle and in 1844 he established the Chinese Union. His organization was created on the premise that 'Chinese Christians themselves must carry out the evangelization of the empire while Western missionaries would serve as instructors and supervisors.'[1] Although his work collapsed shortly after his death in 1851, the ideas continued to be widely accepted throughout the course of the Protestant missionary movement. In 1851 Henry Venn, of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, laid out these ideas with the publication of 'The Native Pastorate and Organization of Native Churches.'[2] Almost all groups adopted this approach to some extent, particularly in their attempt to promote the building of the Church in African and Asian mission fields. However, little work has been done on the impact of this idea in the educational and medical enterprises.

The two most important themes within this theory of Church organization for this study are those of self-support and self-government. Both notions were closely related in the minds of the missionaries. Once a community was able to support its own Church, it was ready to take over the leadership roles. In many cases, this meant that the community was able to request its own pastor and provide his salary. Jessie and Rolland Lutz have recently shown that this principle also operated in the area of education and it was sometimes used to prepare the local population to take over the support of the Church. In their work on the Protestant missionary movement in the Hakka areas of Guangdong province they noted that, in 1875, the Basel Mission's Foreign Board suggested that education be used as a starting point in the process of promoting self-support. Once the population showed they could provide for their schools, they would be given the responsibility for hiring teachers.[3] However, the use of education to promote self-support was not always an accepted practice among missionaries in China, and this idea was often a source of controversy. This work will show that there were numerous arguments in favor and against a self-supported educational system within the missionary community. However, it can be argued that Chinese support and participation was crucial for the

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[1] Lutz, J. and R. Lutz. 'Karl Gutzlaff's Approach to Indigenization: The Chinese Union.' in D. Bays, ed. *Christianity in China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. p. 269.

[2] Towery, B. 'The Contribution of Lao She to the Three-Self Principle and the Protestant Churches of China.' *Missiology*. vol. 22, no. 1, January 1994. p. 94.

[3] Lutz, J. and R. Lutz. *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850-1900, with the Autobiographies of Eight Hakka Christians, and Commentary*. New York: M. E. Sharpe. 1998. p. 244.

healthy growth of the enterprise. Kenneth Latourette reported that the promotion of Chinese support was particularly important in the American and British missions which were the main actors in the new union colleges.[4] To a lesser extent, the support from the Chinese was also important to the expansion of missionary medicine. The problem of self-support was more significant as new hospital facilities became important in the late-1910s and 1920s. As Cui Dan has recently shown, the collection of fees and local support were key sources of income that allowed mission funds to be appropriated to expansion and other building projects. She reports that several British Protestant medical missions attained full self-support by 1920 and in others the medical fees provided a majority of the operating funds.[5]

As self-support was advanced it was intended to be a stimulus towards self-government. The transition from self-support to self-government, however, was not automatic. While this was desirable in theory, in practice the process of granting administrative autonomy to the Chinese was more problematic and was often dependent on the local needs and resources of a particular station. It is possible to accurately determine the level of financial support provided by the Chinese by using missionary statistics and correspondence. Establishing how much administrative autonomy was gained from this financial support is more difficult. Foreign missionaries were not inclined to promote the roles played by the Chinese in the administration of missionary institutions. This can be explained by considering the large amount of funding that these groups received from the home countries. These circumstances were especially significant in the case of the union colleges. The trust that was attached to the proper dissemination of funds was considerable, and the foreign boards, from a decidedly ethnocentric bias, were not comfortable when learning of the rise of Chinese in the administrative structures. Nevertheless, there was a development of independence among the Chinese. Timothy Brook has recently shown that, by the time of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), there was already a strong movement towards an independent Church, but that the war quickened the pace of independence as the Church was forcibly broken from its foreign benefactors.[6] This study will show that there was an early participation of Chinese in the administration of schools and hospitals in the period before 1920. Their work was still subject to missionary supervision and cannot be seen as fully

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[4] Latourette, K. *A History of Christian Missions in China.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. p. 625.

[5] Dan, C. *The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missionaries and British-American Cooperation to China's National Development During the 1920s.* Lanham: University Press of America. 1998. p. 69.

[6] Brook, T. 'Toward Independence: Christinity in China Under the Japanese Occupation, 1937-1945.' in D. H. Bays, ed. *Christianity in China.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. p. 318.

independent, but it can be argued that this early cooperation was a step towards the achievement of full autonomy.

Thus, cooperation was an important move towards self-government. Many scholars are quick to point out that the foreign missionaries dominated the Christian movement until forcibly removed by the Japanese during the Second Sino-Japanese War in the 1930s and 1940s and then by the Chinese Communist state in the early-1950s. This view is supported by Daniel H. Bays who wrote that there was little movement towards an authentically indigenous church before World War II.[7] However, Bays also found that some groups, notably the China Inland Mission, 'tried to promote sensitivity to and encouragement of Chinese Christians' aspirations to responsibility and autonomy at the local level.'[8] Although there are no works within his edited volume that look at this process between the late-nineteenth century and 1920, Bays gives an indication of its importance when he underlines the idea that the process of cooperation was part of the rise of the indigenous movements. This study will explore some of the subtle processes by which the Chinese gradually gained autonomy within the missionary secular enterprises.

This thesis will focus on the development of the idea of cooperation in the secular enterprises. It occurred over many years and it was one reason for the major conflict that emerged in the 1920s. The idea of a joint venture has been studied by many scholars of Christianity. In his book on the Catholics in Shandong David Mungello noted the close working relationship between the foreign missionaries and local converts. However, scholars are yet to focus their attention on the issue of cooperation in the secular enterprises. It still appears that the idea of a sole foreign agency is widely accepted. Without cooperation and active participation by the Chinese the secular enterprises would not have been successful. With the constantly expanding number of new materials open to scholars, the feasibility to study the role of cooperation is increasing but it has yet to be fully explored. This study is a contribution towards this end, particularly for the period of transition between the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

To understand the development of cooperation between the foreign personnel and Chinese population one has to look at two main factors: 1. the increase in liberal missionaries and 2. the location of mission stations. As the Protestant missionary movement developed, changes in the theology and work brought new personnel to China.

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[7] Bays, D. 'The Growth of Independent Christianity.' in D. Bays, ed. *Christianity in China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. p. 309.
[8] *Ibid.*

These were more professional individuals who were sent to work in the secular enterprises. In the early-twentieth century a noticeable change took place in the organizations. Liberal personnel began to dominate the administrative bodies of the missions and this affected the work in China. The period of transition to a more liberal Protestant movement that took place between the 1907 Centenary Conference and 1920 produced the most dramatic change in policy that the movement had since the early adoption of institutions. The recent study by Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries,* describes how the new liberalism that pervaded the missions 'expressed itself in a departure from traditional church doctrines and the literal reading of the Bible, and in its preoccupation with regeneration of society, rather than only salvation of individual souls.'[9] The period covered by this study falls within this transitional phase. The new emphasis on the institutions and social welfare brought new importance to expanding the secular institutions. Without the requisite rise in appropriations and personnel in many areas, this inevitably led to a greater involvement of the Chinese in administrative and financial matters.

The second factor that should be taken into account is the location of mission stations. Those in rural areas, such as Weixian, were more dependent on the participation of the local Chinese community for their success. The development of cooperation was also a function of the human and economic resources available to a station in a particular region.

## Social Change and the Missionary Movement

Those interested in China's social development will also find this study important. The relationship between the missionaries and social change in China is a long-debated subject. As John Fairbank noted in 1974, the missionaries were the 'least studied but most significant actors in the scene [in China].'[10] Although Fairbank was looking at the missionaries in comparison with other foreigners in China, there have been studies showing the influence they had over social change in China. Many note that this was due to the connection with imperialism. However, as Joanna Waley-Cohen has recently shown, China was not 'closed' only to be 'opened' by the westerners.[11] Throughout history the government had adopted many ideas from other areas of the world and

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[9] Xi, L. *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907-1932.* University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 1997. p. 14.

[10] Fairbank, J. 'Introduction: The Many Faces of Protestant Missions in China and the United States.' in J. Fairbank, ed. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1974. p. 2.

[11] Waley-Cohen, J. *The Sextants of Beijing: Global Currents in Chinese History.* New York: W. W. Norton and Co. 1999. p. 4

incorporated them. The process of expanding the secular institutions that developed out of the liberal missionary movement led to expansion requiring more funds and personnel. In the end, this led to a greater reliance on the Chinese and conflicts between the established missionaries and the new appointees.

Writing on the work of missionaries in China's development has evolved over three generations. Throughout all three there is a general consensus that education and medicine were important, but each approached it from a different perspective. The first published works on missions can be traced back to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. These were mainly biographies by retired missionaries or their wives. Most did not venture to look beyond their small world or cover some important issues that might lead to criticism of their work. An early example of these publications is Charlotte Hawes's book *New Thrills in Old China* where she goes into great detail upholding the missionaries' work in Weixian. Of specific note is the support she gives to Frank Chalfant's actions during the Boxer Uprising. By the 1920s, a change is noted and missionaries began writing larger histories that involved more in-depth research. These studies also engaged the work and influence of the missionary movement to a greater extent. One individual that wrote during this time was Kenneth Latourette who produced his important study *History of Missions in China* in 1926. A later example of this literature was John Heeren's book *On the Shantung Front* written in 1940. However, the work that this generation of scholars produced tended to be amateurish and produced very broad generalizations.[12]

Scholarly works on missionaries and social change really began in the early-1960s by those interested in China's modernization. Specifically, they were interested in the contribution that the missions made. As Paul Cohen reports in his book *Discovering History in China*, the post-World War II generation closely considered the 'shaping role of the Western intrusion.'[13] Their work was different from that performed by the ex-missionary writers as they began looking at the rationale behind establishing schools and medical institutions. An important characteristic of this generation was that they did not come from the missionary ranks, but were solely scholars interested in China. One example of this generation of scholarship is Irwin Hyatt's paper entitled 'Protestant Missions in China, 1877-1890: The Institutionalization of Good Works' written as part of the *Papers on China* series in the 1960s. Through this work, and others like it, one can

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[12] Cohen, P. *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1984. p. 2.
[13] *Ibid.*

see an attempt to get into the missionaries' mindset by asking why they began these enterprises that were so influential in China's development. However, their work, because of the reliance on missionary sources, did not look too closely at the missionaries' overall social impact. In addition, there is also almost no mention of the Chinese in these studies. Missionaries continued to be the main actors.

In the 1980s and 1990s a change in the scholarship was again noted. Specifically, there was a move away from considering the missionaries as sole agents of change in China. This was a reaction against the idea of foreigners as the instigators of developments in Chinese society. As Paul Cohen notes this was a period that considered a more China-centered approach.[14] In this new scholarship, however, there was not a significant distancing from the work of the missionaries. They were still considered important to China's development. However, there was now a focus on the interaction between the Chinese and the foreign missions. While this influenced the general focus of scholarship, more important was the opening of China by Deng Xiao-ping after the death of Mao Ze-dong. This has allowed mission scholars access to new information that brings the role of the Chinese to light. One new finding is that the Chinese alone did not accomplish changes in their society, but that the role of missionaries was important in its development. On top of this new access to information are local studies coming from China that acknowledge the role that missionaries played in the modernization process, particularly in the establishment of the first girls' schools and the introduction of Western medicine.

Scholars interested in social change and modernization have focused their attention on the secular enterprises initiated by the missionaries, particularly education and medicine. The main theory behind the change from solely evangelistic work to an emphasis on the social aspects of the Christian message is based in the ideas of the Social Gospel. The origins of the new theology can be traced back to the eighteenth century in Britain and the mid-nineteenth century in the United States as a response to the social problems stemming from the industrial revolution. The new social inequalities resulted in a growth in the Church's involvement in education and medicine.[15] Missionaries then applied these ideas to their work in China throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries until they were forced to leave between the late-1930s and early-1950s.

However, the incorporation of the new liberal theology was not smooth. It encountered strong opposition from strict evangelists, such as John Nevius and J. Hudson

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[14] *Ibid.* pp. 6-7.
[15] Dan. *Op cit.* p. 8.

Taylor, who opposed the inclusion of secular enterprises. Even these highly respected missionaries could not halt the changes as new personnel entered their ranks. As this old breed of missionary died off, the new liberal theology was able to blossom. Other studies, such as Lian Xi's work *The Conversion of Missionaries* and Cui Dan's work *The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missionaries*, follow this process of liberalization. After its full recognition and incorporation in the 1910s and early 1920s, missionaries consolidated the work they had done already instead of opening more institutions. One notable outcome of the new movement was a falling out between the old-style evangelicals and the new liberals in the 1920s. This has also been referred to as the '"fundamentalist-modernist" controversy.'[16] Even during the earlier period studied here one can see the emergence of these conflicts.

Two of the most important results of the liberalization movement were the establishment and growth of the educational and medical enterprises. Of these, the first is the most studied and stands as the oldest and most successful in the opinion of missionaries and researchers. There is, of course, debate over why the foreigners began their educational work. Jessie Lutz wrote that it was a sense of cultural superiority that led many to begin their schools.[17] Others have noted that it was an attempt by the missionaries to create an educated pastorate that inspired the creation of institutions.[18] Both hold some measure of truth, as this study will show. An important aspect of the scholarship on education has been the views that the secular enterprises were not a part of the original methods the missionaries used. Many have brought forth the inter-mission debates over their introduction.

In her study *Education and Social Change in China*, Sally Borthwick looks at the development of modern education in China. Through her research one notes that in the nineteenth century the government was experimenting with many different forms of education and it was the mission schools that offered a stable established system.[19] However, she is decidedly against the idea that the missionaries changed the course of educational foundations in the country. She goes further in this assertion reporting that many of the treaty port schools became institutions for the elite because of their high fees.[20] This, however, does not take into account the fact that missionaries established

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[16] Brown, G. *Earthen Vessels & Transcendent Power*. New York: Orbis Books. 1997. p. 207.
[17] Lutz, J. *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1971. p. 9.
[18] Latourette. *Op cit*. p. 442.
[19] Borthwick, S. *Education and Social Change in China: The Beginnings of the Modern Era*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press. 1983. p. 54.
[20] *Ibid*. p. 108.

schools outside of these areas and that little attention has been given to their primary institutions in the rural areas.

Others take a different view from Borthwick and state that missionary institutions had a significant impact on the creation of modern education in China.[21] Apart from their participation in creating a new educational system, there is also evidence that they changed the social fabric of Chinese society. Bringing in a new system and standard of education was significant in changing power relations within society. More important, however, were the changes in the position of women. In a recent study of changes instituted through the mission schools, Gael Graham stated that the missionaries not only used their educational systems to spread their religious beliefs, but also to 'effect reform of the Chinese gender system.'[22] This idea is supported in this dissertation since it looks at the work of missionaries in developing female professionals in education and medicine.

The impact of the missionaries, however, has to be examined in conjunction with the local circumstances in which they worked. As this study will show, local factors and the school patrons heavily influenced policies in the secondary and primary schools. This side of the educational enterprise has not been analyzed carefully. In a collection of essays, Philip West presented a paper covering this subject. He turned his attention from the missionary actors and concentrated on Wu Lei-quan and his work at Yenching University. Through his study, one gets a better sense of the problems experienced by the Chinese who worked in mission enterprises because of the 'American-Chinese relationship.'[23] West's study began to look at the dynamic of cooperation and conflict in the Nationalist period. Although he deals with a later period, some of the same issues developed and were overcome in the Weixian field.

Although it generally took a backseat to the other missionary enterprises, the medical work was just as successful, if not more, in bringing new ideas to China. Medical missionaries did in fact introduce Western medicine to China.[24] However, the development of this work has yet to be fully examined. Although the new scientific medicine brought from the US and Europe was not considered superior to the herbal

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[21] Dan. *Op cit.* p. 151.

[22] Graham, G. *Gender, Culture, and Christianity: American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880-1930.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. 1995. p. 29.

[23] West, P. 'Christianity and Nationalism: The Career of Wu Lei-Ch'uan at Yenching University.' in J. Fairbank, ed. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1974. p. 227.

[24] In 1968 Ralph Croizier stated: 'During the nineteenth century it was almost entirely Western initiative, mainly in the form of the medical missionary movement, that brought Western medicine to a passive, if not hostile, China. Croizier, R. *Traditional Medicine in Modern China: Science, Nationalism, and the Tensions of Cultural Change.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1968. p. 36.

medicines and other non-invasive treatments the Chinese were accustomed to, they did bring new medicines, such as quinine, and surgery for life threatening conditions. It was in this second area that the medical missionaries made their mark by 'operating on eye and surgical diseases which the native physicians were unable to treat.'[25] This emphasis on surgery and other more risky medical treatments forced changes in their movement that caused conflicts on the field. These included concentrating on hospital modernization and expanding their work beyond its evangelical efficacy. In his study of Chinese medicine Paul Unschuld reported that on the field the development of medical practice was seemingly done 'harmoniously,' but that fundamental conflicts marked the movement in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[26] He asserted that the missions were initially not interested in providing good models of Western medical care. This contrasted with the doctors who worked towards making their enterprise a prime example of the compassionate side of Christianity and improving the effectiveness of their treatment methods. Unschuld also wrote that the facilities provided by the missions 'rarely corresponded to medical standards in Europe and the United States' until changes in the 1920s.[27] This thesis illustrates these ideas at a station level and indicates the developments that took place. As one of few studies on the development of missionary medicine, it will fill a void in the existing literature.

Missionaries also provided the Chinese with the first training in Western medical techniques. What began as the training of only a few assistants eventually rose to collegiate-level medical education that one might have found in Europe or the US. Paul Unschuld does not appear to rate their efforts too highly. He wrote that by 1920 there were only 900 Chinese doctors.[28] However, this does not take into account that before 1915 there were very few recognized medical schools. Their motivation for beginning this work has not been analyzed fully. According to Ralph Croizier, it began as the doctors recognized their 'obligation to spread the blessings of modern medical knowledge among the Chinese.'[29] This appears to be a bit of an exaggeration and from the evidence it was the doctors' desire to expand the medical enterprise that led to medical training. Karen Minden's recent work on the West China Union University's Medical School has shed some light on this process. Even as these new institutions were gaining a reputation,

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[25] Choa, G. *"Heal the Sick" Was Their Motto, The Protestant Medical Missionaries in China.* Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press. 1990. p. 35.
[26] Unschuld, P. *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas.* Berkeley: University of California Press. 1985. p. 240.
[27] *Ibid.* p. 241.
[28] *Ibid.* p. 247.
[29] Croizier. *Op cit.* p. 38.

there was still training being done at the lower level. This dissertation shows how the training of assistants developed into a school for nurses that was key in the modern medical enterprise in the 1920s.

Finally, we turn to one area where medical work has rarely been studied. As the next section describes, this will be an in-depth study of a rural station. Many of the studies in missionary medicine concentrate on the larger cities and treaty ports. On this matter C. C. Chen reported, for example, that it was his experience that 'the impact was confined largely to the so-called treaty ports and other coastal cities.'[30] In opposition to this view, Cui Dan reports that a large majority of the British hospitals were located in rural areas and served the needs of this population.[31] She shows that these hospitals were more reliant on Chinese medical staff, had a greater level of self-support, and were more efficient than those in the treaty ports.[32] This is one of the only studies of the missionary medical enterprise in rural communities. This dissertation will contribute to this literature as it considers the development of a rural hospital.

Studies on education and medicine have somewhat highlighted the role of missionaries as agents of social change. However, they overlook the importance of these enterprises in the process of establishing of the Christian Church. Although the focus of this dissertation will be on the secular institutions, this project also seeks to raise questions about the role of secular institutions and the consolidation of the Church. As greater recognition comes to the foreign missionaries in China, there is much that needs to be done, particularly concerning their work in the rural areas.

## Weixian as the Focal Point

This study finds itself at the junction between mission studies and Chinese social history. The main aim is to look at the development of a cooperative effort between the Chinese and the missionaries in the areas of education and medicine before 1920. It will look at how the work of the missionaries was embraced by the Chinese and how it encouraged their participation to the point when they became crucial to the growth and development of missionary work.

Important in this study is another question: Why was it that inland missions, such as Weixian, were able to accomplish this cooperative method to a greater extent than those in larger cities or in the treaty ports? It is a fact that the local population in the latter areas had more money and were better educated in general. Therefore, it would seem

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[30] Chen, C. *Medicine in Rural China: A Personal Account.* Berkeley: University of California Press. 1989. p. 9.
[31] Dan. *Op cit.* p. 53
[32] *Ibid.* p. 54.

logical that the Chinese would have been brought into the administrative structures earlier. The lack of a clear answer is partly due to the little attention given to inland missions and a concentration on the treaty ports. It also appears to be due to generalizations regarding the missionary movement that are accepted outright. There is, therefore, a case for the investigation of the three-self movement in a rural mission station through the secular enterprises.

It is not the intention of this work to consider the entire China Mission of the American Presbyterian Church. Even in Shandong, the Presbyterians developed many different forms of work. For this study the most successful station in the mission, the Weixian Station, was chosen. While not representative of all the China missions, this study can be used as an example of a rural mission that incorporated the Chinese to a greater extent. If one looks at the statistics, Shandong became the largest and most successful base for the Presbyterians during the period of this study. Although the Central and South China Missions were founded almost twenty years earlier, they were not as successful. Between 1882 and 1900 the Central China Mission increased its number of communicants by 965 people, the South China Mission by 2,493, and the Shandong Mission increased their number by 4,831. It was not until 1920 that the South China Mission was able to close the gap with 11,775 communicants to 15,756 for Shandong. Although it had been renowned for its efforts on the evangelistic front, the Shandong Mission also led the way in the educational and medical fields. Within the mission itself there was an imbalance between the various stations in the field, since each followed different strategies. Over the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries new ideas and methods slowly emerged at the station level. At the overall mission level, however, many were not accepted until its success had been proven.

This study will look at the development of the educational and medical enterprises at the Weixian Station between its founding in 1883 and 1920. The station was found to be ideal on two levels. On the one hand, with its central location, it became the leader in the educational work of the Shandong Mission, making up approximately half the number of total students.[33] Following the missionary tradition, it was also the first to establish schools for girls and to bring in Western medical practices to the Weixian area.[34] The primary schools established throughout its field were almost wholly supported and directed by Chinese. Missionary oversight consisted of a biannual visit rather than daily

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[33] This position would be later solidified by the decision to place the Arts College of the Shandong Christian University at Weixian. *57th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1894. PHS.* pp. 93-94.

[34] *Wei Cheng Qu Zhi.* Jinan: Qi Lu Shu She Ban Fa Xing. 1993. pp. 655 and 728.

involvement. On the other hand, its missionary staff was not as stable as in other stations. This allowed for the constant change of policies and, arguably, for the need of including more Chinese personnel.

Adding to the importance of Shandong and Weixian in secular endeavors, this field contained a large indigenous Christian movement that developed between 1914 and 1920, the City Evangelization Movement (CEM). It has been found that the significance of this movement was not that it broke away, but that it was conducted and remained under the guise of the foreigners. The CEM had two important elements: it was Chinese supported and it was Chinese administered. Without the incorporation of the Chinese into the educational and medical institutions this movement might not have occurred in the same form. It was through their participation in the secular institutions that both the Chinese and missionaries gained the confidence necessary to starting and sustaining it. The work of Liu Tian-lu and Tao Fei-ya, *Protestantism in Modern Shandong* (*Ji Du Jiao Hui yu Jin Dai Shan Dong She Hui*), shows the indigenous Christian movements in Weixian did not start until the early 1920s. This is in part due to the fact that they do not have access to the Presbyterian Historical Society archives that bring new information to the subject. Nevertheless, the CEM was certainly the first effort by the local Christians in the area, and it is possible to argue that the interaction between the Chinese and missionaries set the foundations for the emergence of later movements. The connection between the CEM and the involvement of the Chinese in the secular enterprises is not the focus of this work, but it is important to keep this question in mind for future research.

Its position within the mission and its rural location make Weixian ideal for studying the development of mission theories of cooperation and their implementation during this important early period. The importance of this study is two-pronged. First, it will provide new insights into the social history of Weifang, such as the spread of new medical care and education throughout the district.[35] Second, it will provide a point for discussion among scholars of Christianity in China to take another look at the role of missionary secular institutions and the development of a joint venture between the Chinese and the missionaries.

## Note on the Limitations of Sources and Terminology

The original aim of this study was to look at the interaction between the Chinese society and the Western missionaries on a local level. However, I was faced with the problem of sources. As the bibliography indicates, the main primary sources come from

[35] After 1949, the names of Weixian and Fangzi were merged to create the present city of Weifang.

missionary archives in the US. This gave only one side of the story and presented difficulties in obtaining the views of the Chinese on how they were influenced by missionary work.

In the area of Chinese participation the missionary sources tend to diminish the triumphs of the Chinese. Their correspondence generally concentrated on their guiding hand over the innovative abilities of the Chinese. This phenomenon also occurs when speaking about the changes in Chinese society and the subsequent changes in mission policy. A careful reading of the sources, however, shows that this was not always the case, especially when looking at missions with extensive educational and medical systems. Despite the denial of the missionaries, one can find sources that indicate the valuable work of the Chinese in the expansion of the station's work. They show that quick turnover in the foreign personnel and changes in the local society forced the increasing incorporation of the Chinese.

Research in Chinese sources was not easier, as I found out during a four-month research trip to Jinan and Weifang. At this time I did not find any primary sources available on the station in the local archives.[36] Therefore, I was left with Chinese secondary research performed by the local government contained in the *difang zhi* (gazeteers) and *wen shi ziliao* (collections of historical materials) publications. Both contain information not covered in the missionary reports, and give a better idea of the social history of the Weifang area. These include information about the opening of schools and Western medical facilities. Although it cannot be considered primary source material, this information will be used in conjunction with the mission materials to look more in-depth at the impact that the Chinese environment had on the foreign enterprises.

Throughout the following chapters one will find terminology used to specify the difference between those in favor of furthering the institutions and those who wished to focus more on the religious side of the missionary movement. In general, they can be divided into two groups, the liberals and the fundamentalists. I have used the terms 'evangelist,' 'evangelical,' and 'theologian' to identify the ministers and those not in favor of expanding the secular institutions. The more liberal personnel are generally identified with the term 'educationalist' or 'doctor.' As the institutions developed the positions overlapped at times. However, it was usually the case that the former became

[36] While there may have been some material in the archives the researcher was not able to gain access to it. The closest we can come to primary material is that contained in the *Wen Shi Zi Liao* materials published by the local government.

opposed to the expansion efforts after 1900 and the terms have been chosen to indicate the conflict.

A final note should be made on the format of the names of the Chinese people and places throughout the thesis. Where the personal names are available in characters, they will be spelled in the Pinyin format with a hyphen separating the two given names, i.e. Sun Baoqi becomes Sun Bao-qi. This was done to make them consistent with the names given by the missionaries. In general Chinese names are given in the mission records without the characters. Therefore, these have had to be given as they appear. For the names of towns and cities I have chosen to use the names given in the missionary sources rather than those on a present-day map, i.e. Yizhou was the name for the city now called Linyi.

# Chapter 2

## General Information on the China Missions

The work of the Weixian missionaries was not performed in isolation from that of the rest of Shandong and the general Protestant missionary movement throughout China. The two key organizations that controlled its enterprises were the mission in China and the Foreign Board in New York, which determined the appropriations the institutions would receive. Both took immense interest in the changes exhibited by different groups in the China field and how these were being applied in their stations. The Shandong field of the American Presbyterians was extraordinary because it combined mass evangelism with large secular enterprises. This section will describe the formation of the missionary enterprises within the general movement. Many of the trends noted here are emphasized in later chapters as they took shape in Weixian. Following the discussion of missionary secular work, a brief history of the Shandong Mission will be given. This history highlights important elements that influenced the development of the mission.

### Beginnings of the Missionary Movement

When the study of Protestant missions is brought up one has a tendency to consider them as a monolithic group. However, the Protestants consisted of a wide variety of denominations (British Baptists, American Presbyterians, the non-denominational American Board, etc.) that had their own set of priorities. These differences came about due to the different history of each group. Nevertheless, in China they were affected by similar events, such as the Opium Wars and the Boxers. This section will briefly follow the early history of the Protestant missions in China leading into the history of the American Presbyterians as they opened the Shandong Mission and the Weixian Station.

Prior to the entrance of the Protestant groups, however, Christianity and its servants had been present in China since 635 AD with the Nestorians. This group was followed by two orders of Catholics, the Franciscans and the Jesuits, who arrived in force between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the most famous missionaries in this effort was Matteo Ricci. Although they were of the same faith, their methods of spreading Christianity differed greatly. The Franciscans proselytized among the rural and poor populations while the Jesuits concentrated on the upper classes, particularly the government officials in Beijing and provincial capitals. In addition, the Jesuit order was highly influential in the Chinese government through their official status in the Bureau of Astronomy. Although these two groups competed in certain areas, in general they worked together to obtain permits and the necessary introductions to local officials.

Similar to the later Protestant movement, these groups did not have a stable field on a consistent basis. There are reports of anti-Christian uprisings and misconduct of certain individuals. In his recent study, David Mungello reported the actions of 'sexual abuse' of Fathers Allesio Randanini and Bernadino Bevilacqua.[37] In addition to opposition on the local level, these groups experienced problems with the central government. The first hint of future trouble came in 1715 with the Pope Clement XI's reaffirmation of the Rites Controversy decision that rejected the policy of allowing ancestor worship and set Christian terminology. Following this decision, the Kang-xi emperor passed an order for the repatriation of all missionaries except those officially involved in the government bureaucracy as technicians. It was not strictly enforced at this time and, in 1724, the Yong-zheng Emperor strengthened it with an expulsion edict. However, it continued to be ineffective until 1784 when the Qian-long Emperor took control of the issue. Finally, in 1811 an imperial edict was issued outlawing the practice of the Christian religion.[38]

Although it failed to remain a strong force in China during this period, the missionaries had many of the same experiences that affected the later Protestant movement. They worked among the poor members of the population and attempted, many times unsuccessfully, to approach the Confucian scholars in the society. However, they did not have the backing of the powerful European nations that gave impetus and legality to the Protestants of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries were slowly expelled, new developments in Britain and the US brought forward a strong Protestant movement to spread Christianity throughout the world. The new movement in Britain began in the 1790s and led to the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792 and the London Missionary Society in 1795. The religious fervor was mirrored in the United States during the Second Great Awakening on the American frontier from which the New York Missionary Society emerged in 1796. The great mission organizations in America did not emerge until the early-nineteenth century. One of the important groups involved in the China effort was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions that was organized in September 1810.[39] As the various groups began sending out individuals for

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[37] Mungello, D. *The Spirit and the Flesh in Shandong, 1650-1785.* London: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2001. p. 134.

[38] Although they were forced out of China at this point, the Catholic missionaries returned after the Opium Wars. Hsu, I. *The Rise of Modern China, Fifth Edition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1995. pp. 102-103 and Brown. *Op cit*, 1997. pp. 21-22.

[39] Rubinstein, M. *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China.* Lanham: The Scarecrow Press. 1996. pp. 197-199.

mission work, both the British and Americans focused their energy in two areas: India and China.

**Table 1**
**General Missionary Statistics, 1807-1925**[40]

| Year | Societies | Missionaries | Communicants |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1807 | 1 | 1 | |
| 1840 | 4 | 20 | 100 |
| 1853 | 15 | 120 | 351 |
| 1858 | 20 | 81 (men) | |
| 1864 | 24 | 189 | |
| 1869 | | | 5,753 |
| 1874 | | 436 | |
| 1876 | 29 | 473 | 13,035 |
| 1881 | | 618 | |
| 1886 | | | 28,506 |
| 1887 | | | 52,260 |
| 1888 | | | 34,555 |
| 1889 | 41 | 1,296 | 37,287 |
| 1893 | 44 | 1,324 | 55,093 |
| 1898 | | | 80,682 |
| 1900 | | | 95,943 |
| 1904 | | | 131,251 |
| 1905 | | | 178,251 |
| 1906 | 82 | 3,833 | |
| 1908-1909 | 84 | 4,299 | 195,905 |
| 1909-1910 | 86 | 4,628 | 177,942 |
| 1910 | | 5,144 | 167,075 |
| 1911 | | 5,171 | 207,747 |
| 1912-1913 | | 5,394 | 245,959 |
| 1913 | | 5,563 | |
| 1914 | 107 | 5,978 | 253,210 |
| 1915 | | 5,338 | 268,652 |
| 1916 | | 5,740 | 293,139 |
| 1917 | | 5,900 | 312,970 |
| 1918 | | 6,395 | |
| 1919 | | 6,636 | 345,853 |
| 1920 | | 6,204 | 366,527 |
| 1922 | | 7,663 | 402,539 |
| 1925 | | 8,158 | |

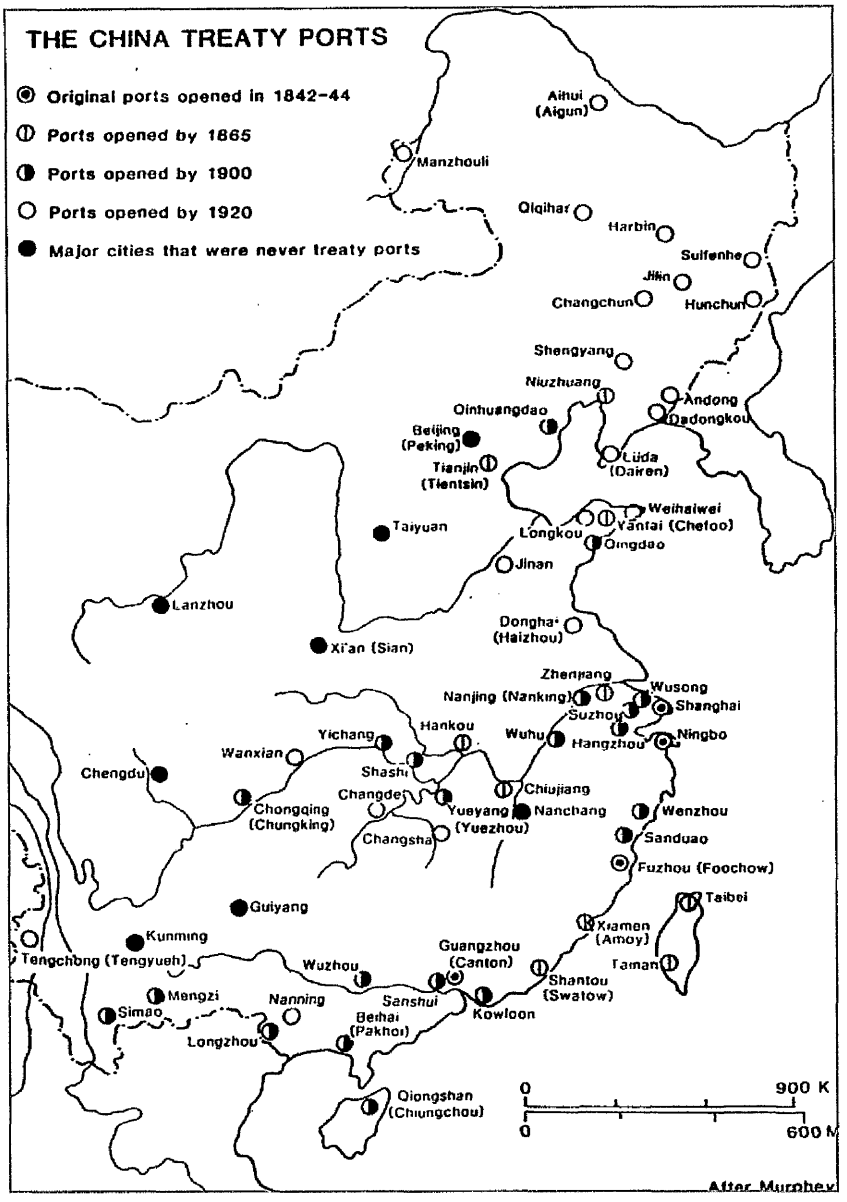
Many of the early missionaries found working in China difficult because of the strong national and local governments, the previous failure of the Catholic missionaries, and the opposition of the strong upper classes in society. Nevertheless, on September 8, 1807, Robert Morrison, representing the London Missionary Society, arrived in Guangzhou (Canton) aboard the American ship *Trident* as the first Protestant missionary in China. With his arrival another attempt to spread Christianity among China's millions was begun. Morrison was followed by such pioneers as Elijah Bridgman and Peter Parker of the American Board. The early evangelistic efforts were hampered by lack of access to

[40] Gregg, A. China and Educational Autonomy. Ph.D. Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1946. p. 213.

locations other than the 'thirteen factories' area.[41] As can be seen from Table 1, only twenty missionaries and 100 communicants were reported in China in 1840.[42]

**Figure 1**

**Map of the Treaty Ports in China**[43]




The First Opium War (1839-1842) was a major turning point for the Protestant groups. Restrictions on foreigners were reduced by the treaties signed between August 1842 and October 1844. Although all the provisions vital for expansion were not contained in a single treaty, combined they proved important. The British treaty opened

[41] The thirteen factories area contained the warehouses for foreign goods and was located outside the city walls. The foreign traders were also permitted to establish temporary residence in this area during the trading season. Wakeman, F. *The Fall of Imperial China.* New York: The Free Press. 1975. p. 122.

[42] Other missionaries went to Singapore and areas that had overseas Chinese populations to wait for the time when they would be permitted take up residence in China.

[43] http://www.chinapage.com/map/map-treaty_ports.jpg

the ports of Canton (Guangzhou), Amoy (Xiamen), Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai to British citizens. The American treaty contained the clauses of extra-territoriality, the right to maintain churches and hospitals in the five ports, and the 'most-favored-nation' clause. The French treaty dealt directly with the 'free propagation of Catholicism' that was then applied to the Protestants through the most-favored-nation idea.[44]

The clauses were not specifically aimed at improving conditions for the Protestants, but they took full advantage of the situation and began to expand. By 1853 there were 120 Protestant missionaries spread throughout the new treaty ports. This was a very significant increase from the numbers reported only thirteen years earlier. However, the movement was stifled by government restrictions and was associated with the foreign imperialist governments. All of these conditions made it difficult to approach the local population to gain converts and the movement continued on a small-scale basis. It would take another war for the movement to break out of its shell and truly begin to expand.

The settlement of the Second Opium War (1856-1858), with the Treaty of Tianjin in 1858, called for the 'opening of ten new ports; foreign travel 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...[and] freedom of movement in all China for missionaries, Catholic and Protestant alike.'[45] This was later reinforced by the Conventions of Peking (Beijing) in 1860. The most important clause for the Protestant missionary movement is found in Article VI of the French Convention. It stipulated that an imperial edict be published allowing 'all people in all parts of China' to practice Christianity and build churches, and that French missionaries be permitted to rent or purchase land on which to erect permanent buildings.[46] In effect, it forced the government to revoke Qianlong's 1811 edict. The new rights and privileges gave the Protestant missionaries access to the interior leading to a greater opportunity to spread their faith. Due to this new freedom, the number of missionaries jumped from 473 in 1876 to 618 in 1881. Likewise, the number of communicants rose from 13,035 in 1876 to 28,506 in 1886. Figure 1 shows the location of the treaty ports out of which the missionaries worked. It also shows the expansion of the missionary movement as more areas were opened to foreigners, particularly cities in the interior of the country.

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[44] The treaties with the British were ratified by December 28, 1842, with the treaties of the United States, Treaty of Wangxia, and France, Treaty of Whampoa, completed by October 1844. Hsu. *Op cit.* pp. 189-191.
[45] *Ibid.* p. 211.
[46] Although there was some debate surrounding the idea, this right was carried onto the American Protestant missionaries through the most-favored-nation clause. In essence, some pushed ahead with their plans under the impression that they were legally covered.

Throughout the period covered by this study missionaries and their institutions exhibited significant expansion and gained more converts. Table 1 indicates the increasing number of missionaries that reached a peak of approximately 8,000 in the 1920s. The increase in the number of missionaries, however, does not by itself explain the increase in converts or the growth of institutions. If one only compares the number of missionaries at this time to the population of Shandong province, 33,127,000 in 1850,[47] the ratio of missionaries to Chinese was small. It is likely that even if one includes both Catholics and Protestants the numbers would not change significantly. The only conclusion that can be reached is that the increase in the number of missionaries could not have been the only reason for the growing number of Christians. Other factors that influenced the numbers were the changing political situation, new social conditions, and the increasing participation of the Chinese.

An important element during this expansion was the emergence and growth of secular enterprises. They exerted influence over the local population and account for the significant increases of converts in later years. The best known was the educational systems that were established throughout the mission fields. In addition to producing the evangelists and pastors for local churches, these schools were important in transforming the views of the population towards the acceptance of new ideas that were indelibly linked to the foreigners. In a similar way, the medical enterprise was also important in opening new regions to the evangelists.

[47] Buck, D. *Urban Change in China.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1978. p. 233.

## Introduction to Missionary Secular Enterprises

This study focuses on the medical and educational institutions, two of the largest enterprises adopted by various mission groups. Both were conceived, perfected, and expanded between 1880 and 1920. After this period they were consolidated and changed to reflect the new political situation in China. The work of these enterprises covered many different areas. For example, in the study of medical institutions one can look at the work of the itinerant doctor, the establishment of medical schools, or the creation of insane asylums. Changes in both enterprises took place along with the increase of professional staffs, a greater exchange among the mission groups, and an increased participation by the Chinese.

## Missionary Education

Between the arrival of the first Protestant missionary, Robert Morrison, and the missionaries' withdrawal in the late-1930s and early-1950s, one of the most important aspects of their work was the establishment of school systems in their fields. It was the most highly subsidized work, and it stands as the most successful at incorporating Chinese into its administrative hierarchy. However, this work depended upon the support of the evangelists, and it was not equally successful in all areas. Although they did not radically overhaul the Chinese educational system, the missionaries were instrumental in bringing new concepts of primary and higher education to the Republican era government schools. The most highly celebrated achievement was the universities they established that remained influential until 1949. Even after the missionaries left, the Communist government used the buildings and grounds of the secondary schools and universities as the foundation of their education system. There has been little academic work done on the primary schools, but it was from this point that the advanced educational institutions evolved.

## Position of Chinese Education and Missionary Interest

When the Protestant missionaries arrived in China, they found a long and established culture where education was highly prized and sought after. The beginning of formal education in China can be traced back to the Han dynasty and the introduction of examinations in the civil service appointment system. In the Song Dynasty (960-1279 AD) formal higher educational institutions, Confucian academies (*shuyuan),* were established, and, in some places, district and prefecture schools sponsored by the government could be found. On a more popular level, private schools were sponsored by individuals, or cooperatively by villages, to educate male children for local economic activities and the examinations to enter the government bureaucracy. Like the

missionaries, the Chinese used their schools to transmit the values of society to their children with an emphasis on the Confucian Classics.

The first educational supporters were impressed by the importance given to education and the reverence shown towards Confucian scholars. Needless to say, however, the system they found was not the same they had experienced in their home countries. Given the great value the Chinese gave to education the Protestants saw it as a useful tool for spreading their religious message. Many found that if they opened a school it provided a class of students who would listen to their religious teaching. Some also felt that the schools brought students away from the harmful influences of Chinese society. While many took on these views, the early goal of the Protestants to make converts quickly made this enterprise's usefulness questionable. Education was not seen as a true evangelical enterprise. Many felt that the most effective method of spreading the gospel was establishing an itinerating field for the evangelists.

Missionary attitudes towards female education were also influenced by this evangelizing mission. Women's resistance to the foreign religion proved to be a significant challenge to missionary work. Education for boys to train them as church leaders was a priority for the missionaries. However, education for girls was considered just as important because of their resistance to the religion and influence in society. Missionaries saw that male children were usually given some sort of education, but girls were generally neglected within the established system. Prejudices also influenced missionary attitudes towards education. They sometimes referred to Chinese men as 'ignorant' and 'superstitious,' but went further in putting down women by referring to them as 'half paralytics' and 'dead weights.'[48] Women, particularly, were seen to be holding back the progress of the Chinese church because they generally opposed the new religion. From the perspective of the missionary goal of spreading Christianity, female education became important. Given their opposition to the foreign religion and their neglect in the Chinese educational system, missionaries saw the opportunity to offer higher education directed solely at women.

Educational institutions were not immediately popular among either the missionaries or Chinese. Although there was a strong link between education and evangelical work, there were many aspects of this enterprise that made it less attractive to the missionaries. For example, although many mission schools provided free tuition and

[48] Mary Bergen refers to her impressions of women in a letter in 1885. 'I well remember a class that was held for the "half paralytics" (as Mr. Mateer called them), for the better halves of preachers who were dead weights to their husbands' progress and work.' Bergen, M. 'Letter regarding 1906 Women's Conference at Weihsien.' May 12, 1906. *PHS.*

housing, students were unlikely to attend unless they were fully supported. This included food, clothing, and other general necessities. The Chinese population was hesitant to enter missionary schools because they felt that missionary education was inferior and it would not provide the necessary schooling for their sons. A second reason for the lack of interest was that the work was often carried out among the peasantry. The families would have lost an important source of labor for which they would not be compensated.

**Primary and Secondary School Systems**

The educational movement can be split into two distinct phases: 1. the development of primary and secondary schools and 2. the emergence of higher education. Similar to other missionary enterprises, the Boxer Uprising (1899-1900) marked the point of separation between the two. During the first phase, it is possible to see the basic changes that allowed for the expansion and success of the school systems. This included disagreement over the content of the curriculum, the type of teachers that were acceptable, and what type of school, boarding or day, was most needed. The last issue became important as the schools exceeded the appropriations the home boards were willing to provide. The most prominent area of contention was whether the secular content was acceptable for an evangelical activity. By 1900 the parties solved these conflicts and the school systems began to grow. However, the students did not have a large opportunity to continue their education past the secondary level. While this worked well for evangelical purposes, it was not fulfilling the church-building function. They were not able to train pastors and elders that should have been running the field operations. With this in mind some groups began opening college-level institutions. Because of the high cost of these new projects, numerous groups supported them financially and created the union college system that became the norm. The American Presbyterian (North) Mission was a leader during both of these phases.

The concept of using education as a form of missionary work did not originate with the China missions. In his book *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China,* Murray Rubinstein identifies Gideon Blackburn as a 'missionary teacher who worked among the Cherokee of Tennessee' as early as 1807.[49] However, when they finally entered China in the 1820s, the Protestant groups did not adopt this form of work wholeheartedly and relied mainly on itinerating fields to spread their religious message. This policy was due to the emphasis on quick conversion that accompanied the religious revivals.

[49] Rubinstein. *Op cit.* p. 66.

The first foray into the field of missionary education was the 'informal school' of Elijah Bridgman that he founded in Guangzhou in 1830.[50] His school encountered some problems in teaching methods and the level of scholarship the students achieved, but he was encouraged that some attained a decent level of competence in reading and writing. The missionaries were then able to train them as workers for the print shop proving that education could be used for establishing Christianity. However, until the late-nineteenth century it was felt that the most effective method of spreading the gospel message was through field itinerating work. Those who identified this style of preaching as the only path to understanding Christianity did not see education as a true evangelical agency. One of the early schools to experience these problems was opened by Calvin Mateer in Dengzhou in 1862. In the end, the disagreements he and John Nevius had over this matter caused a split in the Shandong missionary force.

Attitudes towards education evolved throughout the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s. The changes were encouraged by the evangelistic gains achieved where schools were established.[51] In 1889 Henry Noyes reported that there was a general consensus that 'the Christian school should be planted side by side with the Christian Church.'[52] Thus, a new debate over how to prioritize educational work with regard to other evangelical activities emerged. Three arguments against this enterprise that were typical at the time were: schools diverted funds and energy away from the goal of saving souls, education secularized the mission work, and that examples of this work could not be found in the Scriptures.[53] The emphasis on saving souls was the mainstay of this generation of missionaries.[54] Education took resources and time away from this goal.

Advocates of education countered by arguing that education provided an effective and reliable native ministry, was important in producing teachers for Christian schools, afforded the best means of gaining access to the higher classes in China, gave the Chinese Church self-reliance and an educated constituency to combat skeptics and superstition, and that it provided schools for the children of Christians so they would not be exposed to 'heathen' education.[55] The two underlying concerns of those who supported education

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[50] *Ibid.* p. 290.

[51] In 1890 Joseph Leyenberger reported that schools were fast becoming 'a most important auxiliary of our work....The heathen cannot appreciate direct preaching of the Gospel.' 'J. Leyenberger to F. Ellinwood.' November 12, 1890, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207

[52] Noyes, H. 'Education in China.' *CHA.* vol. 5, February 1889, p. 147.

[53] Rawski, E. 'Elementary Education in the Missionary Enterprise.' in J. Fairbank and S. Barnett, eds. *Christianity in China.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1985. p. 136.

[54] Lutz. *Op cit,* 1985. p. 270.

[55] Rawski. *Op cit,* 1985. p. 136.; Clark, N. 'Higher Christian Education as a Missionary Agency.' in *Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World.* London, 1889. p. 186; Lutz, *Op cit,*

were the creation of a self-supporting Church and overcoming the animosity of the elite classes in society.

Most of the arguments in favor of and against education were based on religious grounds. By 1890 the American Protestant community considered primary and secondary schools to be a key enterprise. At the primary level they tended to be day schools while the secondary schools retained the boarding school model and were located at central stations where resident missionaries had better oversight of their operation. Much of this was due to the financial constraints that the expanding movement experienced. At this point many that favored education turned their attention to developing systems of administration for these schools. One solution was the creation of a central group to disseminate new ideas to the various schools and provide a sense of professionalism within the community. These developments eventually led to the creation of the Educational Association of China after the 1890 General Conference of Protestant Missionaries.[56] In 1896 this organization decided that Christian schools did not exist only to make converts or train native ministers, but also served to give the students a secular education.[57] This resolved the issue of the form mission education was to take. With this decision the direct link between education and evangelization was broken and the work could take on a life of its own. Out of this rose the new union college system in the post-1900 period.

**Focusing on Higher Education**

At the close of the nineteenth century, perceptions about the purpose of Christian education began to change. This was partly due to the rapid changes taking place in China itself. Men like Li Hong-zhang, Feng Gui-fen, Zhang Zhi-dong, and Li Duan-fen began to establish and theorize on a new system of schooling. In Shandong this effort was led by Yuan Shi-kai who later established one of the first Chinese universities in Jinan. With the abolishment of the Confucian examinations in 1905, and the establishment of the Republic after the 1911 Revolution, a new period in Chinese education began. By 1906 it was reported that universities were founded in every provincial capital city with educational systems growing up all over the country in the main district and prefecture cities. In 1913 the new Ministry of Education formally established a system of education covering all levels of schools. However, the new government schools did not reach down to the entire population, and the missionary schools often filled gaps in the system.

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1971. p. 15; and Glover, R. 'Our Missions in China.' in *The Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1892*. London, 1892. p. 132.

[56] Gregg. *Op cit.* p. 20.

[57] Graham. *Op cit.* p. 35.

In addition to changes in the local society, the mission educational systems themselves were proving to be successful. By 1910 the Educational Association of China reported 1,500 primary schools with 30,000 pupils and 12,000 pupils were recorded in boarding secondary schools.[58] With the achievements in the primary and secondary schools, the missionaries began looking for new areas to expand into. In addition, the growth of the Church required new institutions to provide workers that would take administrative control from the foreigners.

As plans were formulated for the creation of post-secondary institutions, skepticism over the ability of the Chinese to formulate educational policy became a source of concern. Oscar F. Wisner, President of the Christian College in Guangzhou, showed the biased nature of the mission groups in 1899.

> 'The old native system of purely literary training is felt by the Chinese themselves to be wholly inadequate. Reorganization is just at hand. Science is to find a large place in the new curriculum. Shall this great heathen people be left to themselves in the formation of their new ideals of education and in reconstructing their plant?...The fact is the Chinese are not in a position to be yet fully trusted with so radical a reform as is here involved. They need wise direction. They need good models. The first great university and colleges of China should be Christian institutions. Christian missions cannot consistently hold back from this work of higher education form the Christian standpoint. With a people who reverence learning as the Chinese do, the present call for a better, more practical form of education, furnishes the opportunity of crowning missionary enterprise with dignity and equipping it with unprecedented power. The Chinese are sure to thank and respect those who help them solve the difficult problems of this reform.'[59]

This attitude was typical of missionaries who did not trust the government or society to change the model of the school system. However, there was a deeper reason for wanting to expand their work to this new area. They did not want to lose their hegemonic position in the field of education. Over the years this had been carefully nurtured and the developments in China might have threatened this if they did not change as well. Jessie

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[58] 'Education.' *AH.* vol. 16, no. 2, February 1910. p. 96

[59] Oscar F. Wisner was the President of the Christian College in Guangzhou. Wisner, O. 'Higher Christian Education in China.' *WWW.* vol. 14, no. 2, February 1899. p. 37.

Lutz summed up this position well when she stated that the 'colleges originated out of the need of Westerners, not as a result of Chinese demand.'[60]

The process by which these new colleges emerged was highly complex and not duplicated by all mission groups. Their origins lay in the nineteenth century with the need for educated workers in the Chinese Church that could hold the same level of respect in society as the Confucian scholars. As occurred in Shandong, a central high school that had a good reputation among the local population and within the mission field was elevated to collegiate status. These advanced schools became the base of the Christian university system as their curriculum developed. Many of these new training institutes were founded in the 1890s, but by the end of the decade a new type of student emerged. Individuals began flooding them to learn English and other western subjects that were required to succeed in the areas where foreigners were active. In addition, these new institutions supplied advanced education that was unavailable to many parents that could not afford to give their children a Confucian education.[61]

Although the necessity for increasing post-secondary education was evident after 1900, the field missionaries had to overcome financial problems. The new institutions were to be based on the western model that had many academic departments and could accommodate a large student population. Almost none of the China missions were able to support an entire university on this model alone. Therefore, a decision was made to put aside denominational differences and join together in supporting these new institutions. As an example of this one could point to the formation of the University of Nanjing. Originally founded in 1906 as the Union Christian College by the Presbyterians and Disciples of Christ, in 1910 the College joined with the Methodist's Nanjing University to form the University of Nanjing. In 1911 the state of New York gave the institution a charter that recognized its degree on the same level as other American universities.[62] The institution grew to become important in social welfare and played a leading role in agricultural research.

In this new era of expansion, missionaries also began to use their existing institutions and new universities to address social problems in Chinese society. In the past, their school systems were aimed at producing mission workers. Now they increased their attention on service in the communities. New subjects such as athletics and hygiene were fully incorporated into the curriculum.[63] Through this policy they were able to

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[60] Lutz. *Op cit*, 1971. p. 491.
[61] *Ibid.* p. 495.
[62] *Ibid.* pp. 109-110.
[63] Graham. *Op cit.* pp. 44-47.

further spread their cultural ideals among the students. Gael Graham argues that the medical aim of physical education was only a small part of the program. The other was to 'literally reshape their male and female students to embody the appropriate American gender standards.'[64] Missionaries also began introducing more courses aimed at having a more practical impact on the lives of people, such as classes on agricultural techniques. This indicates a greater willingness from the missionaries to change the lifestyles of those in the schools and create a 'New China.' It was an initial response to the increasing political and social problems in China, and it coincided with the growing 'Social Gospel' ideology that was beginning to hold a prominent position in China.[65]

Finally, apart from the general movements in education during this time, there was a noticeable change in the attitude of the missionaries to the education of Chinese women. Before 1900 the educational movement had thoroughly adopted the idea of educating Chinese girls. However, because the missionaries generally lost their services to marriage, they did not open schools beyond the high school level. After 1900, with advances in girls' high schools and the new views of a woman's place in society, there came a more concerted movement towards college education for female students. During this time, institutions of higher education for Chinese women, such as the Ginling Women's College in Nanjing and the Women's Union College in Beijing, were established. However, groups also created higher education in their local mission fields apart from the colleges. This generally consisted of teacher training institutes.

By the end of the missionary movement in the early-1950s the educational institutions created during this time were fully developed. Many of their graduates went on to take part in the nationalist government and were key in producing changes in their local communities. After the Communist victory in the Civil War (1945-1949), many schools became the foundation of the educational system from the secondary to the university levels. Although no longer under foreign control and trusteeship, the buildings continue to be used. However, the efforts of local governments to modernize their institutions do not generally include the restoration of these older buildings. The foreign educational effort is more readily recognized by the Chinese and by those concerned with the process of modernization. However, the medical institutions also had a significant impact, although in a more focused form.

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[64] *Ibid.* p. 44.
[65] *Ibid.* pp. 133-135.

## Missionary Medicine

The second most important non-evangelical enterprise of the missionaries was the medical work performed in their stations and mission fields. One does not need to look far to read about missionary doctors attending sick patients who have come to them as a last chance that turned out to be lifesaving in many cases. The care provided by the foreign doctors was one of the main sources of modern medical care in China until 1949.[66] Medical work, however, was not limited to hospitals and dispensaries. It was also a stepping stone to the public health campaigns as the doctors came to a greater understanding of disease in China through their outstation work. Unlike education that grew up in a disjointed manner over many decades, the medical enterprises developed as a cohesive system. This was due to the small number of individuals considered qualified to undertake this type of work that led to an integrated working group. Also unlike the educational institutions, this close-knit group dynamic allowed for less divisiveness in the development of policies.

### Medical Practice in China Prior to the Protestant Enterprise

Before the arrival of the Protestant doctors, China had an established tradition of treating disease throughout its history.[67] As early as the Shang period (1500 BC), the Chinese were using herbal medicine and remedies for patients.[68] Medical work continued in this fashion until the Qin dynasty (221 BC) when scholars contributed the 'medical classics.' During the Han dynasty (206 BC) an imperial medical bureau was established, and Hua Tuo reportedly performed the first surgical operations under anesthesia during the Three Kingdoms period. Other advances in medicine included the creation of an imperial medical college during the Song Dynasty, and the Imperial College of Physicians during the Yuan dynasty. Although there were many achievements, 'scholar-physicians served the wealthy elite of urban China...[while] undereducated and largely self-taught traditional practitioners provided medical relief for other urban dwellers and to rural China.'[69]

By the early stages of the Protestant missionary movement, medical practice in China was unregulated. Many physicians were Confucian scholars unable to pass the civil examinations, but there was no systematic way to determine who was fit to be a doctor.

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[66] Cheung, Y. *Missionary Medicine in China.* Lanham: University Press of America. 1988. p. 1.
[67] Here we only want to establish the fact that China had a long history of medicine prior to the arrival of the missionaries. For further reading see Ralph Croizier's book *Traditional Medicine in Modern China* or Paul Unschuld's book *Medicine in China.*
[68] It should be noted that until the time of the Qin dynasty (221 B.C.) the work was performed by non-scholars and was 'regarded as a somewhat dubious undertaking.' Chen. *Op cit,* 1989. p. 13.
[69] *Ibid.* p. 15.

According to Edward Gulick, 'a physician simply read what he could, the medical lore often being handed from father to son to grandson like treasured family recipes.'[70] This was especially harmful to the lower classes in the population and those living in the countryside that had no immediate access to the better physicians. It was among these people that the medical missionaries had the greatest impact.

The use of science and medicine in the missionary enterprise is documented as far back as the late-sixteenth century. The Jesuit missionaries attempted to 'disseminate European anatomical and physiological concepts' to the official and upper gentry classes in China.[71] One such individual was Father Jean Terrenz, a Jesuit missionary, who 'became widely known and appreciated as physician, philosopher, and mathematician.'[72] Another, Brother Jean Joseph Da Costa, practiced minor surgery around 1715.[73] There were, however, distinct differences between the Jesuits and the later Protestants. These early missionaries did not intend to take up medicine as a regular part of their work. It just allowed them to get close to the officials and higher classes, which they felt would give them legitimacy and would allow for a more solid expansion of the Church.

The Jesuits were followed by secular doctors connected to the British East India Company in Macao, and to the foreign community in Guangzhou. These included: Dr. Alexander Pearson (1805), Dr. John Livingstone (1808), Dr. Thomas R. Colledge (1826), and Dr. James H. Bradford (1828). All of these individuals made contributions to medical care in both the foreign and Chinese community. Dr. Pearson began smallpox vaccination work using 'Jenner's new method.' This was an improvement over the Chinese method of 'inserting smallpox scales in the nostrils.'[74] In 1820 Dr. Livingstone and Robert Morrison opened a Sino-Western dispensary to treat the Chinese and to gain some insight into 'Chinese therapies.'[75] In the dispensary the two men gathered a large assortment of Chinese medicines and had a library of about 800 volumes on the subject. Dr. Colledge opened the first specialist dispensary that served those suffering from eye diseases. Finally, Dr. Bradford opened the first hospital in collaboration with Colledge.[76] This early group was focused on the foreign community and their contribution to the Chinese population was small. However, their work showed the missionaries that medicine could be used to improve relations with the local population. Once they gained access to the

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[70] Gulick, E. *Peter Parker and the Opening of China.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1973. p. 41.
[71] Unschuld. *Op cit.* p. 235.
[72] Wong, K. and L. Wu *History of Chinese Medicine.* Tientsin: Tientsin Press Ltd. 1932. p. 130.
[73] Jewell, J. 'Chinese and Western Medicine in China 1800-1911.' in S. Hillier and J. Jewell, eds. *Health Care and Traditional Medicine in China 1800-1982.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1983. p. 7.
[74] Gulick. *Op cit.* pp. 44-45.
[75] *Ibid.* p. 45.
[76] Dr. Bradford was not a member of the British East India Company. *Ibid.* pp. 45-46.

Chinese, evangelical work could begin on a wider scale. It should be noted that none of these doctors worked outside of Guangzhou or Macao during this period.

The Protestant missionaries of the early-nineteenth century noted the popularity of the work done by the above individuals, and they began to apply it towards their goal of Christianizing China. To this end the Protestant medical movement began and developed through three distinct phases: 1835 to1900, 1900 to 1915 and from 1915 onwards. During the first phase, the emphasis was on establishing hospitals and dispensaries in permanent locations. The main goal was to aid the evangelical side of the mission. An important characteristic of this first period was the domination of the evangelists. The second phase was much shorter and lasted from 1900 until approximately 1915. In this time the position of the medical missionaries became more firmly established, and they began to assert more control over their work. They argued that they were no longer there to aid the evangelists but that their work should be considered equally important. The final phase, which lasted from 1915 to the end of the missionary movement, was characterized by the full independence of the medical enterprise from the narrow evangelical goals. This allowed doctors to fully professionalize their field. It was in this last period that we also begin to see the start of public health work. This blueprint is illustrated in the history of Weixian's medical institutions that will be discussed in the following chapters.

## Phase I

### Dispensaries and Hospitals

The year 1835 marks the beginning of the Protestant medical enterprise in China. In November of that year Peter Parker, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, began his ophthalmic hospital in Guangzhou, Guangdong. Prior to Parker's appointment, the purpose of the doctor in foreign missions was to ensure the health of the missionary community to avoid the large death toll that the American Board had previously experienced. However, with the support of Elijah Bridgman and others in the Guangzhou area, Parker was dispatched to take up medicine as a mission agency. His surgical work proved successful in gathering Chinese to be preached to, but he never found the time to personally preach to them. In the minds of many missionaries this showed the failure of such work as a direct evangelical agency.

Parker was eventually forced to sever his ties with the mission, but his work in Guangzhou was important. It demonstrated that medical work could gather crowds and open new areas for the evangelists. However, it could not act as an evangelical agency in

itself.[77] Since it was thought secondary to the work of establishing the Christian Church, the medical enterprise was held back during this period. The preeminence given to the evangelical mission was a problem that was constantly alluded to. In the following years, missionary medical personnel fought for more professionalism in their work, and for their independence from the control of the evangelists. Attempts to gain this freedom were continuously made. One of the most important was the introduction of fees for medicine that would allow them to gain some level of financial autonomy.

Initially, medical missionaries defended their work by arguing for the necessity of spreading western medical ideas and science to the Chinese. At the General Missionary Conference in 1877, J. G. Kerr, MD,[78] argued that Chinese physicians were ignorant and unenlightened.[79] In 1894, James W. McKean clearly summed up the attitude of missionary doctors towards their Chinese counterparts when he wrote: 'The vast superiority of Western medicine over the ignorant, empirical and superstitious treatment of disease by the native doctors makes even partial success a boon to the people.'[80] McKean and others were attempting to forge a greater place for themselves in the missionary movement where none seems to have existed. On the evangelical side, doctors also argued that their work would eliminate superstition, allowing for an easier acceptance of the missionary message.

As noted above, Dr. Parker established his work through the use of a hospital. Until the 1880s, however, the medical enterprise was marked by the prolific use of outstation dispensaries in the areas surrounding the treaty ports. The doctors visited the dispensary each day where they gave out medicine and provided general healthcare. After this time, the use of dispensaries as a primary health center began to diminish. Missions began to construct large hospitals in the central stations. The idea of a roving medical missionary had lost touch with the conditions in China and new advances in medical circles in Europe and the US. For this reason many missionaries began to favor the construction of permanent facilities as a part of their regular work. Between 1850 and

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[77] After 1900 the medical missionaries fought to overcome the domination of the evangelists and in 1915 were more successful with the entrance of non-mission schools and organizations, specifically the Rockefeller Foundation.

[78] Kerr was part of the American Presbyterian group attached to the South China Mission.

[79] Kerr, J. 'Medical Missions.' in E. Barrett, ed., *Records of the General Conference, 1877.* Shanghai: American Presbyterian Press. 1878. pp. 114-117.

[80] It could be argued that during the mid- to late- nineteenth century homeopathic medicine, non-surgical like the medicine practiced in China, was also studied and was popular in the US and that these were only the views of a few. However, many of the doctors coming out of medical schools at this time based their studies on scientific methods and surgery. Although speaking of his station in Laos, McKean's view is similar to that of the early doctors in China. McKean, J. 'The Medical Work at Chieng-Mai.' *CHA.* vol. 15, May 1894. p. 392.

1889 the number of Protestant missionary hospitals rose from ten to sixty-one. Fifteen years later the number increased to 362.[81] Although hospitals and dispensaries grew rapidly during this time, coinciding with the increase in the number of patients, the local population continued to prefer Chinese herbal medicine to the new Western medicine.[82]

## Phase II

### Further Professionalization and Modernization

The Boxer Uprising, between 1899 and 1900, proved important for the medical personnel, as it had for the educators. After this event, a much greater emphasis was placed on the relationship between missions and the local population. The new policy was bound to be beneficial to the doctors as they had been working towards improving this relationship for years. This goal brought a greater level of professionalism to the ranks of the doctors and more control over their work. Many of the accomplishments of this period were due to medical advances and the opening of private funding sources. However, by the Centenary Missionary Conference in 1907 the enterprise had not been fully accepted as a mission agency, and it ranked low among the priorities of the mission boards. Arguing on behalf of the doctors Dugald Christie reminded the missionaries of the work of Jesus among the sick and infirm.

> 'Let us look at the life of our Master. It is evident that, during the three and a half years of His public ministry, He spent at least as much time in healing the crowds as in preaching to them. He seems to have turned none away, and expended time and strength freely in dealing individually with each case of bodily need.'[83]

Despite the existing opposition, the medical enterprise managed to grow, particularly with the entrance of secular organizations like the Rockefeller Foundation. As medical care continued to advance in the US and Europe, the doctors constantly pressed for the modernization of their work. This was accomplished through the establishment of more modern hospitals and medical schools. Facilities that did not meet modern standards for storage and patient care were no longer acceptable.

As medical work grew, doctors realized that they alone could not ensure the success of Western medicine in China. The Chinese would have to take a leading role. To accomplish this task, the foreign doctors began to set up informal training institutions and

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[81] Chen. *Op cit*, 1989. p. 18. and Unschuld. *Op cit.* p. 239.

[82] According to Ralph Croizier 'many of the persons who patronized missionary hospitals for certain complaints would also use traditional Chinese medicine for others; or perhaps they would try both and see which got the best results.' Croizier. *Op cit.* pp. 40-41.

[83] Christie, D. 'Medical Missions.' in *Records, China Centenary Missionary Conference, 1907.* Shanghai: Methodist Publishing House. 1907. p. 249.

formal medical schools. This was not solely done to improve the lives of the local population, but was intended to put the enterprise on a more self-supporting platform with the use of lower paid Chinese doctors. In the beginning they relied on the apprenticeship model of schooling in which a small number of students were trained in a missionary hospital and worked as doctors' assistants. Eventually, many were competent enough to take over work at the dispensaries and perform simple operations in the absence of the foreign doctors. Since the mission groups filled a vacant position quickly, with either temporary help or a new foreign doctor, opportunities for the Chinese in the foreign hospitals did not remain open for very long. Therefore, many left the mission and established private practices in the community.

The pioneer in training Chinese medical assistants was Peter Parker. In 1845 he had four students studying full-time, the most famous being Kwan A-to.[84] However, the early system was flawed due to the small number of students that could be taught. The second generation of assistants was trained at a medical school attached to missionary hospitals where foreign instructors taught a small group of students. J. G. Kerr began one of the first schools along these lines at the Canton Missionary Hospital in 1866.[85] While this allowed a larger curriculum to be taught, it did not produce enough Chinese doctors to fill the demand. By 1897, only 300 Chinese physicians had graduated from these small schools.[86]

The establishment of large union universities in the beginning of the twentieth century provided the opportunity to create medical schools where students were trained to become doctors.[87] By 1911, there were union medical schools in Beijing, Jinan, Manchuria, Nanjing, Guangzhou, and a school for women in Beijing.[88] This number grew to twenty-six in 1916 with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation.[89] The medical schools now had to meet certain criteria set by non-missionary groups that resulted in a greater level of professionalism in the medical movement. Although new collegiate institutions were created, missionaries did not abandon the smaller schools. These became the foundation for the establishment of training schools for Chinese nurses.

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[84] Gulick. *Op cit* . p. 150.
[85] Croizier. *Op cit* . p. 38 and Balme, H. 'Medical Missionaries in Conference.' *CR.* vol. 46, no. 3, March 1915. p. 181.
[86] Croizier. *Op cit* . p. 39.
[87] Balme. *Op cit* . p. 181.
[88] MacGillivray, D. 'Medical Missionary Association of China.' in D. MacGillivray, ed. *The China Mission Year Book, 1911.* Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China. 1911. p. 163
[89] Of the twenty-six colleges fourteen were controlled by missionary groups, four were under foreign governments, and eight were Chinese governed. Hume, E. 'Medical Education in China, 1916.' in E. C. Lobenstine, ed. *The China Mission Year Book, 1917.* Shanghai: The Christian Literature Society for China, 1917. pp. 422-423.

## Phase III

### The China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation

One of the most important non-mission groups to enter China was the China Medical Board. Attached to the Rockefeller Foundation in New York, the Board helped open new areas of medical practice and was the final link in solidifying the enterprise throughout China. While it is most famous for its role in modernizing the Peking Union Medical College, this work will show that its connection with the mission groups went much further than solely educating Chinese in Western medical practices.

In 1914 the need for modern medical facilities was becoming apparent. With the increasing financial demands for the universities and other endeavors, the resources of the home mission boards were stretched. Their income was only increasing slightly, and was not enough to upgrade the hospitals to modern standards.[90] It was at this point that the Rockefeller Foundation entered the scene. In 1914 the China Medical Commission was sent with the aim of investigating the condition of the medical profession.[91] Upon their recommendations, the China Medical Board was established and met for the first time on December 11, 1914.[92] A second Commission was later sent on August 7, 1915, to further examine the needs of the Peking Union Medical College (PUMC).[93]

The main focus of the Rockefeller Foundation's work was the PUMC, previously run by the Boards of the American Presbyterian, American Methodist, and the London Missionary Society. However, for the purpose of this study the important aspect of their work was the financial aid it provided to missionary hospitals. Roger Greene, Resident Director of the China Medical Board, evaluated each hospital before its application was approved or rejected. On March 15, 1915, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., wrote a letter to the missionary bodies in the United States outlining the mission of the Board. He stated that its purpose was to give 'assistance in strengthening existing medical schools and hospitals and their personnel, as well as "to establish, equip and support new medical schools and hospitals."'[94]

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[90] Between 1913 and 1917 the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions only records a total increase of approximately $300,000.00. While this may seem to be a lot of money for the time the number of areas requiring this money was too large and many societies had to look to outside sources. *81st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1918. PHS.* p. 403.

[91] The first group consisted of Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, Consul General Robert S. Greene, Mr. George B. McKibbin, and Dr. Francis Weld Peabody. Ferguson, M. *China Medical Board and Peking Union Medical College*. New York: China Medical Board of New York. 1970. p. 18.

[92] *Ibid.* pp. 20-21.

[93] The second group sent to China was made up of Dr. Wallace Buttrick, Dr. Simon Flexner, Dr. Frederick L. Gates, Dr. William H. Welch, and Mr. Roger S. Greene. *Ibid.* p. 24; 'Rockefeller Fund Tells China Plans.' *PHS.* RG 82/10/10/1057; and 'Editorial Notes.' *WWW.* vol. 30, no. 9, September 1915, p. 194.

[94] Ferguson. *Op cit.* p. 22.

This may have seemed to be a great opportunity in the eyes of the mission doctors. Now they would be able to fund their work without relying completely on the evangelists who dominated mission boards. However, three general conditions were required before funds would be allocated.

> '1. That all appointments under its [the Rockefeller Foundation's] support must be of qualified and competent medical men.
>
> 2. That the work done in the hospitals and schools embraced in the arrangement shall be thorough and efficient.
>
> 3. That all funds provided by the Foundation shall be used with the largest possible means of efficiency and economy.'[95]

This gave great latitude to the Foundation in deciding which hospital would receive funding. The most significant problem for some hospitals was the lack of support from their mission or station. The China Medical Board required each station to show their commitment to the medical enterprise before funding for new buildings and equipment was granted. This gave the doctors more leverage when deciding what type of work should be performed and what was needed to keep their work at a high standard. It should be stressed that this did not mean that the China Medical Board took over the hospitals that received grants. The mission boards remained the administrators of the hospitals, they were given the right to appoint additional medical personnel not funded by Rockefeller, and they were afforded freedom to perform evangelistic and philanthropic work in their hospitals and dispensaries. Although the missions retained the administrative duties of the hospitals, the supported doctors emphasized the social impact of the hospital rather than its evangelical importance. Although the evangelistic nature was never fully abandoned, the entrance of the Rockefeller Foundation marked the final stage in professionalizing the medical enterprise in China.

The new emphasis on professional medical staff and better patient care also brought forward opportunities for professional nurses. As with early medical assistants, mission hospitals soon saw the need for them and pushed for the opening of training facilities.

Since the nineteenth century, individuals argued for the necessity of nurses, particularly for the treatment of women. Speaking at the Second Shandong Missionary Conference held in Weixian, Dr. Mary Brown noted that 'this is a field that the Chinese doctors leave entirely alone. They do not pretend to know anything about the treatment of these cases, and as the result of neglect, ignorance, and the lack of intelligent care, great

[95] 'Untitled' *PHS.* RG 82/10/10/1057.

numbers of Chinese women lose their lives.'[96] In the discussion following her presentation all seemed inclined to support the general premise of her ideas, but they were not in full support of training women to be physicians. The opposition came from the notion that upon marriage they would be forced to give up their work, and that they could not be given a thorough course in medicine. However, Dr. W. F. Seymour put forward the idea that the missionaries could train Chinese women as nurses. They would, therefore, not be given the lofty position of a doctor, but could continue to treat patients in obstetrics and provide primary care in the dispensary.[97]

Although the need for Chinese nurses was noted at this early time, it was not until the 1910s that the establishment of training schools was begun. This movement to establish the profession of nursing was based on a more structured system than the female medical assistant training. It also acknowledged that there were to be two levels of medical training for women. An example of this was demonstrated in the Guangzhou Station where the Hackett Medical College and Turner Training School for Nurses were established as separate institutions.[98] One issue that emerged was whether the quality of the students would be as high if nursing was not taught in the established medical schools. According to Hattie F. Love, MD, of the Woman's Medical College in Suzhou, the better students went to the medical schools and the inferior students went to train as nurses.[99] To compensate for these deficiencies, the Nurses Association of China was formed in 1909. Its purpose was to 'promote fellowship amongst its members; to advance the interests of the nurse's calling, for mutual help and comfort in times of illness, discouragement, or misfortune; to raise the standard of hospital training in China by the adoption of a uniform course of study and examinations for the Chinese.'[100]

The entrance of the China Medical Board into medical education also proved to be important. It was noted earlier that the Board gave grants to individual hospitals. The hospitals known to be 'better equipped and better staffed' were also the focus for the

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[96] Brown, M. 'The Training of Native Women as Physicians.' in *Records of the Second Shantung Missionary Conference at Wei-Hien, 1898.* Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press. 1899. p. 92.

[97] The views expressed by Dr. Seymour here can be seen in the general movement against female doctors entering the profession in the US that had taken hold in the 1880's and was still going on. However, this is the first time that the idea of training nurses rather than doctors came up in the missionary records. *Records of the Second Shantung Missionary Conference at Wei-Hien, 1898.* Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press. 1899. p. 97.

[98] Dobson, W. 'The Medical Opportunity: A.' *AH.* January 1915. p. 24.

[99] Love, H. 'Need of a Union Woman's Medical College for East Central China.' 1916. *PHS.* RG82/21/17/1516.

[100] Clark, A. 'Training of Men and Women Nurses in China.' in E. C. Lobenstine, ed. *The China Mission Year Book, 1916.* Shanghai: The Christian Literature Society for China. 1916. pp. 326-327.

training of Chinese nurses.[101] This was a return to the old apprentice-style instruction. Although the need for Chinese women physicians remained high, the need for trained nurses was just as important. Therefore, many hospitals, such as that in Weixian, set up training schools to provide these needed assistants.

The actual establishment of training structures for nurses at the mission hospitals was slow in developing. In the beginning much of it was centered in the treaty port areas, but by 1912 they began to spread to other stations. In 1910, Dr. Seymour, who had earlier advocated the use of nurses, acknowledged the need for foreign nurses in missionary hospitals to train Chinese women. In that year he noted that in the seven stations where medical work was carried out in Shandong not one had a fully trained nurse.[102]

**Outlook of the Medical Enterprise**

In 1919 the Protestant medical enterprise in China had 563 physicians and treated 32,285,067 patients.[103] This movement had been a long time in coming. However, it was not until the early-twentieth century, with the increase in the number of liberal missionaries and the entrance of the Rockefeller Foundation, that it was able to fully develop. By 1920, a great change in the professionalism and size of the medical enterprise had taken place.

It should be kept in mind that the above discussion of the general history of medical missions only accounts for those groups that took up this form of work, such as the American Presbyterians, London Missionary Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Also, the speed with which the work progressed varied depending on the personal experiences of the missionaries and the location of the different stations. Thus, local studies are necessary for a greater understanding of the factors that allowed or prevented the medical movement to expand.

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[101] Address entitled 'The Medical Work of Christian Missions in China' given to the North China Union Language School in Nanjing in late-1916 or early-1917. *PHS.* RG82/12/1/1057.
[102] Seymour, W. 'China Wants Women Doctors and Nurses.' *WWW.* vol. 25, no. 2, February 1910. p. 39.
[103] 'Statistics of Medical Missions in China.' *CMJ.* vol. 33, no. 3, May 1919. p. 246.

## The American Presbyterians in China and Shandong

### Beginning the World and China Missions

Similar to other missionary groups, the American Presbyterian (North) Mission began as a small mission of one or two. Through the years it evolved into one of the largest mission societies in China that also had a significant impact on the methods adopted by other groups, particularly in education and medicine.

Despite their long history and its important legacy, the Presbyterian world missions almost never began. According to G. Thompson Brown there were two conflicting views on how foreign missions should be conducted. On the one side was the 'New School' that felt it was up to highly motivated individuals to get organized without any attachment to the Church. On the other end was the 'Old School' that thought it was the responsibility of the Church to organize and support foreign missions. Attempts were made by the Old School to establish a Foreign Missions Board under the General Assembly in 1812, 1828 and 1831. After their last effort failed, its proponents in western Pennsylvania set out to establish a board in connection with the Synod of Pittsburgh called the Western Foreign Missionary Society. Between 1832 and 1837 it sent sixty missionaries to Liberia, India, and areas inhabited by Native Americans. In 1837, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church formally approved the establishment of a Foreign Missions Board and incorporated the organization and missionaries of the Synod of Pittsburgh in October.[104]

The first decision the new Foreign Board made was to concentrate its efforts in China. In December 1837 it appointed Rev. John A. Mitchell, Rev. Robert Orr, and Mrs. Eliza Carter Orr to begin the mission. Their initial duty was to locate an area to establish the headquarters. According to Brown, they 'desired...a place that was healthy, where people and property would be protected and where there was a goodly number of Chinese.'[105] As part of their work they were to establish schools, print Christian literature, and spread the word of God.[106]

Finding China closed to them they settled in Singapore and began to work among the local Chinese.[107] The mission was not established under ideal circumstances and health problems plagued the early pioneers. On October 2, 1838, Mitchell died after being struck down with fever. Three years later Rev. Orr was forced to return to the US due to

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[104] Brown. *Op cit*, 1997. pp. 11-13.
[105] *Ibid.* p. 14.
[106] *Ibid.* p. 14 and 24.
[107] Before the First Opium War opened China to foreign residence many groups worked among the overseas Chinese populations in Singapore, Malacca, and other Southeast Asian areas.

bad health. In 1840, Rev. Thomas L. McBryde, Dr. J. C. Hepburn, and their wives were sent as reinforcements. However, the climate was not suitable for their health and they could not create a stable base.

When Rev. Walter M. Lowrie arrived in 1843, after the end of the First Opium War, conditions in China had changed. As noted earlier, the treaties allowed the missionaries to relocate to the new treaty ports.[108] By taking this action, the Presbyterians hoped to avoid the health problems encountered in Singapore. For this reason they chose the treaty port of Xiamen, approximately 400 miles north of Guangzhou, that was said to have a better environment for the foreigners. However, it was not until the arrival of eleven new missionaries that the mission could be officially opened.

With the new recruits the group planned on expansion by opening stations in Ningbo and Guangzhou. In 1848 Xiamen was abandoned and Ningbo was made the base of the Presbyterian operations. Following their plans for expansion, the decision was made in 1850 to open a station in Shanghai with Rev. and Mrs. J. K. Wight and Rev. and Mrs. Michael Culbertson.[109] In these new stations the missionary educational and medical institutions were first begun. In 1845 Richard Way opened a boys' boarding school in Ningbo with twenty-three students where they studied Chinese classics, geography, western history, arithmetic, and the Bible.[110] In Guangzhou Dr. John G. Kerr began work in his first dispensary in 1854. In 1846, Kerr took over Peter Parker's Ophthalmic Hospital and in 1856 reported treating 20,000 patients.[111] The success of the work here allowed it to be introduced and expanded upon by the Shandong Mission in the 1860s.

**The Shandong Mission**

Although these early activities were fairly successful in establishing stations in the cities, they were not successful in obtaining converts. As late as 1888 the South China Mission only reported 419 communicants and the Central China Mission reported 933 communicants. When compared to the numbers of the Shandong Mission, opened in 1861, at 2,858 communicants, one can appreciate why it was considered the most successful.[112] Three reasons can be identified for the relative failure of the other fields: the lack of cohesiveness among the mission group due to continuing health problems and death, lack of space to expand their work in the ports, and the fact that from the ports there was limited access to the Chinese population. Areas opened later were more

[108] *Ibid.* pp. 24-25.
[109] *Ibid.* pp. 27-38.
[110] *Ibid.* pp. 32-33.
[111] *Ibid.* p. 36.
[112] *51st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1888. PHS.* p. 181.

successful due to the different restrictions placed upon the foreign staff. These were able to interact with the Chinese population and travel into the interior to a greater extent than was possible in the original treaty port areas.

Along with the general history of the Protestant movement, the Jesuits and Franciscans preceded the Presbyterians in Shandong. One of the most important missionaries was Fr. Antonio Caballero who arrived in 1650.[113] His efforts were important for more than just making converts. He was also key figure in approaching the scholars with the Christian message. With Shang Hu-qing, a Christian literati, he produced works that attempted to bring the religion into the world of Confucian learning.[114] During Caballero's time in Shandong, the Franciscans and their converts endured many anti-Christian uprisings. One particular problem emerged in the early-1700s that put the missionaries on a collision course with the authorities. They were able to make many fast conversions in the community, but some missionaries were criticized for not being careful about who they were baptizing. Because of this, many secret society members were able to enter the Church. These groups then used their affiliation as protection from government authorities.

In January 1724 the Yongzheng Emperor issued an edict that expelled the missionaries to Macao. Initially, they were given time to prepare their departure, but in 1732 their exit was accelerated and Shandong virtually lost its foreign presence. However, their work was not going to suffer without them. Led by the Italian Franciscans, under the auspices of the Propaganda Mission, underground churches were founded along the western border with Zhili and the Spanish Franciscans worked in the western and central areas. In general these churches were under the foreigners who returned to the field without permission from the government. However, their illegal status made their existence tenuous at best. They could not emerge as a force in the local population as they had in the past. In 1784 the Qianlong Emperor began a more determined expulsion of foreigners from the provinces. This left many groups without foreign oversight until China was reopened to the missionaries by the treaties of the Opium War.[115]

As noted above, the settlements of the Second Opium War opened new areas of China to the Protestants and allowed for more extensive contact with the Chinese population. Along with other groups, the American Presbyterians took full advantage of

[113] Mungello. *Op cit.* p. 10.
[114] *Ibid.* pp. 31-33.
[115] *Ibid.* pp. 119 and 138-140.

the newly opened ports and established the Beijing and Shandong Missions. In May 1861 Reverend Samuel Gayley and Reverend J. A. Danforth moved from Shanghai to the newly designated open port of Dengzhou[116] in the Shandong Province.[117] In addition to the Presbyterians, the British Baptists under Timothy Richard soon arrived. Important to the work of the Presbyterians was the arrival of three new missionaries between 1861 and 1863: John L. Nevius (1861), Calvin Mateer (1863), and Hunter Corbett (1863). These three pioneer missionaries, the 'Shantung Triumvirate,'[118] embarked upon various endeavors, both religious and secular, that would become the trademarks of the mission's work in this province.

One such endeavor was the work along educational lines. As early as 1862 Helen Nevius started a small boarding school which John Heeren identifies as 'the first Protestant school in the province.'[119] Taking this idea further, Calvin and Julia Mateer opened a small boarding school in Dengzhou in 1864. This school developed into the Dengzhou College, and became the Arts College of the Shandong Christian University when it moved to Weixian after 1900.

Education was only one of the many important contributions the pioneers made. This was also a time when medical and philanthropic work came into being. Both were done with a view towards their contribution to evangelism, and they became the foundation for the principles of future Presbyterian work. In 1861 the missionaries in Dengzhou helped the Chinese from the countryside, escaping from the Nian rebels, get over the city wall and cared for the wounded. Although there was no medical staff at the time, they were able to assist many. When the city gates finally opened, many more came for medical aid.[120] The missionaries, for the first time, noted the contributions that could be made through this form of work. An extension of this ideology was the famine relief work in 1877. During this time John Nevius distributed money around the town of Gaoyai, 200 miles to the Southwest of Chefoo.[121]

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[116] Dengzhou (Penglai) was later replaced as the open port in Shandong by Chefoo (Yantai).
[117] Brown. *Op cit*, 1997. p. 54.
[118] *NCH.* vol. 203, no. 3642, May 26, 1937. p. 321.
[119] The school was closed the following year due to the forced retreat of Mrs. Nevius to the United States. Upon her return she opened what she refers to as an 'industrial class.' She does not elaborate upon the purpose of the class, but it seems as though it is meant as a Bible class. These Bible classes were one of the mainstays of the Weixian station's work. Heeren, J. *On the Shantung Front: A History of the Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1861-1940 in its Historical, Economic, and Political Settings.* New York: The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1940. p. 49 and 'H. Nevius to F. Ellinwood.' April 11, 1873, Chefoo. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r197.
[120] Heeren. *Op cit.* p. 50.
[121] Nevius, H. *The Life of John Livingston Nevius.* New York: Fleming H. Russell Company. 1895. pp. 318-319.

An area that changed considerably was the form of evangelizing that led to the opening of Weixian and other inland stations. The missionaries initially sold books and preached at local markets, but soon found that this method was ineffective. They abandoned preaching to large groups and began entering smaller villages. Their goal was to build up a relationship with the local leaders. Once they gained acceptance, they would preach to small groups of people.[122] This new style of itinerating took considerable time and effort if done from the coastal stations. From Chefoo and Dengzhou the Presbyterian missionaries went far into the countryside, sometimes traveling as much as 250 miles into the hinterland of Shandong.[123] In 1880, on the subject of the necessity to open stations in the interior, Hunter Corbett discouragingly wrote that all of his field was located west of Jimo and the work of John Nevius was centered around Jinan, on the border with the old province of Zhili. At the time, he noted that these areas could be better worked from the interior, rather than making long itinerating trips from the coast. Coupled with the size of the field, were the negative effects of these itinerating trips on the missionaries' health.[124] This was always a concern of the mission groups as replacements were difficult to find quickly.

The first attempt to open an interior base came in the 1870s when Jasper MacIlvaine was sent to Jinan. He arrived in the summer of 1871 and immediately inquired about renting or purchasing grounds to begin his work. Until this time, MacIlvaine was forced to live in a local inn. At the annual meeting in October, the mission formally adopted the city to open permanent work. At the same meeting J. Fisher Crossette and his wife were appointed to the city.[125] Although there were now two missionaries assigned to Jinan, they did not begin work until 1875. By 1881 the station lost its pioneers: MacIlvaine died in 1881 and Crossette left the mission.[126] However, efforts to establish a successful station continued and the missionaries made further commitments to the interior.

Even though one interior station was now open, another was soon needed to accommodate the increasing number of Christians. In 1881 the missionaries needed to oversee 877 communicant. The following year this number jumped to 1,149.[127] This was too many for the missionaries to handle from Dengzhou and Chefoo, which continued to

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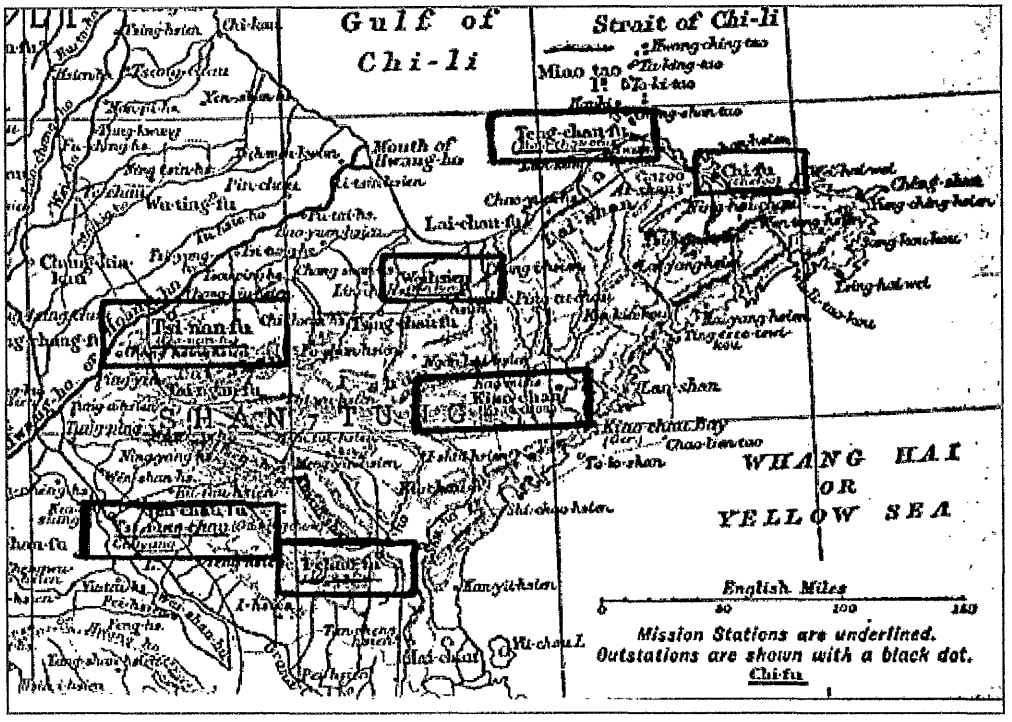
[122] 'C. Mills to F. Ellinwood.' January 6, 1880, Dengzhou. *PHS*. MF10.F761a.r203.
[123] *43rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1880. PHS*. p. 65.
[124] 'H. Corbett to F. Ellinwood.' June 1, 1880, Chefoo. *PHS*. MF10.F761a.r203.
[125] Heeren. *Op cit.* p. 68-69.
[126] Cliff, N. A History of the Protestant Movement in Shandong Province, China, 1859-1951. Ph.D. Dissertation, Buckingham University. 1994. p. 73.
[127] *44th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1881. PHS*. p. 79 and *45th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1882. PHS*. p. 85.

be the main residential stations. Despite the need for an interior base, there were some opposed to such a move. John Nevius's theories on a self-supporting church and ministry, which required the native converts to become the evangelists and leaders in the Church, directly contradicted the idea of opening more stations. His opposition was overruled and in 1883 the Weixian Station was opened. This allowed direct oversight of the main concentration of converts. More on the discussions surrounding this event will be considered in the next chapter.

**Figure 2**

**Map of Presbyterian Shandong Missions, 1900**[128]




Following the opening of a central station, the Presbyterians continued to advance into the southern and southwestern areas of Shandong. Although Nevius was opposed to the placement of a station in Weixian, he was not opposed generally to permanent work in the interior. When considering a city for residence in the early-1880s, he suggested Yizhou in the south. In 1884 the mission voted to request permission from the Foreign Board to open another interior station at this location. At this time the request was rejected due to the recent expansion into Weixian. In 1889, the missionaries in Shandong went out on their own and assigned personnel to open work in Yizhou. One year later it was officially opened and provided with yearly appropriations.[129]

[128] This map indicates the location of stations opened before 1900. Some of the names are spelled differently: Wei-hsien (Weixian), Chi-fu (Chefoo), Teng-chou (Dengzhou), Tsi-nan-fu (Jinan), Kiao-chau (Qingdao), Tsi-ning-chou (Jining), and I-chou-fu (Yizhou). *WWW.* vol. 15, August 1900. p. 217.
[129] Heeren. *Op cit.* pp. 78-79.

At the same time that Yizhou was established as a mission base, the city of Jining was also occupied. The history of this station was slightly different from the others. Before becoming a mission compound it was an outstation for the Jinan missionaries. As Figure 2 shows, Jining is almost directly south of the first interior base. By the early 1880s, the missionaries already had boys' and girls' schools in place and MacIlvaine spent most of his time here rather than in Jinan. Although this work was started early, it was not until 1889 that Dr. Stephen Hunter and Gilbert Reid were appointed to open a permanent compound in Jining.[130]

The final city of importance to the work of the missionaries was included just before the Boxer Uprising of 1900. According to an agreement between Germany and the Chinese government signed on March 6, 1898, the Germans received control of a large territory around Jiaozhou Bay.[131] In this territory they established a Consulate at Qingdao and began massive changes to the province with the construction of a railroad to Jinan, completed after 1900. German Protestant missionaries followed the government and new German military presence. The Presbyterians had numerous converts in the Jiaozhou/Qingdao area that they did not wish to relinquish. According to John Heeren, a Presbyterian missionary, 'if its work was to be maintained and its converts to be properly and effectively trained and shepherded, the sending to Tsingtao [Qingdao] of foreign resident missionaries was imperative.'[132] In May 1898 the mission officially resolved to open resident work in Qingdao and accordingly sent Rev. Paul Bergen, of the Dengzhou College, and his wife.

As indicated by the appropriations listed in the following sections, two additional stations were opened after the recovery of the mission in the post-1900 period. These were the Yixian (1905) and Tengxian (1913) stations that became large players in the more theologically conservative circles as the conflict between liberals and fundamentalists became more evident. Of specific note in this respect was the placement of the Bible Training School in the late-1910s at Tengxian. However, by this time the mission hierarchy was already in place and these stations did not have an important a role in the secular enterprises.

The period from 1860 to 1920 was significant for several reasons. As noted above, it was the time when the missionaries occupied all of their interior stations that lasted until the 1930s and 1940s. However, this period was also important for developing the

[130] *Ibid.* p. 80.
[131] *Ibid.* p. 106.
[132] *Ibid.* p. 109.

educational enterprise, medical enterprise, and church policies that the missionaries followed.

**The Shandong Mission's Educational Movement**

The American Presbyterian (North) Shandong Mission was one of the most influential in the establishment of mission education. The creation of educational institutions was one of the most controversial aspects in the history of the mission that was so successful in making converts. John Nevius and Calvin Mateer were key figures in this controversy. Some stations adopted Mateer's strategy while others held tightly to the evangelical ideals of Nevius. Nevertheless, all of the Shandong centers adopted some sort of educational endeavor by 1920.

The first school was established within one year of the arrival of Nevius and Mateer. Mrs. Nevius founded a boarding school for girls in Dengzhou. However, in 1863 she was forced to return to the United States and the school was discontinued. It was later reopened in Chefoo and became the basis for girls' schools in Shandong. Following her work with the girls' school, in September 1864 the Mateers began the first permanent boys' school in a local Dengzhou temple.[133] Their school took off quickly and by 1876 they recorded thirty-four students.

These early institutions followed the general policy of the Presbyterian Church. It maintained that the establishment of 'Schools, Colleges, and Theological Seminaries, in which candidates for the ministry might be elaborately and efficiently trained' was inseparable from the mission work.[134] Education was also undertaken to 'combat and expose the plausible errors that are circulated to undermine the faith of the ignorant.'[135] Even though as a mission agency it was accepted by the Standing Committee on Education, it was not intended to be a popular education and was only aimed at producing workers for the Church. The missionaries in Shandong took these ideas further in their educational system as more interior stations were opened.

By 1880, the missionaries recorded girls' and boys' schools in Chefoo and a boys' school in Dengzhou. In total there were 161 students, both primary and secondary pupils, attending mission-supported schools.[136] However, there was not yet a uniform educational policy in place. Two years later this problem was partially solved and a general list of rules for students and courses was finally written down for the girls' school in Chefoo.[137]

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[133] Brown. *Op cit,* 1997. p. 80.
[134] *Annual Report of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1880.* New York: General Assembly of the American Presbyterian Church. p. 69.
[135] *Ibid.*
[136] *43rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church, 1880.* p. 66-67.
[137] The relevant wording of the constitution, by-laws, and course list can be found in the Appendix.

The aim of the school was not to teach religious education exclusively, but to give a good general education to prepare leaders for the Church and community. The period of study was set at five years and covered courses such as arithmetic, geography, physiology, bookkeeping, introductory Chinese classical education, and the general religious classes. From the course listings we can see that for the most part the school promoted the religious side, but it also provided a good general education.

The regulations and curricula set out in this document was the basis of all girls' schools in the mission. Their purpose would be to encourage and advance the education of the daughters of Christians. Looking ahead to future expansion the document stipulated that a school would be established in Jinan, one at Weixian, and at one of the stations of the East Shandong Mission. The course of study was set at four years and was intended to serve as preparation for a liberal education.[138] A high school with a more advanced course of study was to be created in one of the stations, and girls from all other schools would be sent to this institution. Because of its central location, the Weixian Station eventually took up this role when the Wen Mei School was opened on a permanent basis.

Throughout the 1880s and into the early-1890s the total number of students began to rise by the hundreds. In 1882 the mission reported 118 total students. This number rose to 334 in 1888. By 1899 the yearly report recorded 2,052 students in 146 schools.[139] The question of funding now became a priority. At this point the schools were almost entirely supported by foreign funds. Girls, particularly, were to be fully supported by the mission. Due to the rapid rise in the number of students, the mission turned to putting the country schools on a more professional level. The first problem was the untrained teachers in charge. The second was the 'hap-hazard methods' that made the standards different for each school depending on the teachers. To combat these issues it was recommended that all teachers in the primary schools be assembled in the central stations for 'normal training' for one month. At the time this method was being used by some stations, but was not a uniform requirement.[140] To bring the teachers under a more uniform system, the missionaries went a step further and produced a salary structure for the teachers based on their qualifications. For example, a teacher with no qualification could receive 20,000 large cash and those who graduated from a college could receive 60,000 large cash. [141]

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[138] 'J. Laughlin to F. Ellinwood.' November 15, 1886, Weixian. *PHS*. MF10.F761a.r206.
[139] *45th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1882. PHS.* p. 100; *51st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1888. PHS.* p. 181; and *62nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1899. PHS.* insert after p. 284.
[140] 'Elements of Success.' *CHA*. vol. 11, March 1892. p. 222.
[141] 'Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission, Nov. 1893.' November 1893. *PHS*. MF10.F761a.r216.

The 1890s were also a time when attempts were made to introduce vocational training into the system. In 1894 a plan was put together by George Hayes of Chefoo. His goal was 'to introduce such industries as shall enable persons to lead honest and respectable lives, who would be otherwise either dependent on foreign funds, or unable to lead decent Christian lives.'[142] The industries to be undertaken were Photography, Hand-Made Lace, and Fruit Preserving and Canning. This was much along the line that the Shandong Mission had foreseen in its attempt to raise the standards of living among the Chinese. However, it would require another institution. The proposal was rejected on the grounds that 'it finally became disassociated from school work, and its spiritual influence at best doubtful.'[143] The interest in industrial training was not abandoned, and it re-emerged with the founding of the Arts College in Weixian. According to the University plans, the Arts College would be composed of Schools of Engineering, Commerce and Law, and Agriculture and Forestry.

> 'Through these schools, the University would not only be able to give young men general culture, but also to prepare them for the various professions for which China will soon offer an all but unlimited field.'[144]

One of the most important aspects of the enterprise was the possibility of putting it on a self-supporting basis. By 1895 the issue of self-support was 'rapidly becoming one of the living questions of [the] mission field.'[145] However, this idea did not materialize mission-wide at this time and was left to the individual stations.

After the short stoppage of work due to the Boxer Uprising, the enterprise continued to advance. From 1901 to 1920 the number of schools increased by 276 with the number of students increasing by 6,619 pupils. The most rapid expansion occurred after 1913 when the number of students increased by about 1,000 every year and the number of schools rose from 242 to 418.[146]

The mission also began to take a leading role in ensuring that its schools urged the idea of self-support at the primary and secondary levels. As shown by Table 2, the appropriations for the educational enterprise at each station grew during this period. Because of its contributions with two central high schools, Weixian received far and

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[142] 'G. Hayes to Members of the Shantung Mission.' April 9, 1894, Chefoo. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.
[143] 'Copy of Resolutions Concerning the Industrial Work at Chefoo as passed by the Shantung Mission, 1894.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r209.
[144] Bruce, J. 'Notes on the Proposed Shantung Protestant University Scheme.' *CR.* vol. 39, no. 6, June 1908. p. 329.
[145] Bergen, P. 'Missionary Sunshine in Shantung.' *CHA.* vol. 18, October 1895. p. 301.
[146] *64th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1901. PHS.* insert after p. 337; *76th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1913. PHS.* insert after p. 446; *83rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1920. PHS.* insert after p. 440.

above the largest amount of funding. However, as will be shown in this study, this was not enough to attend the burgeoning interest of the local population in the school system. Therefore, the missionaries had to rely on the Chinese patrons to provide most of the running costs.

**Table 2**

**Shandong Mission: Educational Appropriations, 1897-1920**[147]

| Dates | Weixian | Yizhou | Jinan | Jining | Yixian | Chefoo | Dengzhou | Qingdao | Tengxian |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1897-1898 | 5,219.50 | 595 | 2,115 | 450 | | | | | (Mex.) |
| 1898-1899 | 5,440 | 570 | 5,440 | 450 | | | | | |
| 1899-1900 | 4,422,000 | 92,500 | 1,802,000 | 249,000 | | | | | (Ic) |
| 1900-1901 | 4,679,000 | 1,059,000 | 2,050,000 | 246,000 | | | | | |
| 1901-1902 | 2,921,000 | 430,000 | 1,681,000 | 225,000 | | | | | |
| 1902-1903 | 2,762,000 | 604,000 | 936,000 | 211,000 | | | | | |
| 1903-1904 | 4,200,000 | 325,000 | 608,000 | 236,000 | | | | | |
| 1905-1906 | 4,245,000 | 335,000 | 677,000 | 181,000 | | | | | |
| 1906-1907 | 4,595,000 | 506,000 | 870,000 | 284,000 | | | | | |
| 1907-1908 | 4,770 | 540 | 798 | 497 | 160 | | | | (Mex) |
| 1908-1909 | 4,765 | 540 | 806 | 497 | 285 | | | | |
| 1909-1910 | 4,765 | 540 | 806 | 497 | 535 | | | | |
| 1910-1911 | 4,855 | 715 | 881 | 960 | 460 | | | | |
| 1911-1912 | 5,075 | 1,065 | 1,067 | 1,615 | 460 | 11,058 | 4,395 | 2,583 | |
| 1912-1913 | 5,856 | 2,296 | 2,440 | 2,697 | 907 | 4,637 | 4,702 | 4,414.61 | 416.56 |
| 1914-1915 | 5,824 | 2,359 | 2,791.25 | 2,971.51 | 1,337.12 | 4,342 | 4,883 | 4,652 | 955.27 |
| 1918-1919 | 6,195 | 2,965 | 3,326 | 3,405 | 932 | 4,393 | 4,943 | 3,326 | 485 |
| 1919-1920 | 6,195 | 2,965 | 3,361 | 3,405 | 1,007 | 4,455 | 4,843 | 4,834 | 485 |

Although it is debatable whether the new policies and expansion of the primary and secondary schools had an influence in the development of modern China, it is generally accepted that the period covered by this study was more important for the union colleges that emerged. The Shandong Christian University was the result of the growth and expansion of the primary and secondary school system. In the post-1900 period it became an elite institution as the union achievement of the British Baptists and American Presbyterians. Its legacy can be seen today on the old campus of Shandong University where many of its buildings still stand.

Like many of the colleges, the University had its beginnings in the nineteenth century. After Mateer's high school was founded, it became evident that a more advanced institution was required. In 1881 the members of the Shandong Mission voted to upgrade the high school and rename it the Dengzhou College. They argued that the 'scholarship is already up to the level of a college in China and it would just be a change of name.'[148]

[147] Compiled from the American Presbyterian Foreign Board yearly appropriations for these dates. The numbers given do not include the Shandong Christian University as it was funded separately from the station enterprises. *PHS.*

[148] 'Members of the Shantung Mission to the Board of Foreign Missions.' February 14, 1881, Dengzhou. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r203.

Even with its upgrade, the field missionaries were not happy with its location. In the proposal they noted that they would leave the question of removing it to a 'more central location' for the future.[149]

In 1886 the issue of removal was approached at the annual meeting of the Shandong Mission. After a full day of discussion, it was concluded that it was not justified at this point.[150] No conclusions are given in the minutes, but it seems that Mateer was strongly against such an action and actively lobbied for his project to remain at Dengzhou. As the new century approached, the supporters of expanding the educational enterprise noted the increasing number of students wanting to enter their schools. In addition, they wanted to expand the advanced institutions, but did not have the funds necessary to carry out their plans. In the closing years of the nineteenth century the Presbyterians and Baptists began to consider joining together to form institutions of higher education. This was interrupted by the Boxer Uprising of 1900, but, upon returning to the interior in 1901, they pressed forward with their plans.

On June 13, 1902, the agreement formalizing the creation of a new union college was completed.[151] It was to comprise three campuses: an Arts College at Weixian, a Theological College at Qingzhou, and a Medical School at Jinan. Initially called the Shandong Protestant University, the name was changed to the Shandong Christian University in 1909.[152] After its establishment, other groups began to close their institutions and joined with the union effort. In the end, twelve missions joined the Presbyterians and Baptists.

By 1908, the administrators began to consider consolidating the three campuses at Jinan, but the Foreign Board did not hold the same opinion. Arthur Brown summed up the fears of those in the US that pointed to the fragile financial backing of the institution.

> 'If our wealthy givers in this country get the idea that the removal of the project is being broached even as an eventuality, there is danger that we shall not get any more for the College, for of course men will be apt to say that they will wait until that question is determined.'[153]

Due to this, Henry Luce, a member of the Arts College, took it upon himself to raise enough money for an institutional endowment. The administrators could then make changes in the University without worrying about obtaining funds from the United States.

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[149] *Ibid.*
[150] 'J. Laughlin to F. Ellinwood.' November 15, 1886, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r206.
[151] Stanley, J. Educational Work of the Baptist Missionary Society in Qingzhou. MA Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1997. p. 11.
[152] Lutz. *Op cit,* 1997. p. 109.
[153] 'A. Brown to H. Luce.' November 19, 1908, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r259.

Luce's efforts during his extended furloughs were rewarded with the establishment of the endowment fund.[154] This allowed the institution to follow through with the consolidation scheme and in 1917 the Theological School and Arts College moved to Jinan.

The creation of the Shandong Christian University led to an increased opportunity for men to obtain a higher education. However, it did not cater to the increasing number of female students graduating from the primary and secondary school systems.[155] They had no opportunities to attend a university without leaving the province. In 1913 this problem became evident and the mission attempted to solve it by allowing secondary schools to extend their course by one year to allow for 'a year's special course in regular Normal work and methods.'[156] This was in line with the earlier plans of the missionaries to ensure uniform standards in the country schools.

This temporary attempt to ensure uniformity in the primary schools did not go far enough. At the 1913 Annual Meeting, the Education Committee wrote a report suggesting that a limited number of graduates from the girls' secondary schools be sent to the North China Union Women's College in Beijing to study. They also suggested that a committee be organized to meet with the British Baptists and develop plans for women's higher education. In 1914 the Joint Committee on Higher Education for Girls submitted their proposals to the Shandong Mission.

> '1. That for the present we favor the plan recently adopted by the American Presbyterian Mission of sending a few graduates from our high schools for girls, to the Union Woman's College in Peking, for short courses of study in special subjects, with a view to these girls returning to teach such subjects in our schools.
>
> 2. That while we consider the above plan will meet the situation for the present, we look forward to the establishment in Shantung of a Union Woman's College, including a Normal course, and to this end we recommend that those in charge of girls high schools in the province should form a committee, with Mrs. R. M. Mateer as convener, to seek to correlate the school course in anticipation of the opening of such a Union College.

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[154] 'Editorial Notes – Untitled.' *WWW.* vol. 31, no. 4, April 1916, p. 74.
[155] In 1913 the statistics show that there were 1,049 girls in the system, and in 1920 there were 2,027 female pupils.
[156] *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission, 1913. PHS.* p. 11.

3. That we further urge the University Council to provide as soon as possible, facilities in connection with the medical College for the training of women physicians and nurses.'[157]

This later era also showed general changes in the school system and a greater involvement of the Cooperation Committee. In 1913 the Education Committee voted that the system of teachers' classes be continued to ensure uniformity in teacher training, and that local committees appoint a Superintendent for the schools. Along these lines, the Education Committee also voted that they be allowed to hire a 'high grade Chinese' to improve the standards of the lower schools. He was to do this independently from the mission. At this time the government classification of schools and school courses was also adopted: Primary School (four years), Higher Primary (three years), and Middle School (four years).[158] At the station levels it took a few years to fully incorporate this new organization.

In 1914 the first report of the new Cooperative Education Committee[159] was presented and approved at the annual mission meeting. In seventeen points they made some general changes to the teaching materials, such as the books to study geography, recommended the idea of a school inspector, and what grade of teachers were to be given positions in the school system. They also requested that English be introduced as a course of study in the central academies. Finally, they made a request for the University to adapt its policy of entrance to reflect the changes taking place in Chinese society. In 1918 the educational policies of the mission changed to ensure that all missionary teachers engaged in educational work should have 'special training and successful experience as teachers and give promise of becoming capable administrators in primary and middle school work.'[160]

By 1920 the Shandong Mission had an established educational system that encompassed all levels, from kindergarten to university. This achievement largely relied on the cooperation of Chinese and missionaries.

**The Medical Enterprise in the Shandong Field**

Once the American Presbyterian China Mission was established, doctors were brought in. Their most important contribution in the medical field was seen in Guangzhou where they developed the large David Gregg Hospital, participated in the Canton

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[157] *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission, 1914. PHS.* p. 30.
[158] *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission, 1913. PHS.* p. 12.
[159] The committee consisted of four missionaries and four Chinese members: 'Ralph C. Wells, H. E. Chandler, P. C. Cassat, Madge D. Mateer, Mr. Pan Dao Lung, Rev. Liu Szi I, Mr. Wang Shou Tsing, and Rev. Chen Yen Chang.' *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission, 1914. PHS.* p. 23.
[160] 'Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Shantung Mission, July 6 to July 18, 1918.' *PHS.* RG82/16/3/20-1.

Hospital, and opened medical training facilities. The institutions developed in Shandong were not spoken of as often in the missionary literature due to their location in the interior and the lack of a significant foreign presence. Nevertheless, they did have a very successful history in the medical field as indicated by their work to create the Shandong Christian University Medical School in Jinan. The Weixian hospitals were created and affected by the policies developed over this period.

The first medical missionary in Shandong was Dr. Divie B. McCartee who arrived with his wife shortly after Rev. Charles Mills in 1862. At this time the doctor was uprooted from his work in Ningbo and reassigned to the fledgling Presbyterian movement in Chefoo. He was thrown into work treating patients suffering from the cholera epidemic that enveloped the area. The treatments he gave at this time were done without access to drugs or facilities.[161] Although his work was a step to gaining the trust of local officials, the problem of a lack of or inadequate facilities, which plagued all pioneer medical workers, adversely affected his usefulness. For the next three years he unsuccessfully attempted to obtain housing for his work. Due to this problem, and a request from Ningbo to return, McCartee left Shandong in 1865.[162]

Until 1871 there were no resident doctors assigned to Shandong. Even after one was finally appointed, their retention was difficult. Following Dr. McCartee were three individuals: Dr. J. P. Patterson (1871), Dr. S. F. Bliss (1873), and Dr. Sarah Anderson (1877). However, they found life in China too difficult and soon returned home. This was particularly true in Anderson's case as she was assigned to the newly opened Jinan Station in the western part of the province. It took much pain and effort, but in 1878 the mission received its first stable medical personnel in the person of Dr. A. D. Kelsey who remained in the province until 1882 when she was transferred to Japan. Drs. Stephen Hunter (1879) and Horace Smith (1881) were quickly sent to help her efforts. In 1883 Dr. James B. Neal, arguably the most important appointment, arrived in Shandong. Through his efforts in Jinan the Medical College of the Shandong Christian University was founded.[163] Of note was the position of the female doctors at this early time and the importance they played in the pioneer days.

After 1880 the number of doctors volunteering for work on the mission fields greatly increased. As the medical enterprise gained standing within the general missionary effort, it was acknowledged alongside other endeavors. In 1889 Henry Noyes

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[161] Brown. *Op cit*, 1997. p. 55 and Cliff. *Op cit.* p. 69.
[162] Brown. *Op cit*, 1997. p. 56 and Cliff. *Op cit.* p. 70.
[163] Heeren. *Op cit.* p. 219.

reported that the Presbyterian work in China followed four general lines of work: preaching, teaching, healing, and 'preparing and circulating printed matter.'[164] These principles were implemented throughout the Shandong stations. By 1890 every station but Chefoo had a medical department.[165] Five years later the mission recorded a total of nine foreign doctors working in the province, five males and four females. Compared with the rest of China they fared well, with Guangzhou/South China as the closest with seven in their medical staff.[166]

As more medical missionaries were appointed, the issue of facilities became poignant. However, the medical appropriations, shown in Table 3, did not increase by any great amount over the period of this study. This left the work outside the treaty ports at a disadvantage. They could not rely on the local foreign community for additional support. A result of this situation was that the facilities were not as advanced and were not updated according to new medical techniques. This was also caused by the lack of support by the more evangelically minded missionaries, particularly those working in the southwestern areas of the province. For example, the McIlvaine Hospital in Jinan was built in Chinese style with accommodation for relatives and friends.[167] This facility was established with expansion in mind, but not all were planned as well. In 1898, Dr. Emma Fleming reported that the conditions in the women's dispensary at the Yizhou Station were so poor that the labels on the drug bottles had mold growing on them.[168] Before 1900 the discrepancy in conditions among the hospitals continued, but this all changed with the new century and a new commitment to modernization.

In an attempt to counteract the lack of funding, the Shandong Mission generally encouraged a policy of self-support for the enterprise. This policy, however, was always a contentious issue, as it was in education. By the 1890s many medical missionaries in Shandong decided that requiring support from the Chinese was necessary. Many argued that the patients embraced those aspects of the missionary enterprise they found beneficial without taking the spiritual if payment was not required.

> 'Like a good fish, he has too often taken the bait and managed to miss the trap. Being crafty, he has taken the missionary with guile. He has

[164] Noyes. *Op cit.* p. 147.
[165] Gillespie, J. 'Our Missions in China.' *CHA.* vol. 7, February 1890. p. 116.
[166] *58th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1895. PHS.* p. 268.
[167] 'Pictures from Our Medical Work.' *CHA.* vol. 22, October 1897. p. 276.
[168] 'E. Fleming to A. Brown.' Yizhou, January 9, 1898. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r214.

gone for the material almost every time, and has largely evaded the spiritual.'[169]

Many agreed with the views of Dr. Randle, of the Southern Baptist Mission in Pingdu. They blamed the problem of using medicine for evangelism on the perceived materialistic nature of the Chinese. They did not consider it to be charity like the famine relief that was provided from time to time. Missions were tired of the Chinese taking advantage of the intended good nature of their work while ignoring the religious message being relayed. They thought that the Chinese should provide payment for medicine and operations except in cases of poverty.

**Table 3**

**Shandong Mission: Medical Appropriations, 1897-1920**[170]

| Dates | Weixian | Yizhou | Jinan | Jining | Yixian | Chefoo | Dengzhou | Tengxian |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1897-1898 | 368.50 | 550 | 860 | 550 | | | | (Mex) |
| 1898-1899 | 1,442.68 | 1,832 | 1,442.68 | 1,524.20 | | | | |
| 1899-1900 | 1,129,000 | 1,800,000 | 1,079,000 | 1,200,000 | | | | (lc) |
| 1900-1901 | 1,032,000 | 1,445,000 | 928,000 | 830,000 | | | | |
| 1901-1902 | 1,252,000 | 1,845,000 | 898,000 | 714,000 | | | | |
| 1902-1903 | 686,000 | 1,404,000 | 700,000 | 633,000 | | | | |
| 1903-1904 | 605,000 | 1,363,000 | 400,000 | 836,000 | | | | |
| 1904-1905 | 109,000 | 1,112,000 | 400,000 | 400,000 | | | | |
| 1905-1906 | 68,000 | 942,000 | 0 | 828,000 | | | | |
| 1906-1907 | 873,000 | 1,060,000 | 0 | 871,000 | 820,000 | | | |
| 1907-1908 | 1,082 | 1,145 | 0 | 809 | 930 | | | (Mex) |
| 1908-1909 | 1,106 | 1,145 | 0 | 775 | 1,050 | | | |
| 1909-1910 | 1,106 | 1,145 | 0 | 775 | 1,125 | | | |
| 1910-1911 | 1,000 | 1,185 | 0 | 961 | 1,125 | | | |
| 1911-1912 | 1,026 | 1,185 | 0 | 1,071 | 1,125 | 416 | 680 | |
| 1912-1913 | 1,209 | 1,200 | 660 | 1,201 | 1,475 | 405 | 1,220 | |
| 1914-1915 | 1,494 | 1,168 | 660 | 1,251 | 1,175 | 477 | 1,320 | 100 |
| 1918-1919 | 1,428 | 1,157 | 660 | 1,251 | 1,250 | 620 | 1,320 | 615 |
| 1919-1920 | 1,428 | 1,157 | 660 | 1,251 | 1,250 | 620 | 1,320 | 615 |

The medical missionaries and others who agreed with this policy had a problem of conscience to overcome. Some felt that they were compromising the purpose of their profession in China. They got around this problem in the past by accepting non-monetary items such as chickens or labor, but this was no longer acceptable with the large number of wealthy patients attending the dispensaries and hospitals. However, it was still acceptable for those who could not pay because of poverty. The policies to introduce fees were generally accepted by the Americans, but were resisted by British missions in the province. Dr. J. Russell Watson, of the British Baptist Mission in Qingzhou, took the

[169] Randle, H. 'How to Encourage the Chinese to Subscribe Toward the Support of Medical Missionary Work Among Them.' in *Second Shantung Missionary Conference at Wei-Hien, 1898.* Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press. 1899. p. 99.

[170] Compiled from the American Presbyterian Foreign Board yearly appropriations for these dates. *PHS.*

view that introducing fees would deprive the hospitals of their benevolent role.[171] However, due to the increasing emphasis on expansion, the Presbyterian Mission took the opposite viewpoint.

In the years between 1900 and 1920 the medical enterprise took off and reached unprecedented levels. Although it peaked by 1926, this period brought modern facilities and an increase in medical staff necessary for expansion.[172] As noted in Table 3, this change did not necessarily coincide with a similar increase in the funds for each station. This was due to an increase in the self-support ideas, the entrance of the Rockefeller Foundation, and a greater commitment to the support through special gifts by the home churches.

During this period, new hospital facilities were created at Yixian (1906), the Shandong Christian University Hospital (1915), Chefoo (1914), and Weixian (1925).[173] These new facilities responded to developments in the medical profession, but they did not see an increase in medical staff. Even by 1910 there were only thirteen doctors on the rolls.[174] Changes soon came that revolutionized the way medicine was practiced. All were based around the idea that the hospitals needed to offer a greater level of care to the patients. It began with the incorporation of tuberculosis care that was originally ignored in the China field due to the high mortality rates that were previously experienced. With advances in the United States, attempts were made to treat this disease. However, this meant greater investment in facilities and staff. At the 1914 meeting of the Shandong Mission in Chefoo an important policy came into effect. The meeting voted in favor of the policy of 'placing of two physicians and a trained nurse in every mission hospital with an annual dispensary attendance of 6,000 or more.'[175] This was the first time that the Shandong Mission took a firm position regarding the training of Chinese nurses which became key to the modernization of the hospital in Weixian.

More staff and better conditions could not overcome the issue of funding that modern hospitals desperately needed. In 1915 the Rockefeller Foundation officially took recommendations from the mission fields for hospitals requiring investment. In reply, Dr. James Neal and the rest of those on the field chose Jining, Jinan, and Weixian as the areas

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[171] At the end of Randle's presentation a discussion followed and views were presented by Dr. H. D. Porter of the American Board in 'P'ang-chuang,' Dr. J. Russell Watson of the British Baptist mission in Qingzhou, Rev. W. A. Wills of the British Baptists in Zouping, and Dr. W. F. Seymour of the American Presbyterians in Dengzhou. Randle. *Op cit.* p. 102.

[172] Brown. *Op cit,* 1997. p. 221.

[173] *Ibid.* p. 324 and 'Opening of the New Union Medical College Hospital, Tsinanfu.' *CMJ.* vol. 30, no. 1, January 1916, p. 49.

[174] *73rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1910. PHS.* insert following p. 459

[175] 'Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.' *PHS.* RG82/8/9/20-1. p. 12.

that required the most attention.[176] This was not only for their buildings, but also for personnel grants. In their analysis of the mission's situation, the Foundation did not agree with this assessment. Instead, Roger Greene decided that the hospitals at Chefoo and Jinan were best suited for the modern medical enterprise they envisioned.[177] The first was chosen because of its modern facilities and the latter for its future as a medical college that contained a union hospital. However, this showed some ambiguity regarding the message of the Rockefeller Foundation. They wanted to help modernize medical care in China, but they only wanted to use institutions that had already reached a significant level of modernization. This was a short-sighted policy at a time when the enterprise was changing rapidly.

In addition to hospital work, the province was also an important place for developing medical training through the Shandong Christian University. After 1900, the American Presbyterians and British Baptists laid out the basis of the union college. Through their efforts a theological and normal school was placed in Qingzhou and a college was located at Weixian. Four years later J. P. Bruce reported that plans for a medical college at Jinan were in effect.[178] However, by 1915 the institution was still not up and running. As previously noted, at this time the Rockefeller Foundation was looking for areas to invest to further the spread of Western medicine. The union plan offered an opportunity to formulate this purpose through the missionary institution. With their involvement, the Medical College of the Shandong Christian University was opened in 1916, one year before the campuses in Qingzhou and Weixian were relocated to the site in Jinan.[179] Many of the graduates from this school soon entered medical service inside and outside the province.

By 1920 the enterprise was established as a regular part of the Presbyterian work in Shandong. The mission reported twelve hospitals that treated 2,318 inpatients and 54,962 outpatients making it the most productive Presbyterian operation in China.[180] However, the road to this stage lasted almost sixty years and increased tensions between the conservative and liberal missionaries. This is especially true when one looks at the individual stations where many of these decisions began and were instituted.

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[176] 'A. Brown to W. Buttrick.' June 29, 1915, New York. RG4/1.1/25/525/338.
[177] 'S. White to W. Buttrick.' April 5, 1916, New York. RG82/12/1/1057.
[178] Bruce. *Op cit.* p. 326.
[179] Brown. *Op cit,* 1997. p. 232.
[180] *83rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1920. PHS.* insert following p. 440.

## The Chinese Church in the Shandong Mission

One of the key discussions in the study of Christianity in China today is the relationship between the foreign missionaries and the local population in the establishment of the Church. It is true that the Chinese eventually became frustrated with the reluctance of the foreign missionaries to turn over more administrative and financial control leading to the establishment of purely Chinese organizations in the 1920s. In Shandong the True Jesus Church, centered in the area around Taian, is a good example. These new formations were outgrowths of the increasing role that the Chinese played in creating local churches as part of the foreign missionary movement. This section will look at the development of the Chinese Church within the Shandong Mission.

The entrance of the Presbyterians to Shandong in the 1860s was noted above. In the period of this study they expanded throughout the province with eight stations: Jining, Yizhou, Jinan, Weixian, Chefoo, Dengzhou, Tengxian, and Qingdao. Although the mission became the leading proponent of secular enterprises, as their work to found the Shandong Christian University shows, it never overlooked the original purpose of establishing the Church supported and run by the Chinese. The basis of this idea was the 'Nevius Method' that was promoted by most of the pure evangelists. John Nevius felt that the church should not outstrip the ability of the Chinese to provide all of its needs, from finances to manpower.[181] Although these ideas produced tensions within the mission, they were adhered to consistently. This is evidenced by the steady increase in the number of Chinese ministers and lay personnel that took part in the evangelization efforts. In 1880 there were twenty-eight involved in evangelical work. By 1885 this number increased to fifty-two and at the turn of the century the number had reached 157. As more Chinese entered the mission's service through education and other methods, the total number of workers, both ordained and unordained, reached 425.[182] When these figures are broken down, however, it is evident that the majority were lay preachers, bible women, and other workers. They were not the pastors who could take over the administrative positions from the foreigners. This begs the question of the real role these individuals had in the administrative apparatus.

While the number of Chinese workers increased during the period before 1900, there were also attempts to include them in the administrative structure of the Church. This was in line with the general administration of the Presbyterian Church that was

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[181] Cliff. *Op cit.* p. 79.

[182] *43rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1880. PHS.* summary of foreign missions; *63rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1900. PHS.* insert after p. 284; and *83rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1920. PHS.* insert following p. 440.

based on mass incorporation. On December 4, 1865, Corbett, Mateer and Mills met with the aim of forming the Presbytery of Shandong and on September 9, 1866, the first meeting was held. In attendance were Charles Mills, Calvin Mateer, Hunter Corbett, Lin Chin-san [sic], and Wang Tswei [sic].[183] In considering the importance of this event one cannot ignore the early movement to create a Chinese-governed Church rather than one run entirely by missionaries. It also shows the emphasis the American Presbyterians put on promoting Chinese into positions of power at an early period. This goes against the prevailing notion that it was only forced on the foreign staff by rising nationalism in later years. These notions would characterize the work in Weixian's institutions as they continually utilized Chinese staff in positions of increasing responsibility.

Their inclusion in the administration of the mission was only the first step. As other scholars have noted, this initial role did not necessarily provide an outlet for influence in policymaking. One reason for this was that they had not shown themselves as capable in evangelizing and providing for the Church themselves. After 1900 many new leaders emerged from the ranks of Chinese that had gone through the educational system and began to assert themselves.

The Boxer intermission was a watershed in the Church taking on a more independent outlook than before. It showed the Chinese that they could run and maintain it without the missionaries. From June 1900 until March 1901 the Chinese were left to fend off any attacks on their persons or property while the foreigners remained on the coast or in the US. During this time many went underground or just suffered through problems with the local community. This event left a great mark upon these groups.

When the missionaries returned, they found a stronger Church with a greater sense of identity. The foreign staff began to use their funds and resources for expansion rather than the consolidation of the Church. This aspect of the work was now left to the local Christian groups and many began to respond positively to the new situation. Congregations called pastors and expanded their membership locally without the input of the foreign missionaries. In 1904 the movement towards a greater level of Chinese support is noted with a letter printed in the *Assembly Herald* by two Chinese members of the Presbytery. Their letter notes for the first time a commitment to increasing the support and evangelical place of the Chinese members to separate themselves from reliance on the foreign missionaries.[184] The following year John Fitch noted a conversation with a Church elder where the individual appeared to feel the time for foreign domination of the

[183] Heeren. *Op cit.* p. 60.
[184] 'A Call from Shantung.' *AH.* vol. 10, no. 9, September 1904. p. 604.

administration was past. The Chinese were now ready and capable to take up the cause. He also made a specific point that the foreigners should depart in favor of the Chinese because of their greater understanding of the people.[185] Here there is a notable tension between the foreigners and Chinese where the newfound freedoms of the Christians were coming into conflict with the gradualist approach of the missionaries. They were trying to keep control of the Church that was ready to determine its own identity.

One of the most important workers during this immediate period of the new century was Ding Li-mei who began the Chinese Student Volunteer Movement. In 1899 he graduated from the Dengzhou College and was appointed Pastor of the Laizhou church. Following the Boxers he moved to the Qingdao area. His rise to prominence came in 1904 as the Presbytery voted on a 'three-self' course. At the same meeting Pastor Ding was directed to make tours of the Shandong field and increase the spiritual awakening of its members. In the past the foreign personnel performed this work, but it was now turned over to a competent Chinese. In 1909 he expanded his work and began a tour of Christian colleges at the Arts College in Weixian. His week of work netted large results and 100 students volunteered for the ministry. In addition to the university students, the meeting was attended by students from the Point Breeze Academy from which many expressed a wish to attend the Theological School in Qingzhou.[186] The revival marked the beginning of the Chinese Student Volunteer Movement that was officially organized the following year.[187] This brought forward not only the need for Chinese to take a greater role, but also the acceptance by the missionaries that they had to give up some of their strict control.

The final movement to involve the Chinese pastors was the creation of the Cooperation Committee. Some do not put much faith in the work of these committees. However, for the Presbyterians in Shandong it held power over all financial and policy matters facing the mission. In 1912, the work of incorporating the Chinese culminated with the creation of the first Cooperation Committee. In addition to that formed on a province-wide basis, they were also established at each station. These organizations were given the responsibilities of the mission committees.[188] Their participation in the new organizations gave the Chinese new impetus for breaking away from foreign control. With this new role they began to assert themselves and the new evangelical movements

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[185] 'J. Fitch to A. Brown.' March 4, 1905, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.
[186] 'Weihsien Station Report for the year September 1, 1908, to August 31, 1909.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261 and *73rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1910. PHS.* p. 128.
[187] Cliff. *Op cit.* pp. 223 and 224.
[188] *Ibid.* p. 289.

that emerged are proof of this. By 1920 the Shandong Mission had eighty organized churches with 15,756 communicants associated with them.[189]

One of the most highly promoted campaigns was the City Evangelization Movement (CEM) connected to the Weixian Station. The CEM consisted of two important characteristics: zealous evangelizing by teams of Christians and educational institutions in the city limits. In 1914, work started in Weixian under Wang Yueh-deh and in Anqiu under Liu Guang-zhao.[190] Under the direction of Wang a new Church that held two services each Sunday, bible classes for men and women, and a Sunday school were slowly established.[191] The following year it was reported that over 200 people attended the Sunday services and ninety-one were enrolled in the educational institutions. In Anqiu Pastor Liu began with no buildings or support from the central station. He initiated his campaign by resigning as the principal of the local government middle school and holding services in its courtyard under a tent.[192] The only other large city to accommodate the new movement was Changyi to the west of Weixian where it was reported to have begun in 1913.[193] The movement did not only include zealous Christians in the distribution of tracts, preaching, and other activities. It also fully accommodated the local elite at special services.[194]

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

By 1917 Chinese evangelists were working in five cities. The main focus was on Anqiu, Weixian, and Lo-ngan [sic]. Besides evangelistic activities there were successful schools in operation at both the secondary and advanced levels. On a smaller scale, work was also being carried out in Changyi and Changle.[195] From these locations the CEM spread to encompass the cities of Gaomi and Kiuchow [sic] and more Chinese evangelists

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[189] *83rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1920. PHS.* insert after p. 440.
[190] 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914.' *PHS.* RG82/8/8/20-2. p. 2.
[191] *Ibid.*
[192] *Ibid.* p. 5.
[193] *Ibid.* p. 4.
[194] 'Personal Report of C. Roys, Weihsien, Shantung, June 1, 1914.' *PHS.* RG82/8/8/20-8.
[195] '35th Annual Report of the Weihsien Station for the Year Ending July 1st 1917.' *PHS.* RG82/13/12/20-2. p. 7.

entered the Seminary in Jinan to begin working in the urban campaign. The success of the CEM clearly marks an important point in the organization of the Church in Shandong.

Although they had come a long way since the 1800s, the Chinese did not yet have full control of the mission institutions. This is perhaps a reason for the focus on evangelical expansion during the late-1910s. Out of this emerged the North China Theological Seminary in Weixian which eventually was relocated to Tengxian, which worked from a more conservative ideology. In the 1920s this all changed due to anti-foreign outbreaks that caused many to retreat to the coast, much like in the Boxer Uprising of a previous generation. Before this time, revivals were being held throughout Shandong and they continued into the 1920s. Through them, many new indigenous movements began. Foremost among these was the True Jesus Church that came out of the collaboration between Wei Enbo of the LMS in Hebei and Zhang Lingsheng of the Weixian Presbyterian Church.[196]

## Summary

This chapter offered the background to understanding the specific history of Weixian. The conflicts between missionaries, the move toward more liberal ideas, and the general growth of the educational and medical enterprises are trends that will also be found in the Weixian Station. In its local setting, however, they will develop in particular ways, which will emphasize the importance of the Chinese-missionary cooperation.

[196] Cliff. *Op cit.* p. 335.

# Chapter 3

## Establishing the Weixian Institutions: 1883-1900

The first two decades of the educational and medical enterprises saw some great changes and advances that became part of the basic ideology of the Weixian personnel. During this time, there were several important achievements that were built upon in the post-1900 period. The first was the growing influence of professional personnel despite the conflict with the evangelists. A second development was the increasing effort to involve the Chinese to a greater extent making their contributions vital to the health of the institutions. This was most notable in the primary schools and medical work. In the pre-1900 period the involvement of the Chinese came in both the administration and the financial support of institutions. Although this began on a small scale at this time, it set the foundation for the expansion that occurred after 1900.

### Opening the Weixian Station

One of the main reasons why Weixian was so successful was due to its location outside the main walled city. Many mission groups, including the American Presbyterians, first set up bases in urban areas from which they would travel to the countryside. This principle was likely followed because of the safety that the city walls provided and the ease of communication with other foreigners that resided there. However, as groups began pushing inland, this practice was tested. The Presbyterians took a different approach to their work in Weixian. They established their compound outside the main walled city of Weixian. This shifted the focus of their work from the urban areas to the countryside. Emphasis on the rural population arguably helped their evangelical cause. Without the opposition from the urban scholarly elite, the missionaries were relatively free to start their itinerating work. However, moving to the countryside also meant that the missionaries were more isolated from the areas where they had more support from other foreigners. This made reliance on the local Chinese population more likely and important.

When considering an area for locating a central station, the Presbyterians could not have chosen a better place in Shandong. The history of Weixian could be dated back to the Qin Dynasty, and it was one of the most important economic cities in the province. The area in which it sat is now known as the 'Weixian trading system.'[197] During the late-nineteenth century, it grew 'from a more modest level to become the center of commerce in the eastern portion of Shantung.'[198] This sudden transformation was stimulated by the

[197] Buck. *Op cit*, 1978. p. 26.
[198] *Ibid.* p. 22.

large influx of foreign trade on the coast. From here trade followed two major roads that met in Weixian: one ran northeast to Chefoo and the other ran southeast to Jiaozhou (near Qingdao).[199] A single road also ran west along the broad plain to Jinan, about 120 miles. Its economic strength was so great that Gilbert Rozman labeled it a 'third-level city' making it equal to Jinan, the provincial capital.[200] The missionaries were not solely attracted by its economic strength. They were also drawn by the large number of people living in and around the city. This concentration of wealth also attracted a large number of gentry into the area. Members of this class were one of the groups that gave missionaries the greatest opposition.

The Presbyterians were not the first group to see the potential of Weixian as a mission base. The first Protestant missionary to enter the city was Rev. Alexander Williamson in approximately March 1867. Williamson represented the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the National Bible Society of Scotland. The next to arrive was Rev. MacIntyre, of the United Presbyterian Mission of Scotland, in approximately 1873-1876.[201] Neither of these individuals was able to establish permanent work in the area and soon moved on. The American Presbyterians also passed through the area many times, but had never worked within the city limits. In 1865 Calvin Mateer, of Dengzhou, and Hunter Corbett, of Chefoo, were the first to itinerate through the area of Weixian. They did not enter the city at this time, but reported on its potential.

> 'The streets were full of people, and they were not sparing in their expressions of enmity and contempt. We saw a great number of elegant memorial arches near Wei Hsien [Weixian] and learned that it is a very wealthy place. This was indicated by the many elegant burying grounds around it, and by the good condition of the walls. The country all around, and indeed most we passed through today, was very rich.'[202]

One year later, during the extensive famine of 1876-1879, the area became the focal point for the mission.[203] Frank Ellinwood, the Foreign Board's Secretary in New York, and the missionaries in Shandong agreed that the future for their work was in the interior, but from the evidence it seems that the Foreign Board was not planning to send men to open a

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[199] Forsyth, R. *Shantung, The Sacred Province of China.* Shanghai: The Christian Literature Society. 1912. p. 91.
[200] Buck. *Op cit*, 1978. p. 22.
[201] MacIntyre's mission to Weixian took place between 1873 and 1876. John Heeren stated 'Timothy Richard says that in 1874 he spent a day in Weihsien with 'the Rev. Mr. MacIntyre, of the United Presbyterian Mission of Scotland,' and Nevius says that MacIntyre lived in the city of Weihsien for a period of two years.' However, the exact dates of his arrival and departure have not been located to this point. Heeren. *Op cit.* pp. 74-75.
[202] Fisher, D. *Calvin Wilson Mateer.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 1911. p. 119.
[203] Heeren. *Op cit.* p. 75.

new station.[204] Rather, they were sending reinforcements to the older stations.[205] At this point there also did not seem to be any indication from the field that they were planning to establish a compound at Weixian. There had been no official approval for this and no condemnation of the Foreign Board for sending men to reinforce Jinan. However, on January 17, 1881, a joint letter from Charles Mills, Joseph Leyenberger, and Hunter Corbett was sent to the Executive Committee of the Foreign Board requesting new individuals to begin working in Weixian.[206]

In October 1881, at the meeting of the Shandong Mission in Jinan, the mission formally adopted the motion to open the station. The main reasons why Weixian was chosen coincide with those that Timothy Richard had used in the opening of the British Baptist station at Qingzhou. The area was densely populated which made it easy for the missionaries to carry on their evangelical work without going on long itinerating trips into the countryside.[207] In addition, the city's location at the intersection of three major trading routes made it the center of a large commercial system attracting huge crowds on market days.[208] Also notable was the number of converts in the area around Weixian. Hunter Corbett reported that there were at least 300 within a 'radius of one days journey.'[209] It was found that the proximity of the missionaries to the converts at this early stage was important to ensuring the health and stability of the burgeoning Church. With their main station located in Chefoo, 180 miles away, they could not maintain proper oversight of this community.[210] They saw that the only way to properly administer it was to open a base midway between the coastal stations and Jinan.

John Nevius was the main opponent to the idea of opening an interior station at Weixian. He argued that the existing stations needed to be reinforced before new ones

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[204] 'F. Ellinwood to H. Corbett.' August 5, 1880, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r232.

[205] In 1880, Frank Ellinwood wrote to Hunter Corbett that he was sending out Robert Mateer to work at the Jinan station. *Ibid.*

[206] 'C. Mills, J. Leyenberger and H. Corbett to the Executive Committee of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.' January 17, 1881, Dengzhou. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r204.

[207] The missionaries note that it contained approximately 4,000,000 individuals in a small area. It was this that made it attractive as a field of work.

[208] One factor in Timothy Richard's decision to settle in Qingzhou was that it was the site of the prefecture examinations for which approximately 10,000 candidates would inhabit the city. Weixian's population was not coincidental with politics, but with economics. As its importance in local economics grew, the population of Weixian's urban population also grew. In 1573 there were only 21,769 people living in the city, in 1672 the population jumped to 143,120 individuals, and in 1906 it numbered 497,328 people. 'H. Corbett to F. Ellinwood.' November 1, 1881, Chefoo. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r204; Forsyth. *Op cit.* p. 91; and *Wei Cheng Qu Zhi.* Jinan: Qi Lu Shu She Chu Ban. 1993. p. 133.

[209] 'H. Corbett to F. Ellinwood.' November 1, 1881, Chefoo. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r204.

[210] Calvin Mateer points out the great distance of the missionaries from the interior, and that living in the open ports was not truly advantageous to the work. According to Mateer: 'Living at an open port has some conveniences...but what are they when compared with the advantage of being near the people for whom you are laboring.' 'C. Mateer to the Board of Foreign Missions.' December 19, 1881, Dengzhou. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r204.

were created. He added that other provinces needed them more urgently than Shandong, the proposed work in Weixian could be effectively supervised from Chefoo, and if a new station was to be opened it should be at or near Yizhou as Weixian was too close to the British Baptist station in Qingzhou.[211] However, he was not able to overcome the overwhelming support by the rest of the mission.

Rev. Robert Mateer, Rev. John Laughlin, Annie Laughlin, and Dr. and Mrs. Horace Smith sailed for China in the autumn of 1881. Upon their arrival in Shandong, they began language study and made preparations for the building project. During this time, many of the Shandong missionaries continued to make itinerating trips from Dengzhou into the Weixian area and were all very encouraged at the prospects of working there. By the spring of 1882 Robert Mateer and John Laughlin had passed their language exams and were prepared to enter their new field. In a letter to Frank Ellinwood, Mateer noted that they should 'strike while the iron is hot.'[212] However, the missionaries did not yet have funds to proceed with the project. Accordingly, Mateer wrote the Foreign Board and requested $800 to rent and fit two Chinese houses for the three families (Mateers, Laughlins, and Smiths) that were to begin the work.[213] When they received funding approval, Mateer and Laughlin set out for Weixian with Hunter Corbett.

After traveling for four days, the party reached Weixian. When they arrived it was 'the day for the "great market"' where 10,000 people were gathered around the walled city.[214] As they began inquiring about purchasing property within the city walls, the land prices seemed to increase exponentially. Therefore, the missionaries searched outside the city wall with the aid of Li Fu-yuan.[215] They succeeded in securing five *mu*, approximately sixteen city *mu* (*shi mu*),[216] of land from a local farmer ideally situated along a major road leading to the main city. The property was about one mile to the southeast of the city, just to the northwest of the Li family village (*Li Jia Zhuang*), on the west bank of the Yu River. Then they returned to Chefoo to finalize their preparations.

Unlike other stations in the Shandong Mission, such as Dengzhou and Chefoo, the founders of Weixian did not consider attempting to force their way into the city and decided to purchase land outside the city walls. It is possible to identify two reasons for

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[211] Heeren. *Op cit.* p. 76.

[212] In his letter Mateer notes the increased interest in the Weixian area and that if they waited the interest may have died down. 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' May 23, 1882. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r204.

[213] 'R. Mateer to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.' May 29, 1882, Dengzhou. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r204.

[214] 'Letter from J. Laughlin.' *FM.* vol. 41, no. 12, May 1883. p. 529.

[215] Li Fu-yuan was Hunter Corbett's preacher in the area.

[216] Dictionaries define a 'mu' of land to be equal to .0667 hectares. The difference between the two classes of land is never specified in any of the Chinese or English sources. It seems that a 'city mu' was a much smaller amount because of the lack of space within city walls.

this decision. First, they were aware of the experience of other missionaries. In the past, when attempting to obtain land inside the city walls they had been targets of local opposition that tried to run them out. They learned, from previous experience in Jinan, that it was important not to raise resistance to their work by forcing their way into a city. They also felt that life within a Chinese city was unhealthy and would make an unstable base of operations for a central mission station. This last point was the most important factor in their decision. The decision to settle outside the city limits was not adopted by other groups or stations, and would have a significant effect upon the work that developed at Weixian.

On January 8, 1883, funds for the new compound were provided by a $5,000 gift from Ms. S. B. Hill in memory of her brother, James Hill.[217] Robert Mateer and John Laughlin returned to Weixian in April to begin the process of building the compound. Although they did not intend to actually occupy the station until the late spring or summer, the missionaries needed an early start to 'squat' on the land bought the previous year and to counter the anticipated sluggishness of the Shandong builders. By April 28 the first house was almost completed.[218]

The construction of the station's first buildings did not progress smoothly. Local opposition still existed even when the missionaries had settled outside the city walls. Therefore, they first erected a guardhouse to protect the building materials in case there were any disturbances. On April 21, a group 'entered the little mud house...bound and gagged three of our men who were sleeping there, cut a couple of slight sword gashes on the body of one, and stole the clothes they were wearing.'[219] After this incident, the workmen, who had also acted as the watchmen, refused to continue working. Thereafter, either Mateer or Laughlin slept in the 'little mud house.' One week later, while attending evening prayers in a local village, another group came to the building site and set fire to the roof of the guard house. Although they were able to extinguish the fire with little damage, it could no longer be occupied. For the next few nights the missionaries slept on a pile of boards until a new house could be erected. Once completed, 'a number of Chinese' spent the nights there without further reports of disturbances. [220]

The missionaries did not let this matter rest and took it to the local magistrate. In response to their complaint the magistrate put out proclamations upholding the right of

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[217] 'H. Jessup to J. Nevius.' January 8, 1883. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r233 and *46th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1883. PHS.* p. 102.
[218] The missionaries did not attempt to allay the fears of the local population by proposing to build Chinese-style houses. 'Letter from J. Laughlin.' *FM.* vol. 42, no. 4, September 1883. p. 164.
[219] *Ibid.*
[220] *Ibid.*

the foreigners to occupy the premises. In addition, the magistrate promised protection against insult and injury, and posted two 'underlings' to act as the watchmen for the property. This seemed to satisfy them in their position outside the city walls. However, they did not feel safe visiting the walled city even with these assurances.[221] By October the problems seemed to have dissipated. This was probably the result of two factors. The first was that the residents of the city accepted the fact that they could not drive the missionaries away with scare tactics. The other was that the medical work of the mission began with the arrival of Dr. Smith.

The Weixian Station grew from this one building to encompass a plot of land holding two high schools, a large three-story hospital, the Arts College of the Shandong Christian University for a time, a Bible School, and residences for the missionaries and teachers.[222] In addition to its institutions, the station established schools and hospitals throughout its given field to itinerate (approximately 500 square miles). See Figure 3 for the full extent of its field and placement of churches and schools. It was the success at all three of the missionary enterprises (education, medicine, and evangelizing) that allowed it to become the most important station for the mission.

[221] Mateer, R. 'Weihsien Station and its Work.' in *A Record of American Presbyterian Mission Work in Shantung Province, China, 1861-1913*. 1914. p. 34.
[222] Two maps of the layout can be found in the Appendix.

**Figure 3**

**Map of the Weixian Field**[223]


[223] *Presbyterian Historical Society.*

## History of the Weixian School System Before 1900

When the Weixian Station was opened in 1883, the American Presbyterian Foreign Board already accepted education as a mission agency. By this time a boys' high school was already flourishing in Dengzhou under Calvin Mateer and a girls' school was organized in Chefoo. Between 1880 and 1884 the number of students throughout the Shandong Mission increased by 334.[224] However, it was not until Weixian was opened that this number rose into the thousands. By 1905 the station was reported to be 'the chief educational center for [the] East and West Shantung Missions.'[225] This section begins with the early history of the first institution, the Boys' Academy, and will follow the expansion of various parts of the school system that affected others in turn. There are three themes that begin to develop during this period that are important to understand the growth of the system: the goal of self-support, the increasing professionalism of the enterprise, and the growing involvement of the Chinese.

### The First School[226]

In the beginning of 1883 Robert Mateer and John Laughlin arrived to lay the groundwork for the new station. Although the priority lay with establishing missionary residences, they did not ignore the enterprises they expected to begin. For the missionaries, the most important for the longevity of the Church was the school system. This would provide the leaders and evangelists for the Christian Church, and produce an educated membership able to read the Bible. Between August and December John Laughlin erected the first schoolhouse where he and his family initially resided. In 1885 Sadie Mateer, the first wife of Robert Mateer, was charged with opening a school. It is interesting that her first instinct was not to open a school for boys, but to establish a girls' academy. She felt that there was more opportunity among this section of the population, although it was this group that provided significant opposition to their work. However, at the time she felt that they did not yet have the full trust of the population and, therefore, it was premature to open such a school.

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[224] *43rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Mission, 1880. PHS.* summary and *47th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1884. PHS.* p. 135.

[225] Wells, R. 'The Point Breeze High School at Wei Hsien.' *AH.* February 1905, vol. 11, no. 2. p. 65.

[226] The first school to be opened was a high school for boys. It went through many name changes throughout the course of this study. It was initially called the Boys' Academy, then it was the Boys' High School, and after its rebuilding was given the name Point Breeze Academy. Even with these name changes the missionaries constantly mixed them up in their correspondence. It went through similar name changes in Chinese: Wen Hua Guan (1884-1904), Wen Hua Shu Yuan (1904-1911), Wen Hua Xue Xiao (1911-1915), and the Wen Hua Zhong Xue (1915-1931). For the sake of consistency the Boys' Academy and Point Breeze Academy have been chosen to delineate between the pre- and post-1900 periods.

The Boys' Academy was opened with fourteen pupils and Mrs. Mateer as principal. She was not alone in her job and was assisted by her husband who taught a few courses in the school when not traveling around the field. The following spring the number of students was increased to twenty-seven, but it was soon without its founder when Mrs. Mateer died in April 1886. This began a cycle of part-time directors in the school system. Her success showed the necessity of a full-time principal for the institution. However, this goal was not accomplished until the appointment of Ralph Wells in 1905. The difficulties of running an expanding school system without a full-time principal soon became apparent.

After his return from the coast following his wife's death, Rev. Mateer took over the administration of the school. It was originally planned that this was only temporary until the relocation of the Dengzhou College to Weixian, at which time its staff would take over administrative responsibility for the academy. One of the reasons why the establishment of the station was approved was that it would provide the College with a more central location. It was also intended that the staff would then take control of the high school. However, by this time any suggestion of moving it was rejected. Since none of the College staff was going to be available to oversee the academy, Mateer requested another man to take over as principal. It was suggested that Joseph Leyenberger should succeed him, but Leyenberger's health was not the best and Mateer did not have confidence in his ability. Another option was for him to remain in charge, but he did not want to devote all his time and energy to the academy. In a letter to Frank Ellinwood he noted that although he was in charge of the school, he appeared to spend much more time caring for Hunter Corbett's and Charles Mills's itinerating fields to the west of Weixian.[227] Although he wanted to retain control of the new enterprise, he was more interested in the evangelical work and Church organization. In the end, he suggested that Frank Chalfant, brother of William Chalfant of the Jinan Station, be assigned to the school.[228]

His constant requests for a single principal highlighted a major problem that could hold back the expansion and quality of the school. The missionary head only gave part of his time to the academy. Under Mateer and Laughlin most of the principal's energy continued to be directed towards country evangelistic work leading to the conclusion that a professional educator was needed. One option was to allow the Chinese to take the position. By 1887, the school had hired two Chinese Christian teachers who conducted all

[227] 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' February 14, 1888, Dengzhou. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.
[228] 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' February 28, 1887, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r206.

the secular courses in the school. However, this did not solve the administrative problems. At this time, the missionaries did not trust the Chinese to take on projects important to the health of the Church.

Mateer's problems locating a new principal illustrates the serious understaffing issues missionaries faced at the early stages of a station's life. This issue indicated the need to appoint Chinese staff to cover areas traditionally reserved for foreigners. Even though this was done on a very limited scale, and Mateer continued to insist on a full-time principal, it was clear that unless more staff was sent the future of the academy depended on the Chinese.

### Expanding the School System

One area of educational work that is generally not given much attention is the primary school systems that missionary groups supported. These schools were arguably the most important for the incorporation of the Chinese in the administrative and financial sides of the enterprise. As was established in the last section, the Boys' Academy was opened soon after the station was established. At the time, a system of primary schools had not yet been created or even considered. The students for the academy were generally taken with whatever education they obtained from the existing Chinese system. Missionaries thought that this retarded the spread of the Christian Church. They felt that the non-Christian ideals taught prejudiced the children against the Church. A second issue encouraging the opening of primary schools was the increasing need for Chinese evangelists. It was already clear that the academy was not going to be able to keep up with the demand. For a brief period, the training of outstation leaders with periodic classes at the station was attempted, but it failed to supply the demand for workers. This situation prompted the idea that the Chinese Christians needed to be taught in the field and at a younger age.[229] They could then be assured that the students would be able to read the Bible, something clearly needed for any Christian.

In 1888 the missionaries undertook the task of establishing schools in the itinerating field for the first time. It is important to point out that these schools were not solely for the male members of society. Girls' primary schools were also opened at this time and were central to the policy changes that would come later. The first year closed with 121 boys enrolled in day schools and fifteen girls in boarding schools. The initial

[229] 'Letter from J. H. Laughlin.' *CHA.* vol. 4, August 1888. p. 190 and *51st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1888. PHS.* p. 146.

responsibility for running the new schools was placed on John Laughlin and Joseph Leyenberger.[230] However, neither devoted their full attention to them.

**Table 4**

**Weixian Educational Work Statistics, 1885-1894**[231]

| Dates | Boarding Boys | Boarding Girls | Day – Boys | | Day – Girls | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pupils | Pupils | Number | Pupils | Number | Pupils |
| 1887-1888 | 30 | 15 | | 121 | | Blank |
| 1888-1889 | 1 | 2 | 18 | | 1 | |
| 1889-1890 | 229 | 151 | 29 | 341 | 0 | 53 |
| 1890-1891 | 149 | 145 | | 413 | | 59 |
| 1893-1894 | 66 | 238 | 54 | 623 | 1 | 12 |

As indicated by Table 4, one problem that emerged was the disproportionate increase in numbers between the girls' and boys' primary school pupils. One reason for this was the different attitude towards female and male education among the missionaries. For the male students, the station began to open more day schools while female students were forced into boarding schools. Due to the greater expense involved in supporting boarding schools, this caused the creation of two systems within the network that was detrimental to the expansion of the enterprise.

The policy of keeping girls in the boarding school model resulted in a very slow start to the establishment of girls' schools. Those that were set up tended to be small and, therefore, could not accommodate many pupils. This had the effect of limiting access to education for girls. Table 4 notes that by 1890 there were over 500 male pupils and only about 200 female pupils. This disparity perpetuated the characteristic of the Chinese system where the education of men was more important than the education of women. One example was reported in 1889 when Chinese Christians planned to establish several schools for girls. The proposed schools were not going to be supported by the patrons as were the boys' schools, and more funds from the missionaries were required.[232] By 1891, there were approximately 163 boys[233] and 151 girls in primary boarding schools, and 341 boys and fifty-three girls attending the schools as day pupils.

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[230] *52nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1889. PHS.* p. 151; 'Report of the Wei Hien Mission for 1888.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216; and 'J. Leyenberger to F. Ellinwood.' 1888, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.

[231] In the initial period of the station's history the statistics for the primary schools were combined with those for the Boys' Academy. It was only with the establishment of the Wen Mei School that they were separated. Compilation of Statistics from the Weixian Station, Shandong Mission, and Foreign Board Reports. *PHS.*

[232] *53rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1890. PHS.* pp. 55-56 and 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' February 21, 1889, Wooster. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.

[233] I am using the sixty-six students noted in 1894 for the number of students in the station's Boys' Academy here.

## Improvements, Professionalism and Expansion of the School System in the 1890s

By 1890 the Boys' Academy and primary school system were established and slowly began to expand. However, there were problems that had not been resolved. The missionaries still needed to find a full-time director for their schools, there was not yet a concrete plan for a girls' high school, and the administration of the primary schools needed to be reviewed. The academy had grown from its early years and now required an individual to look after it on a permanent basis if it was going to be the main institution for the mission. When it began, Mrs. Mateer had filled this role, but since that time none of the resident missionaries had stepped forward to fill this vacuum. There was also the issue of creating a secondary school for girls. This idea had previously been brought up, but it was never adopted. The growth of female education at the primary level forced the opening and expansion of a central high school. Finally, the general administration of the system, the way in which schools were controlled, and their financial oversight needed to be reconsidered. Those who acted as supervisors in the 1880s did so on a part-time basis and the station funded almost the entire system. The growth of the school system forced the missionaries to require Chinese support both for its administration and finances.

### The Search for a Full-Time Director in the Boys' Academy

In the 1880s the station discovered that a part-time director of the Boys' Academy was not feasible. When Robert Mateer returned to China in 1890, he reported that the academy was in a 'dilapidated condition.'[234] He quickly got to work refurbishing it and began to address the issue of administrative responsibility. During his previous experience he had tried to manage the academy himself or have another colleague direct it. He now pushed harder for a full-time administrator of the entire educational system.

One new idea that he instituted was giving some oversight duties to the female missionaries in the station. Mateer felt that missionaries in charge of evangelization should not be given administrative responsibilities and that these should be handed to the lay members of the mission. At the time this meant the resident wives and single women. This approach had been successful at the beginning with Sadie Mateer. Following this idea, Jennie Chalfant was given responsibility for order and general health in the school. They hoped that Emma Boughton would soon be able to begin teaching and take responsibility for running the school.[235] Notwithstanding this move to give responsibility to the wives, Mateer maintained his position as the head. It is important to note that none of these women were professional educators and, like the earlier missionaries, did not

[234] 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' September 1, 1890, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.
[235] *Ibid* and 'F. Chalfant: Wei Hien, Report for Jan - Dec. 1890.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.

have any experience in education. Nevertheless, it is significant that the missionaries were already looking for a person to give the school full-time attention.

**Table 5**

**High School Pupils**[236]

| Date | Point Breeze Academy | Wen Mei School |
|---|---|---|
| 1885 | 14 | |
| 1886 | 27 | |
| 1887 | 35 | |
| 1891 | 43 | |
| 1893 | 49 | |
| 1895 | 48 | 24 |
| 1896 | 52 | 30 |
| 1898 | 45 | 37 |
| 1899 | | 41 |
| 1900 | | 38 |
| 1901 | 34 (decreased to 29) | n/a |
| 1902 | 30 | 17 |
| 1903 | 45 | 38 |
| 1904 | 50 | 35 |
| 1905 | 58 | (probably 40 or so) |
| 1906 | 58 | 60 |
| 1907 | 62 (70 elsewhere) | 64 |
| 1908 | 70 | 62 |
| 1909 | 70 | 62 |
| 1910 | 70 | 62 |
| 1911 | | 62 |
| 1912 | 58 | |
| 1913 | 76 | 66 (55 elsewhere) |
| 1914 | 110 (another report showed 89) | 84 (66 elsewhere) |
| 1915 | 165 (another report showed 90) | 68 |
| 1916 | 130 (another report showed 86) | 45 (another report showed 68) |
| 1917 | 169 (another report showed 39 later 74) | 55 (another report showed 74) |
| 1918 | 90 | 88 (down to 64) |
| 1920 | 170 | 80 |
| 1921 | 215 | 92 |

In 1891 financial problems began to affect the academy with a reduction in its appropriation from $650 to $500 Mex. As shown in Table 5, the school had the largest number of pupils since its opening, but it was faced with the possibility of closing or severely limiting the number of students. Despite the cuts and possible closure, Mateer continued making rounds of the primary schools to select pupils for the academy.[237] Notwithstanding the strict selection process he imposed, the school was beginning to

[236] Compiled from the Weixian Station yearly summaries submitted by the missionaries. *PHS.*
[237] 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' April 25, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

reach its full capacity. To ensure a continued expansion in its numbers, new rooms were built to increase the student body to fifty.[238]

Although the station wanted to enlarge the class of students, it still made no provision for a full-time director. Robert Mateer was still acting as the head, 'when at home,' while Jennie Chalfant continued to look after the day-to-day lives of the students.[239] In reality, Mrs. Chalfant ran the school and Mateer acted as the nominal head. He had even given up much of his teaching responsibilities and Mary Crossette took some of the religious classes.[240] Even though Mateer gave up many of his tasks, it seems that he kept control of the decision-making process.

At this point there were two more Chinese professors employed at the station, but it was obvious that the missionaries were not ready to relinquish control, despite their staff limitations.[241] Between 1895 and 1896 the management of the academy was undertaken by Madge Mateer. Although it was now in the hands of a permanent station resident, non-itinerant missionary, this did not mean that Mrs. Mateer devoted all her time to the school. She still had charge of the girls' primary schools, had some responsibilities in the hospital, and taught women's classes in the area.

**Chinese Participation and Self-Support**

In the 1890s the Weixian missionaries came to terms with the idea that the Chinese Church must be established with education as a base. In 1891, John Fitch noted that merely 'converting' the Chinese was useless and would create a membership of 'baptized heathen.'[242] Unfortunately, Fitch and the other missionaries do not give a definitive requirement for conversion in the literature. His letter indicates that there was some required level of understanding of the Bible before baptism was given. This was unlike other groups that maintained a lengthy qualification period. However, they were dealing with uneducated rural farmers who may have been able to understand the basic tenets of Christianity, but with the right societal pressure may revert to old beliefs. To avoid this, the station needed to provide education to the children that would become the 'soil' from which the Church could grow.[243] It was envisioned that this new group would provide an educated native pastorate that would be better prepared to meet the changing

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[238] This rise in future capacity was in line with the expansion of the primary school system, and the general Weixian field that now reached its greatest extent. It covered 10,000 square miles in the prefectures of Laizhou and Qingzhou with four million inhabitants. *55th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1892. PHS.* p. 75.

[239] 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' November 28, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

[240] *Ibid* and 'Report of R. Mateer - January 1892 - January 1893.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

[241] 'Wei Hien Station Report, 1895-189.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.

[242] 'J. Fitch to F. Ellinwood.' April 3, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

[243] *Ibid.*

needs of the Church. Additionally, their system of schools would 'prevent the grafting of heathenism into the church.'[244] The primary schools that they established were ideal for this goal. However, the current system relied on boarding schools and it could not grow much further unless major changes were instituted. This necessitated turning to the Chinese to take some of the responsibility for sustaining the school system.

The first reported instance when the Chinese attempted to take an active role came in 1889. In this year, local Christians were planning to establish several schools for girls. Unfortunately, the records do not identify who led the movement, Church leaders or the grass-roots members. Nevertheless, this action by the Chinese outside the scope of foreign control is important. As noted earlier, the proposed schools were not going to be supported by the patrons to the same extent as the schools for boys, and more funds from the missionaries were required.[245] Although we do not know for certain if the schools were founded, it is still important to note the initiative of the Christians in establishing schools for their children. We also do not know the extent to which the missionaries were involved at this point, but it is safe to say that the Chinese were looking to the mission solely as a funding organization. This put the missionaries in the same role as gentry in establishing village schools in the past. The significant difference between the two was that the Christians in this case were opening schools for girls. This would never have been done under the traditional system as education was aimed at passing the Confucian examinations that were restricted to males. A conclusion one can draw is that the administrative roles were assumed by local teachers and founders of the schools rather than the occasional visiting missionary. This case shows that the Chinese population was willing to participate in the expansion of the school system and to collaborate with the missionaries in this endeavor.

At this time oversight of the primary schools was divided among the missionaries' various itinerating fields. Because of the administrative structure, there were difficulties keeping a uniform level of scholarship throughout the school system. Additionally, the increase in the number of schools was overloading the missionaries who were having problems keeping a balance between their itinerating and school oversight responsibilities. It was soon clear that the system needed to be changed. In the academy it was acknowledged that this idea of part-time administrators was not working. However,

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[244] *Ibid* and 'J. Leyenberger to F. Ellinwood.' April 3, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.
[245] *53rd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1890. PHS.* pp. 55-56 and 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' February 21, 1889, Wooster. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.

as John Leyenberger reported in 1890, a greater problem existed in the primary school network.

> 'We find it hard to overtake the growing demand for school work. There are now 20 schools among the Stations under my care; 14 for boys, and 6 for girls. During the year, 253 pupils have been enrolled, and the average attendance has been 244.'[246]

This growth encouraged changes to the structure of the system. The most significant innovation was the creation of the first Chinese administrative post. In 1891, Li Shih-huo [sic] was appointed 'Superintendent of Country Schools.'[247] His responsibilities included conducting the boys' primary school examinations, and ensuring that the materials and course of study remained uniform in the expanding primary system. By the following year the missionaries considered his work successful. They reported that it had 'vastly improved' the efficiency and quality of the schools.[248] Despite the success of the new position, it was still a very decentralized system divided among the missionaries' fields. It was, however, the first step towards the recognition that Chinese participation was necessary if the system was to continue expanding.

The work of the Superintendent changed little in the following years and control remained in the hands of the missionaries. By 1894 the amount of work increased due to an expansion of the mission field and the Boys' Academy. This required an improvement of the primary school system to pass the entrance examinations to the secondary school. The result was more responsibility for the Superintendent to conduct matriculation examinations, and to choose teachers and school directors for advancement in the system.[249] The missionaries soon hired a second individual from the Dengzhou College to take more of the workload. Although the Superintendents were now responsible for the general running of the system, the final decision on which students would advance to the high school remained in the hands of the missionaries.

Although the institution of this office did much to improve the quality of the primary schools, the old problem of part-time foreign oversight continued. The missionaries had not yet solved the problem of time management and could not properly balance their responsibilities. In 1898 this changed as the primary schools were brought under the control of one foreign missionary. The purpose of this was to increase the

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[246] 'Report for the Year 1890, J. Leyenberger.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.
[247] 'F. Chalfant to F. Ellinwood.' September 9, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.
[248] *Ibid.*
[249] *58th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1895. PHS.* p. 69 and 'Report of J. Fitch for 1893 to Board of Foreign Missions.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

amount of evangelistic work the station could perform, and to increase the uniformity of the primary school system. Previously, forty-nine schools were divided among two or three missionaries along with their regular workload. Now the system was centralized under the leadership of Frank Chalfant. Unfortunately, the primary school system, which covered a 500 square mile area, proved too much for him. He relied heavily on the assistance of the Superintendent. Among their new responsibilities was the oversight of the quality of the schools' teachers and directors, a function previous reserved for the missionaries.[250]

While the Superintendent was gaining stature within the system's administration, the Chinese also began to support it financially. This began in the 1890s with the emphasis on the Chinese paying fees for their education. In many mission schools the foreigners felt that students would not attend if they were not provided with all the necessities of life. As noted earlier, the appropriations given by the Foreign Board would not cover the expansion costs and a free education. Therefore, to ensure that the system could continue to expand, the financial support of the Chinese was indispensable.

The movement towards this end began in the primary schools. The steady increase in the size of the system brought financial problems. Between its beginning and 1890 the amount spent on the primary schools rose annually from $40 Mex to $330 Mex. The missionaries hoped to eventually put this work on a self-supporting basis, but in 1890 they felt this was not viable.[251] The problem was quickly addressed and by 1895 the primary schools were receiving $4,455 Mex. The funding increases helped establish more schools, but they were accompanied by a change from an emphasis on boarding schools to the more cost efficient day schools.

Up to this point boarding schools had been preferred because of the Christian environment they provided. Day schools did not have the continuous influence over the pupils and many found that they were not as successful in expanding Christianity. As the cost of sustaining the boarding schools increased their sustainability was called into question.[252] It was desirable for the school system to expand, but the increasing costs could not be covered by an increase in appropriations. The missionaries were quick to note that the cost of one boarding school for twenty boys was $160.00 Mex per month while the cost of a day school for the same number of pupils came to $40.00 Mex.[253] By

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[250] 'Personal Report, Frank Chalfant, Wei Hsien Station, West Shantung Mission, China for the Mission Year ending Aug. 31 1899.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.
[251] 'J. Leyenberger to F. Ellinwood.' November 12, 1890, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.
[252] At this time the missionaries still viewed the girls' boarding schools as necessary and seem only to be talking about the future of boys' education in the system.
[253] 'F. Chalfant to F. Ellinwood.' April 4, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

changing the boarding schools into day schools the system could be expanded without requiring a massive increase in the appropriations.

This action was not solely taken in response to funding problems. There was also a concern that the Chinese were becoming too reliant on the station. The missionaries reported that parents were more likely to send a boy ten or twenty miles away to a boarding school rather than having him attend the local day school to save the expense of keeping him at home.[254] This idea was also linked to the creation of the Chinese Church. In this period we begin to see views put forward that Christianity would never be established if the Chinese continued to rely on foreign funds for the founding and expansion of their Churches. In addition, there was also the opinion that missionaries needed to sever their direct connection to the Chinese in areas where the work was already established.

> 'For the good of the native church we must discourage this complete dependence upon "Foreign Money" (as viewed from China) so as to make the transition to self support easier of fulfillment.'[255]

However, there was the counter-argument that if the financing of the Church was put onto them too fast, their interest would decrease and eventually die out. Education became a major testing ground to determine whether the Chinese were ready to take over financial responsibility.

The earliest effort towards self-support in Weixian can be found in the boys' primary schools. This movement was led by Frank Chalfant who passionately argued for day schools over boarding schools. As more requests came to him for the establishment of boys' schools in the Changle field, he tested his theory on Chinese preference for the boarding model.[256] His findings showed that the Chinese wanted the more expensive boarding schools that the mission would have to pay for. Were they just becoming foster parents for children, or did the Chinese truly prize the education the schools were providing?

> 'Now they have just petitioned for two more schools (Day) I have reserved my decision, but told the committee that if they are willing to give up one Boarding School, I shall gladly organize two more & retain its original school as a day school. No sooner did I make this proposition than a dampness pervaded the atmosphere of our deliberations & the subject was

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[254] 'F. Chalfant to F. Ellinwood.' September 9, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.
[255] This is only one of several statements that was found in the correspondence throughout the early-1890s. *Ibid.*
[256] *Ibid.*

dropped. I hope I am mistaken, but I fear they prize that Boarding School more than three day schools for the saving that is in it to those already benefited thereby.'[257]

In his report for 1892 Chalfant stated that he would refuse to open any more boarding schools in the future, and that all existing boarding schools were to be transformed into day schools.[258] This would provide access to education to a greater number of children at an equal cost to the mission. These ideas were also in line with the general policy of bringing the Church to a more self-supporting model.

By 1894, the station adopted this view and pushed for day schools for male students.[259] Two years later Chalfant's day school policy was extended over the Weixian field, and it reported forty-nine boys' day schools with 620 pupils.[260] This change was only done in the boys' schools at this time. The missionaries still considered it too early for this system to be introduced into the girls' schools. They argued that the Chinese would react against their schools if they enforced this policy too quickly. It can also be seen at this time that it was funding rather than the quality of education that the missionaries were concerned about when making this change.

Not all were convinced by Chalfant's ideas. Others thought he had gone too far. They warned against throwing financial responsibility too heavily on the Chinese before they were ready. The Foreign Board also took the position that the issue of self-support should be taken gradually rather than thrust upon the Chinese. However, these criticisms were answered simply by stating that with the position of the mission on the issue of self-support this needed to be done now with a view to making the Church self-supporting later. It was acceptable for the schools to decline, but not for the Church. Again, this made education the testing ground for mission policies.

Even with the new stress on self-support, in the ensuing years the 'mercenary spirit' of the people became more worrying. This led the missionaries to further pursue self-support policies. In 1894 their fears were supported by a note from John Fitch when he wrote that a Chinese Christian stated: 'It is not necessary for us to give much. What we don't give the foreigners will.'[261] This was coupled by a greater demand for schools by the Chinese. Their concerns turned into action with the passing of three points in 1894 that dealt with the problems in education. The most important point for the issue of self-

[257] 'F. Chalfant to F. Ellinwood.' September 9, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.
[258] 'Personal Report of F. Chalfant for 1892.' January 14, 1893, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.
[259] 'F. Chalfant to F. Ellinwood.' June 14, 1894, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.
[260] 'Wei Hien Station Report, 1895-1896.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.
[261] 'J. Fitch to F. Ellinwood.' May 12, 1894, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

support was found in the section titled *Needs*. It stated that a distinction between 'a free gospel and free education' was needed.[262] Under this heading, the new policy for primary schools was to provide encouragement for parents to contribute what funds they could afford, and that the day schools in the system should be set up so that a self-supporting system could emerge. In the words of Frank Chalfant: 'But the important thing is not the saving to the mission of a few dollars, or even a few thousand dollars, but bringing about the true equilibrium of the natives' ability and mission aid.'[263]

**Table 6**

**Primary School Statistics, 1895-1920**[264]

| Dates | Number of Schools | Pupils | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Boys | Girls |
| 1895 | 75 | 1,011 Total | |
| 1896 | 58 | 620 | 235 |
| 1898 | 51 | 459 | 215 |
| 1902 | 42 | 350 | 80 |
| 1903 | incomplete | 395 | incomplete |
| 1904 | 51 | 417 | |
| 1906 | | 541 | |
| 1907 | -- | 480 | 360 |
| 1908 | -- | 760 | 213 boarding |
| 1910 | -- | 658 | 230 boarding |
| 1913 | 67 | 1,092 | 324 |
| 1914 | 88 | 1,129 | 471 |
| 1915 | 92 | 1,041 | 480 |
| 1916 | 92 | 1,128 | 555 |
| 1917 | 91 | 1,029 | 485 |
| 1918 | 85 | 1,049 | 550 |
| 1920 | 92 | 1,455 | 572 |
| 1921 | 92 | 1,437 | 585 |

In 1895 the ideas passed the previous year were put into practice. The day school pupils were required to provide a portion of the teacher's salary. In Robert Mateer's field this came to $2.50 Mex contributed by each school out of a total of $25 Mex per teacher. While a small percentage of the total, this was a beginning. In following years day schools were required to provide one-third of the teacher's salary. Initially, this was based on a low salary, but it was changed in 1898 so that all schools had to pay whatever salary the teacher deserved according to his/her qualifications. The requirement of funding was also increased. The Chinese were asked to furnish housing for the schools and any

[262] 'F. Chalfant to F. Ellinwood.' March 8, 1894, Weixian. *PHS*. MF10.F761a.r208
[263] 'F. Chalfant to F. Ellinwood.' June 14, 1894, Weixian. *PHS*. MF10.F761a.r208.
[264] Compilation of Statistics from the Weixian Station, Shandong Mission, and Foreign Board Reports. *PHS*.

incidentals. The missionaries were almost ruthless in their enforcement of the new policy. Those schools that could not pay without good reason were closed.[265] This was one reason for the decrease in the number of schools in 1898 as shown in Table 6. By the end of the 1890s, the missionaries reported that private schools were being set up by 'well-to-do' Christians who looked to the Wen Mei School to recruit their teachers.[266] These schools were eventually brought under the mission umbrella for examinations and rules, but they essentially existed outside mission control and oversight.

One noticeable deficiency in the policy was that it was one-sided. Self-support was applied to the boys' primary schools, but the girls' schools were not mentioned in the records until 1897. Even when the policy was adopted in the girls' schools, the funds were not required quite so stringently. The reasons for this lack of attention changes throughout the missionary movement. The most salient point was that there were more boys in schools and that their increased participation was of greater importance to the Church in the mind of the foreigners. Toward the end of the 1890s this situation began to change. In one school the station reported that the pupils were required to pay $1.50 Mex over the mission allowance of $1 Mex for their board in addition to their personal expenses. By 1899 a uniform system of charges was still not in force among the girls' country schools. However, the missionaries were pleased with the progress throughout the primary school system.[267]

The policy applied in the primary schools was later implemented in the Boys' Academy. In 1896, each pupil was required to pay for his books and any expenses on top of the boarding costs.[268] One year later the policy was developed further and the students were required to pay a large part of their boarding costs. The amount then came to about $15 Mex per year for each student. This brought the total raised through school fees to approximately $136 Mex.[269] According to those in the station, a family's financial circumstances determined the amount each student was required to pay. Unfortunately, the missionaries never discussed the class of the families from which the students came

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[265] 'Wei Hien Station Report, 1895-1896.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216 and 'Personal Report of R. Mateer.' 1896, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.

[266] 'Report of the Wei Hsien Station, China, for the Mission Year ending August 31, 1899.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

[267] 'Report of the Wei Hien Station to the West Shantung Mission in Session at Chining Chou For Year ending August 31, 1898.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217; 'Words of Cheer from Wei Hien.' 1899. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r214; *61st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1898. PHS.* p. 82; and *62nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1899. PHS.* p. 83.

[268] 'Personal Report of R. Mateer.' 1896, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.

[269] *61st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1898. PHS.* p. 82 and 'Report of the Wei Hien Station to the West Shantung Mission in Session at Chining Chou for the Year ending August 31, 1898.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

from. However, we can assume that these were rural families who had some disposable income and could live without the labor of a member of the family. Therefore, they saw the education of their children as an investment. Additionally, since the students from the academy were intended to go on to the College for training as pastors or other positions in the mission, the missionaries were more willing to invest in their education.

### Opening Secondary Education for Women[270]

While changes were being made in the primary school system, the station turned its attention to establishing a secondary school for girls. As noted in the first section, Sadie Mateer first opened the Boys' Academy, but she had been more interested in opening a school for girls in the new compound. Once the station was up and running, it was suggested that the missionaries on the field move the girls' school in Chefoo to Weixian.[271] However, there were obstacles to this. The conservative nature of the local community and the extensive steps needed to ensure the trust of the population were the main reasons. She, however, did not give up on the idea of establishing a school for girls and foresaw a large opportunity for success in this area.

> 'There is ample work here for a lady; we could have a large girls' school, and it is a grand locality for getting daughter[s] of Christian parents. The work among the women alone will be a grand one, surrounded, as we are, by hundreds of villages. There is scarcely any limit to the opportunity.'[272]

Instead of concentrating on the station's institutions, the missionaries turned their attention to establishing primary boarding schools.

As these schools began to rise in stature and a general change regarding female education was felt, support for a girls' central high school increased. However, a conflict soon developed between Jennie Laughlin and Robert Mateer. Jennie Laughlin, John Laughlin's second wife, argued that it was still too early for a school to be opened and noted that in three years conditions might be acceptable. She based her views on three points: 1. that the primary schools gave girls a sufficient education, 2. that not enough pupils were matriculating to the girls' school in Dengzhou to justify establishing a second

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[270] Like the Point Breeze Academy, the Wen Mei School also went through changes in its name. However, because its funding continued to come mainly from the Foreign Board it did not take on the name of a Church. In English it remained the Girls' High School. In Chinese it was first called the Wen Mei Shu Yuan and in 1913 its name changed slightly to the Wen Mei Nu Zhong Xue.

[271] This option was never taken up and the school was eventually relocated to Dengzhou.

[272] 'Letter from Mrs. R. Mateer.' *WWW.* vol. 1, no. 2, February 1886. p. 34.

school in Weixian, and 3. she feared that the girls would not want to return to their rural villages.[273]

In 1893, the issue of establishing the school resurfaced. By this time the number of schools and graduates in the primary system had increased. Throughout the Shandong mission the number of female pupils numbered 429 in both boarding and day schools.[274] Therefore, another high school was required for them to attend. In addition, those in the primary schools were excelling academically. The missionaries were pleased to find that the girls from the primary boarding school in 'Chou Kung Chwang' passed their exams at a higher level than the boys' schools in the same area.[275] This was evidence that the value of education for girls had increased in the eyes of the Chinese. They also needed to begin supplying teachers to ensure that this continued. This led to the need for establishing a centralized location where female teachers could be trained.

On September 18, 1895, the Wen Mei School was opened with twenty-four pupils, two Chinese teachers, and Emma Boughton as principal. It was set up on a four-year basis and the first full class of seventeen students graduated in 1899.[276] The buildings of the school were constructed between 1895 and 1896. When completed, they consisted of a large classroom, student dormitories, a dining room, a kitchen, and a bathing area.[277] Until this time, a major concern for the missionaries was ensuring that students would be willing, and able, to reintegrate themselves into Chinese society. In her study *China and the Christian Colleges*, Jessie Lutz reported that some, notably Calvin Mateer of the Shandong Mission, resisted introducing English as a subject because the students might become 'denationalized' and unable to express their ideas to the Chinese people.[278] For this reason they tried to make life in the school close to what it would be for them at home by requiring each student to clean their room. The policies adopted at Weixian were similar to other mission schools at the time. Some schools went as far as requiring female pupils to cook for the boys' school, but Weixian appears to have never adopted this idea.

In 1896 the Wen Mei School opened the fall term with thirty students. Unlike the Boys' Academy, the new high school generally had a permanent director to oversee its

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[273] At the time it seemed to be the purpose of the high school to provide wives for the educated men and those 'who are to fill high places' within the Church rather than preparing them for a position in life other than a wife. 'J. Laughlin to F. Ellinwood.' November 28, 1890, Koong Sen. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.
[274] *56th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1893. PHS.* p. 249.
[275] 'Report of J. Fitch to the Shantung Mission for the Year 1894.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.
[276] It should be noted that of the original twenty-four students attending the new school some dropped out and some already had some training at the Dengzhou school allowing them to leave early. 'Report of Emma Boughton for year ending Sept. 1899.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.
[277] The money for the building was donated in memory of Mrs. I. Faries of Minneapolis, the mother of Dr. William Faries.
[278] Lutz. *Op cit*, 1971. p. 69.

operations. This shows one of the main prejudices within the missionary community: it was acceptable for women to oversee girls' schools, but that boys' schools must remain under the control of a male missionary. The principal was intended to be a single woman, but Emma Boughton soon returned to the US on furlough. Jennie Chalfant agreed to take responsibility for management of the school after returning from the US.[279] This was only established as a temporary situation. None of the wives wanted to continue in a permanent capacity. This led them to request an individual willing to devote her time permanently to the school and bring it into the new century. Boughton had done an admirable job establishing it, but those who took over her post did not give the same attention to the school.

Despite their reluctance, the missionary women continued to head the new school. They were around much of the time and were not given large fields to evangelize. Under Jennie Chalfant's leadership the academic quality of the students rose. In 1898 it was reported that the quality of the school's work was as high as, if not higher than, the students in the academy.[280] The following year the first class graduated and most took up positions as teachers in the mission and locally as private tutors. This was intended, but the missionaries were surprised that so many took the opportunity. Although the first four years were essentially an experiment, its success allowed the missionaries to justify the institution as a permanent fixture in the station's work.[281]

Unlike many early boys' schools, the secondary education for girls offered here was not initially free. When it was opened, the pupils in the Wen Mei School each paid some amount towards their boarding costs. The amount fluctuated from a minimum of $1.50 Mex., depending on the circumstances of the family. Not all students could pay the minimum and, to allow only the best students to attend the school, the missionaries made space for a 'charity pupil' who was not expected to pay anything.[282] The policy of paying for boarding costs continued. In 1897 a total of $100 Mex. was collected from the pupils. These rules of paying the boarding costs were strictly adhered to and no pupil was allowed to begin the school year without the required payment.

The pupils also began to make personal pledges to increase the amount of support. In 1897, Jennie Chalfant reported that they pledged to increase the amount paid to the

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[279] 'Report of Emma Boughton for 1896.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.

[280] *62nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1899. PHS.* p. 83 and 'Report of the Wei Hien Station to the West Shantung Mission in Session at Chining Chou For Year ending August 31, 1898.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

[281] 'Report of Emma Boughton for year ending Sept. 1899.' Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

[282] 'Wei Hien Station Report, 1895-1896.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216; 'Report of Emma Boughton for 1895.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217; and 'The Wei-Hien Station to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.' October 17, 1895, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

school from 178,000 cash to 224,000 cash. This increase amounted to 'an average of 6,400 small cash ($3.80 Mex) per pupil.'[283] The following year the amount collected from the students rose to $130 Mex with an expected increase in the amount pledged by the students to $160 Mex. Although this did not cover the total cost of board for all the students, there were a significant number paid the full boarding cost rather than just their food expenses.[284] In 1899 the amount given by the students increased to 229,000 cash besides payments for their books, clothing, bedding, and traveling expenses.[285]

The question of why the families were so willing to pay for their daughters to attend this school is not easy to determine. At this time it was not yet fashionable for women to receive an education as it would be after 1900. If we assume that their parents were Christians, they may have seen a place for them in the Church as evangelists. Unfortunately, the records cannot answer this question. However, the fact that they went to the high school in opposition to Chinese society points to the large interest in women's education that occurred later. It also indicates that the Chinese were becoming increasingly involved in areas where the missionaries were not initially keen on expansion. The growing support of the local population for girls' schools clearly encouraged the missionaries to pursue this activity.

### Curriculum Development and Teacher Training

In its original form, missionary education essentially mirrored the purposes of the traditional Chinese system. It was set up to reinforce an ideology without fully preparing the student for the life he/she would have after graduation. As the system grew, more secular courses were offered. This led to a divide in the missionary ranks between those that wanted to train students for all aspects of life and those that wanted to retain the theological training as the main objective. A decisive influence on this matter was the Chinese themselves.

The course of study and purpose of the school system, particularly the Wen Mei School, was essentially set in 1882 when the General Plan of the Chefoo Girls' School was passed. The aim of education, as outlined in the Constitution, was that it 'shall not be exclusively to teach religion, but to give such an education both religious and secular, as

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[283] For one poor student a tuition fee of 3,000 cash was paid since she was only a day student walking 60 *li* (approximately 20 miles) each way. *61st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1898. PHS.* p. 82 and 'J. Chalfant to the West Shantung Mission.' September 20, 1897, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

[284] Although these increases each year were highly touted by the missionaries, the actual increase only amounted to about .40 Mex. per pupil. Nevertheless, this showed the increasing willingness of the students to contribute to their education. *62nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1899. PHS.* p. 83 and 'Report of the Wei Hien Station to the West Shantung Mission in Session at Chining Chou for Year ending August 31, 1898.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

[285] 'Report of Emma Boughton for year ending Sept. 1899.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

will elevate the pupils, and gratify them to teach others, and to be leaders in every good work.'[286] The document established a seven-year course in which secular, religious, and Chinese courses were offered. In the first three years the non-religious courses were aimed at the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The next four years offered more in-depth courses in classical Chinese scholarship, physiology, basic accounting, and geology. Although it offered many non-religious courses, they were not specifically linked to life outside the Church.

This general course guide was used as the basis of the Weixian system. The primary school system took the first two years of the curriculum. The teaching in these schools was essentially religious and did not concentrate on general education. This is exemplified by the emphasis on ensuring that the teachers were well versed in the Bible rather than having a good grounding in mathematics and other secular subjects. Their training entailed learning to read and speak with a good amount of knowledge of the teachings in the Bible.

By the end of the 1890s the curriculum of the Boys' Academy and its objectives began to change. The courses in geography, arithmetic, and religion were taught in greater depth. Apart from the background in religion that it offered, the academy was the main preparatory school to the Dengzhou College by 1891. To help students prepare for the entrance examinations, it introduced subjects being taught at the College. However, even with these changes, it remained out of touch with the needs of the local population. There were two reasons for this. First, the part-time director was unable to promote significant changes. Second, the academy continued to view itself as an evangelical school. This all changed when Ralph Wells arrived with new ideas on the purpose of education in mission schools after 1900.

Changes in the academy directly affected the primary schools and their ability to adhere to the station's stringent self-supporting policies. With an increasing number of applications to enter the high school, the missionaries upgraded the entrance requirements. This had a knock-on effect in broadening the curriculum of the primary schools. In 1891 Robert Mateer reported the introduction of arithmetic and geography at a boys' primary boarding school taught by a Dengzhou graduate. From this one school six students matriculated to the high school the following year.[287] It took some time, but these

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[286] 'General Plan and Constitution of Girls' Boarding School.' November 1882, Dengzhou. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r205.

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

changes gradually filtered throughout the system. As with all station policies, the introduction of a uniform curriculum was not accomplished overnight. It had taken three years just to adopt the policy. In 1898, Frank Chalfant reported that half of the boys' primary schools still had not incorporated arithmetic and geography.

Although very proud of the curriculum in the boys' primary schools and the general outlook of the boys' system, Robert Mateer was concerned over the perceived 'backwardness of female education' in the field. He stated that these schools did 'little more than teach to read' and did not 'wake up the minds and ambitions of the girls.'[288] By 1894, however, these views had changed. The station reported that the academic quality of the female pupils equaled, and at times surpassed, that of the boys in the yearly examinations.

One of the main problems in instituting the new subjects was the small number of Chinese qualified to teach them. Many of the schools were willing to adopt the new subjects, but the only teachers qualified to incorporate them were graduates of the Dengzhou College. Because of their advanced training, they demanded higher salaries and many schools found that they could not afford it. The following year Chalfant reported that of forty-six teachers only twenty-six were giving instruction in the new subjects. He did not take the drastic step of forcing the schools to incorporate them. Instead, he left the decision up to the patrons of each school.[289] However, there was still a need to train enough teachers in the new courses so they could be adopted in every school.

The first instance when the idea of teacher training was mentioned came in 1890 with an invitation for the primary school teachers to join a class of outstation leaders and evangelists for six weeks during the summer.[290] This early instruction was essentially religious rather than an attempt to make the curriculum more uniform or to increase the effectiveness of the teachers. By 1891 many of the teachers for the boys' boarding schools came from the Dengzhou College, and those with a lower qualification taught in the day schools. This created a large discrepancy in the level of teaching and affected the uniformity of the system. The missionaries also reported that they were not able to obtain enough female teachers to staff the girls' primary schools. There were forty-four male teachers by this date, and the number of female teachers was just seven. In many

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[288] 'Report of R. Mateer for Jan. 1891 - Jan. 1892.' January 17, 1892, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216 and 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' November 28, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

[289] 'F. Chalfant's Personal Report for the Mission Year ending Sep. 1 1898.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217 and 'Personal Report, Frank Chalfant, Wei Hsien Mission, China for the Mission year ending Aug. 31 1899.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

[290] 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' September 1, 1890, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.

instances, a male teacher was employed until a suitable female teacher could be found. This problem continued throughout the 1890s when the number of female teachers decreased by two and the men increased by twenty.

**Table 7**

**Chinese Workers Attached to the Weixian Station, 1885-1920**[291]

| Dates | Preachers | | Teachers | | | Bible Women |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ordained | Unordained | Men | Women | Not Christian | & others |
| 1885-1886 | -- | -- | 3 | -- | -- | -- |
| 1887-1888 | 0 | 5 | 17 | 2 | -- | 3 |
| 1888-1889 | 0 | 5 | 20 | 3 | -- | 1 |
| 1889-1890 | 4 | 0 | 31 | 12 | -- | 3 |
| 1890-1891 | 4 | 1 | 44 | 7 | -- | 3 |
| 1893-1894 | 4 | 2 | 60 | 9 | -- | 20 |
| 1897-1898 | 2 | 24 | 52 | 10 | -- | 14 |
| 1906-1907 | 6 | 26 | 50 | 12 | -- | 35 |
| 1907-1908 | 8 | 57 | 64 | 19 | -- | 38 |
| 1909-1910 | 9 | 36 | 60 | 12 | -- | 32 |
| 1912-1913 | 13 | 38 | 60 | 21 | -- | 23 |
| 1913-1914 | 11 | 38 | 65 | 37 | -- | 24 |
| 1914-1915 | 14 | 38 | 73 | 39 | -- | 25 |
| 1915-1916 | 13 | 38 | 69 | 51 | -- | 23 |
| 1916-1917 | 14 | 40 | 71 | 49 | -- | 41 |
| 1917-1918 | 16 | 34 | 69 | 52 | -- | 46 |
| 1919-1920 | 20 | 29 | 90 | 34 | 1 | 28 |
| 1920-1921 | 20 | 29 | 90 | 34 | 1 | 28 |

To raise the teaching standards, the class for teachers was separated from the class for the evangelists in an attempt to get more specific training in methodology. However, no changes to the training program were implemented at this time. Students continued to be taught biblical history rather than more secular courses, such as arithmetic and geography. The work of gathering a class of teachers to improve the level of the schools continued throughout the first half of the 1890s, but by 1896 the primary school system was in crisis. Although teachers were graduating from the Dengzhou College and Boys' Academy, there were not enough to fill all the positions. An attempt to retain good teachers and further improve the standards of the schools was made by instituting new ideas in addition to the annual classes at the station. An example was the introduction of an essay contest the first topic of which was 'The Best Method of School Teaching.'[292] This new idea brought the Chinese into a position of direct influence for the first time. However, these efforts did not fill the void that was slowly increasing, and in 1896 the

[291] The category of unordained preachers includes licentiates and others. Compilation of Statistics from the Weixian Station, Shandong Mission, and Foreign Board Reports. *PHS.*

[292] *60th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1897. PHS.* p. 76 and 'General Report of the Wei Hien Station, Shantung Mission, China for the year ending October 31, '94.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.

station was forced to reduce the number of boys' day schools from sixty-five to forty-nine. In response to the shortage of teachers, many schools looked to the local communities to ensure their survival. One instance was noted in northern Shouguang where an elderly man was employed as a teacher when no graduate from the mission schools was available.[293] However, not all areas were able to follow this example and some schools had to close, as shown in Table 6.

While the country schools were experiencing problems upgrading their curriculum, the Wen Mei School was opened. In general, the courses offered followed those given in the Point Breeze Academy at the time. However, one additional course was introduced to the curriculum, physiology. Drs. Mary Brown and Madge Mateer, the two female physicians in the station, were responsible for conducting the course.[294] The basis behind its introduction was the poor state of health of the pupils. The missionaries also wanted to begin to change some of the home habits of Chinese women. This was the first course in the school system that was somewhat relevant to the future lives of the students. They were still expected to return home. The courses were not intended to create the professional women that emerged after 1900.

[293] 'F. Chalfant to the Shandong Mission.' October 16, 1895, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.
[294] 'Personal Report of R. Mateer, 1897-1898.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

## The Beginning of Weixian's Medical Institutions

The following sections will concentrate on the history of the Mateer Memorial Hospital that was the main hospital until after 1900 when it was rebuilt. This initial period took on many of the characteristics of the first phase of the medical missionary movement when the evangelical missionaries took a large role in its formation and expansion. The period of work from 1883 until 1900 was important because it saw the emergence of the enterprise and the establishment of its foundations. Through the experiences of the doctors many changes were made to the treatment of disease, specifically the incorporation of new medical techniques for antiseptic use. As their work expanded, they found the appropriations insufficient and instituted a fee policy that provided for the medicines used in the dispensary and for other treatments. From this, the doctors expanded their work and traveled throughout the itinerating field dispensing medicines. An important consequence of the attempts to expand was the incorporation of the Chinese as assistants. This initial period showed that the inability to incorporate this group prevented the medical enterprise from growing at the same rate as education.

## The First Doctors

### Horace Smith and J. M. Mathewson

The first doctor in Weixian was Horace R. Smith, MD, who arrived shortly after Robert Mateer and John Laughlin in 1883. The plan was for Smith to begin medical work within the city's walls immediately upon arrival. This was an attempt to overcome the hostility of the urban population to the presence and work of the missionaries. The British Baptists had previously used this strategy successfully to establish themselves in Qingzhou.[295]

In early April, following his language training, Smith arrived in Weixian and began seeing patients. His work covered many forms of medical treatments, from suicide attempts to surgical operations. The patients, according to Smith, came from the immediate area and as far as fifty miles away.[296] One of the main problems that Smith encountered was the lack of facilities to perform his work. In the winter of 1882-1883[297] he attempted, through a Chinese 'agent,' to rent property for a dispensary. He was eventually successful in renting part of an inn within the city walls, but pressure from the

[295] 'Letter from J. Laughlin.' *FM.* vol. 42, no. 4, September 1883. p. 165.
[296] One of the issues when studying missionaries is how they communicated their ideas to the Chinese. This is especially important when studying the medical missionaries. Their work was so foreign to the Chinese that a miscommunication could have caused a reaction against it. Unfortunately, the sources do not give an idea of the terminology being used by Dr. Smith, and any thoughts would be purely speculative.
[297] We assume that he attempted to make the arrangements prior to his arrival. Since he did not permanently arrive until April, he could not have begun any full-time work at this time.

local population forced the landlord to break the agreement. Smith eventually gave up the idea of opening a dispensary in the city. Li Fu-yuan[298] permitted him to temporarily use a section of his house, but this arrangement proved unsatisfactory for any long-term work.[299] The opposition and problem of city facilities forced him to change the focus of his work from the urban to rural areas. Throughout the remainder of the doctor's time in Weixian the main area of his work was among the local rural population. He made little attempt to reenter the city. In June 1883 Smith left Weixian for the summer and there is no further record of a doctor before 1884.

Although his time at Weixian was short, Smith's experience showed some of the potential advantages of the enterprise and revealed the direction this kind of work would take. Despite the opposition to his presence, he claimed to gain the confidence of the population. However, the failure to establish his work showed that the missionaries could not look to the city as the focal point of the enterprise at this time. The missionaries did not give up on the city, but the rural population remained the backbone of the work in Weixian.

J. M. Mathewson, Weixian's second doctor, was appointed in the fall of 1883 as Smith's replacement. In describing the doctor Frank Ellinwood only states that he was from California and that 'he will be able to meet in some degree the disappointment of the people.'[300] Mathewson arrived in Chefoo on January 1, 1884. To avoid the problems that Dr. Smith experienced, he concentrated his work on the population outside the city. He described the people he met as 'anxious to submit themselves to the care of the foreign physician.'[301] He was surprised by this reaction, but it can be attributed to the pioneer work of Smith. Nowhere in his correspondence do we find the hostility described by Smith. This reinforced the idea that the rural population was more receptive to the new practices of the foreign physicians. As mentioned earlier, this can be attributed to the fact that urban areas had more competent Chinese medical practitioners while the countryside was left with poorly trained individuals.

By 1885, reinforcements began to arrive at the station. One of the earliest was Jennie Anderson, later Jennie Laughlin, who immediately noted the wide scope of the Mathewson's work. However, she felt that it was being hindered on two major points. The first was the lack of facilities for a doctor's work, and the second was that there was

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[298] As noted earlier, Li Fu-yuan was a local Christian who helped the missionaries secure land close to his home for the compound.

[299] Exactly when he was allowed to open this dispensary is unknown. His letter given here is dated in June and published at a later date. 'Letter from H. Smith.' *FM.* vol. 42, no. 5, October 1883. p. 210-211.

[300] 'F. Ellinwood to R. Mateer.' October 31, 1883, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r233

[301] 'J. Mathewson to F. Ellinwood.' March 23, 1884, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r205.

only one physician when there was enough work for two. She indicated that by sending a second doctor at this point more openings could be made for a minister at a later date: 'Therefore my plea is. [F]irst make good our medical work and then discuss a preacher.'[302] However, Robert Mateer felt that there was a more urgent need for a minister and disregarded the idea of another doctor. The decision was taken in view of the fact that medicine was thought to be secondary to education or other Church-building activities.

Although there was a realization that doctors were necessary, there was no consideration of appointing a female doctor. The death of Sadie Mateer in April 1886 greatly affected this policy. While Robert Mateer was away from the station, Mrs. Mateer was ready to give birth to their second child. However, she never recovered consciousness after the birth and on April 8 died from what Dr. Mathewson concluded to be a ruptured brain vessel that occurred during the birth. According to Laughlin, the most horrifying aspect of the death was that the men of the station had to give her attention that 'only a woman ought to give a woman.'[303]

Before this event, Jennie Anderson had written to obtain a female doctor for the station. Afterwards, she was the only female missionary left, and her requests were more adamant. She used Mrs. Mateer's death to support her view. Although she was likely thinking of her own safety, her arguments were centered on the idea that the new doctor would bring in crowds of women and open more areas for evangelistic work.[304] The fact that Anderson's requests were not addressed shows the domination of the evangelists and their skepticism about the evangelical efficacy of the medical enterprise. Many missionaries shared this view, but a death in their community made the need for a female doctor clear.

In July 1886 Robert Mateer also began to put his energies towards getting more medical personnel sent to the station. In support of Anderson's request Mateer wrote that a female doctor would be welcomed, but that a male doctor would initially be preferred. He was also apprehensive of the Board's ability to choose the female doctor, and he indicated that due to conditions in the interior only missionaries from that field could truly judge the quality of an appointee. In August he took on the search for medical and other personnel as a personal quest. In a letter to Frank Ellinwood he stated that the Foreign Board previously made mistakes in its decisions and began to put forward a greater effort to control the appointments. From his experiences with Drs. Smith and

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[302] 'J. Anderson to F. Ellinwood.' March 16, 1886, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r206.
[303] *Ibid.*
[304] 'J. Anderson to F. Ellinwood.' August 9, 1886, Chefoo. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r206.

Mathewson, Mateer formed his own ideas of what would make a good missionary doctor. It may seem rather unimportant to discuss who was conducting the search for the doctor. However, it is evident that Mateer and other evangelists felt they knew what was best for the medical enterprise. This attitude already reveals a future source of tension between the evangelists and doctors.

The station did not have to wait long before they were left without a resident physician. On September 1, 1886, Dr. Mathewson was forced to give up his work in China and sailed back to the United States.[305] Although he was unable to overcome the problem of medical facilities, his work among the people in the countryside became a hallmark of the Weixian enterprise in the 1890s and beyond.

**The Mateer Memorial Hospital and Dispensary**

As mentioned above, one of the reasons for the failure of the previous two doctors was the lack of facilities provided for their work. With the establishment of the Mateer Memorial Hospital in 1889, the level of treatment at the station became much higher. The increasing quality of care also had an unforeseen impact. With new treatments came higher prices for drugs. The missionary funds could not support all of this alone and soon the Chinese became a source of financial support. Mission funds were used for expansion and improvements while the fees were utilized for the cost of drugs.

The history of the first hospital began in 1884. In the late-summer or early-fall John Laughlin attempted to use the $2,935 Mex earmarked for his own house to build a permanent structure for the doctor. The Foreign Board rejected his plan on the grounds that spiritual work was more pressing at the time.[306] Without the funding to put up permanent accommodations, the enterprise was continued in 'a few promiscuous rooms' around the station.[307]

Plans to change the situation were soon supported by the field missionaries. In August 1886 land for a hospital and dispensary was laid aside without consulting the Foreign Board or Shandong Mission. However, they still needed financial support for the main building and a resident doctor to oversee the construction of the hospital.[308] Acting on this, the mission transferred Dr. Stephen Hunter to Weixian in 1887.[309] With a new doctor more permanent plans for building the hospital proceeded. The only missing piece, and the most important, was the funding that the Foreign Board would not previously

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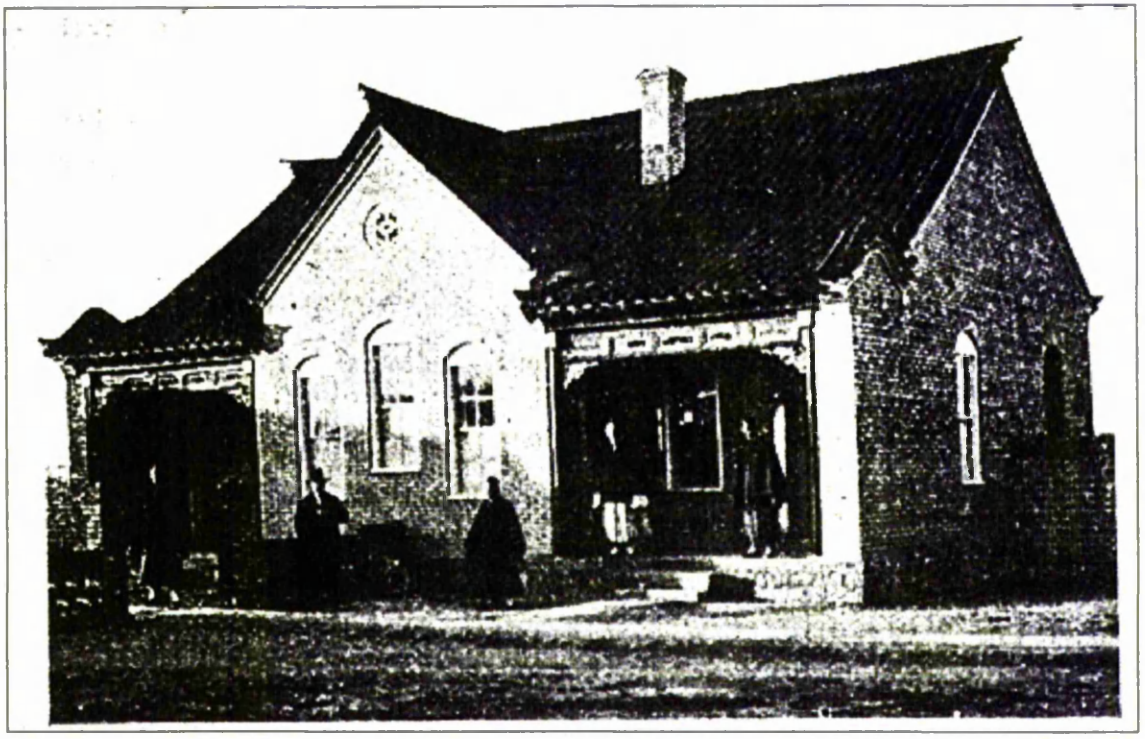
[305] 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' August 10, 1886, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r206.
[306] 'F. Ellinwood to J. Laughlin.' October 10, 1884, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r233.
[307] 'Letter from a Lady Missionary in Weixian.' *FM.* vol. 44, no. 11, April 1886. p. 526.
[308] Although Mathewson was still a member of the Weixian station, at this time he was in Chefoo waiting for a boat to take him back to the US.
[309] *50th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1887. PHS.* p. 143.

release. The missionaries again wrote to the Women's Boards to obtain the funds, as they had for the 'Anna Laughlin Memorial Church.'[310] When looking for a funding organization, the Westminster Church in Minneapolis, Sadie Mateer's home church, began fundraising for the project. What started as an attempt to raise $1,000 snowballed to a total of $3,000.[311] This was enough to finally get started on the project.

**Figure 4**

**Mateer Memorial Hospital, 1899**[312]



The construction of the hospital and dispensary took almost one year. The dispensary was finished by August 1889 and the hospital very soon afterwards.[313] Both were built according to Chinese architectural designs in an attempt to make the patients feel more at ease. This policy was also followed with other buildings on the property.

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[310] When Anna Laughlin died a fund was established and a memorial church was built on the station's grounds. *CHA.* vol. 2, September 1887. p. 278.

[311] This was in addition to the usual sum given by the Northwest Women's Board to the cause of foreign missions and put to rest any fears of a decrease in support from the Church for special causes. Some of the largest donors were the presbyterial society of St. Paul, MN, who gave $500, the Oxford Seminary, which gave $200 for 'the corner-stone of the hospital,' and Mrs. M. M. Harris, who left a legacy of $1,000. By September 1887, the Woman's Board of Missions of the Northwest raised the money and construction began in the summer of 1888. *CHA.* vol. 2, September 1887. p. 278 and 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' February 14, 1888, Dengzhou. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.

[312] *AH.* vol. 3, no. 2, August 1900. p. 714.

[313] 'W. Chalfant to F. Ellinwood.' August 2, 1889, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207; 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' August 26, 1889, Mechanicsburg. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207; 'F. Chalfant to F. Ellinwood.' November 11, 1889, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207; and 'F. Ellinwood to S. Hunter.' September 6, 1889, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r233.

While work on the facility progressed, Robert Mateer continued his search for medical personnel. His request became more urgent in 1886. He was careful to note that the decision should not be made hastily pointing out the mistakes that, in his opinion, had been made in previous appointments. However, doctors were much harder to replace than other mission staff. Therefore, it was important to obtain a solid candidate. Since he was still in China, he contacted various Christian groups, such as the YMCA, to help locate a physician. At the meeting of the Shandong Mission in November 1886 the request for a male and a female physician was approved.[314] As 1887 began, more desperate sounding letters came from Mateer. As the time for his furlough approached, he reminded Frank Ellinwood of the need for medical personnel at the station.

In April 1888 Mateer was released from his duties in Weixian and returned to the United States. His first visit was to New York to present his views on the condition of the China Mission to the Foreign Board. In his statements to them he was bewildered by the fact that the Board made appointments to other stations while ignoring the requests from Weixian which had already been approved by the Shandong Mission.[315] After his trip to New York, Mateer turned his attention to Weixian's enterprises. Over the summer, he traveled to Philadelphia and Chicago in search of possible candidates, and for individuals to fund their work. His work at this time was unsuccessful and he spent the rest of the year in Wooster, Ohio.

With the new year Mateer appeared reinvigorated by both his failures of the previous summer and his impending return to Shandong. However, he was having difficulty convincing some churches of the necessity of donating money to his project. On January 3, 1889, he wrote to Frank Ellinwood requesting help in his search by sending a 'statement of the importance and need of our physician endorsed by the Board' to make his efforts in the US more official.[316] With new energy he set out on his search and was quickly rewarded for his efforts. By January 20, he thought he had found two suitable men. The more impressive of the two candidates was Dr. William R. Faries of Minneapolis. He described him as being 'thoroughly consecrated and brilliant in his profession.'[317] More than his medical skills, Mateer was impressed by his contacts and wealthy friends that could be vital to obtain future financial support. Whatever his true reasons for taking a liking to Dr. Faries, Mateer continued to push for him to be appointed

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[314] 'J. Laughlin to F. Ellinwood.' November 15, 1886, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r206.
[315] 'Statement Respecting Shantung Mission by Rev. Robt. Mateer.' May 31, 1888, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.
[316] 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' January 3, 1889, Onarga Iroquois. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.
[317] These seemed to be two of the most important characteristics for a missionary doctor. 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' January 20, 1889, Minneapolis. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.

to Weixian. It took almost two months, but on March 4, 1889, Dr. William Faries was approved by the Foreign Board for appointment to Shandong. According to Frank Ellinwood he was not only a good candidate, but he also represented the people from the Minneapolis area, where most of the money for the new hospital came from.[318]

One doctor would not fulfill the medical needs in Weixian. Jennie Laughlin previously reported that there was enough work for two doctors. Mateer also devoted energy to raising funds for a second doctor. In September 1889 his work began to show signs of success. Frank Ellinwood reported to him that Mrs. E. S. Williams of Minneapolis had contacted him about a group that pledged $750 a year for the support of two lady physicians at Weixian.[319] Upon receipt of these funds Drs. Mary Brown and Madge Dickson were appointed to the Shandong Mission and later to Weixian.

By 1890 the first stage of the medical work at Weixian ended and a new one began. Coinciding with the general missionary movement at the time, this early period exemplified the domination of the evangelists over the enterprise. It also showed the beginning of strained relations between missionaries on the field and the Foreign Board in New York. The achievements of this period were possible because the evangelical community decided to support the appointment of doctors, mostly influenced by the death of Mrs. Mateer. But this support did not continue in years to come. In the following decade the physicians expanded their field to include dispensary, hospital, and country work. The expansion of work brought the doctors and evangelists into greater conflict.

### A New Generation of Doctors

One of the successes Robert Mateer had that greatly affected the medical enterprise was the hiring of three doctors, two female and one male. By late-1890 Drs. Faries, Dickson, and Brown had all arrived on the field and began their language study. Early on they saw some cases that were too difficult for the limited knowledge of the Chinese assistants.[320] Many of the first cases they attended were problems that earlier missionaries had encountered, such as blindness and smallpox among children.[321] However, in their limited contact with the people they found that the patients submitted to surgery very easily.[322] At the outset this may seem an unimportant fact, but it impressed the missionary doctors who were generally prepared for a tough battle with local medical

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[318] 'F. Ellinwood to the Shandong Mission.' April 20, 1889, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r233.
[319] 'F. Ellinwood to R. Mateer.' September 17, 1889, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r233
[320] It was reported here that Chinese assistants were taking a majority of the primary treatments. However, there is not a lengthy record of them or their work before this time.
[321] 'Report 1890.' Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207 and 'W. Faries to F. Ellinwood.' February 25, 1890, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r207.
[322] *54th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1891. PHS.* p. 58.

practitioners. With this new confidence many embarked on new schemes and improvements in scientific medicine.

The first to open for business full-time were the female doctors who began seeing patients in 1891. During this initial period, the doctors recorded 7,000 patients treated at the dispensary.[323] Coinciding with this, they also performed many important operations without the need to call in Dr. Faries for consultation.[324] The work continued at a ferocious pace. However, Madge Mateer, previously Madge Dickson, slowly withdrew from the everyday work after her marriage in 1891.[325] After this, the majority of the responsibility fell on the shoulders of Dr. Mary Brown and her assistants.[326] In August 1892 Dr. Brown wrote that between May and the end of July she saw between forty and fifty women a day at the dispensary. She also reported that the women's section of the hospital was full with three or four patients in each room. She eventually found it necessary to turn away patients because of it.[327] This is the first time overcrowding was reported to be a major problem for the work of the doctors. However, it remained a focal point until a hospital that could absorb some expansion was built. The conditions in the hospital continued to worsen over the following year

The Men's Department under Dr. Faries opened much later. The main cause of this was his temporary departure to cover the hospital in Dengzhou. Upon returning, he resumed his duties at Weixian and, in 1892, he reported that 7,000 patients were treated at the dispensary, an increase of 2-3,000 over the previous year.[328] The increase in dispensary work shows that the people were readily accepting his work there.

One of the important contributions that the missionaries made was the new surgical knowledge they brought to China. The people could now receive treatments that were not previously available. However, problems soon emerged in Weixian. This all came down to not keeping up with medical advances by incorporating antiseptic practices. At this time it was still rudimentary but greatly helped in the success rate of

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[323] *55th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1892. PHS.* p. 78.

[324] In his letter of November 28, 1891, Robert Mateer goes out of his way to make this clear. It seems that the Foreign Board did not accept the use of female doctors on the missionary field at the time.

[325] Almost immediately upon Madge Dickson's arrival in Weixian, she and Robert Mateer were married and she began to work more in the educational institutions than the hospital.

[326] The station report for that year stated: 'At Wei Hien the local work is largely centred in the hospital and dispensary services conducted by Dr. William R. Faries and Miss Mary Brown. Mrs. Robert M. Mateer has also exercised to some degree her gifts as a medical missionary.' While this does not directly state that Dr. Mateer gave up her work, we can assume that she has withdrawn from it somewhat. *56th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1893. PHS.* p. 65.

[327] 'Letter from Dr. Mary Brown.' *WWW.* vol. 8, no. 2, February 1893. p. 48.

[328] 'W. Faries to the Board of Foreign Missions.' December 31, 1892, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216 and 'W. Faries to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A.' January 21, 1893, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

missionary hospitals. At the beginning of the year Dr. Faries reported that 'several major surgical operations were performed.'[329] Many of the patients later returned to the hospital with 'gangrenous ulcers and poisoned wounds' that resulted in the suspension of further procedures.[330] No explanation is given in the records at the time, but it seems that the doctor had not kept with the scientific principles coming into common practice in the US. It had been almost thirty years since Joseph Lister's procedures for antiseptic surgery were introduced. This included hand washing, disinfecting surgical equipment, and other measures designed to decrease the risk of infection.[331] However, these techniques were not yet common in the operating rooms of many mission hospitals. It was his neglect to adhere to this new foundation in medicine that led to the patients returning with post-operative problems and to the temporary closure of the hospital. Of course, he only mentioned the patients who were able to return for treatment. We, therefore, cannot be sure of the extent of the problem.

From this experience we see two things. The first is the inexperience that the missionary doctors had in actual practice. There is no explanation for why societies sent these individuals to places where experience was required. It is likely that they considered younger individuals to be more resistant to disease and would be able to handle rough conditions better than others. For many, there was the thrill of going to another country and the opportunity to establish one's own work whereas in the US they would have worked under older doctors. This is especially true in the case of female doctors that did not have standing in US medical circles. An important outcome of this search was that the mission appeared less interested in the doctors' ability than their missionary qualities. The impact of this stance was that inexperienced individuals were employed and were not as effective in the beginning.

When Faries reopened the hospital, he introduced the use of 'permanganate of potassium and oxalic acid' to disinfect the surgeon's hands and the operating area.[332] Since no death rate in the hospital was ever recorded, we cannot be sure how successful these new measures were. However, with steady increases in patient numbers we can assume that the problem was partially solved. With the success rate of the surgical procedures increasing due to the use of antiseptics and anesthesia, the number of patients also began to climb. In 1894 Dr. Faries treated 13,756 patients and performed 218

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[329] 'W. Faries to the Board of Foreign Missions.' December 31, 1892, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.
[330] *Ibid.*
[331] Koslow, A. 'Tools of the Trade: Late-Nineteenth-Century Medical Instruments.' in R. J. Abram, ed. *"Send Us a Lady Physician."* New York: W. W. Norton & Company. 1985. p. 42.
[332] *Annual Report of the Mateer Memorial Hospital for 1893.* p. 3.

operations, a large increase over the previous year considering the five-month trip he took to the US.[333]

The inexperience of the doctors was not the only cause for problems in the surgical area. The necessity of a larger area for inpatients to receive post-operative treatment was also a pressing issue. They first considered building a separate dispensary for women in 1893, but that idea was put aside because they could never be certain that both a male and female doctor would be in the compound simultaneously.[334] Nevertheless, something needed to be done. Although Dr. Faries treated a large number of patients, he reported that he could have treated many more. He realized that the problem was the inadequate facilities that forced him to reject patients, even when some were sleeping on the floors. Another problem he later noted was that he could not do much work in the hospital during the cold months because he had no way to keep the wards warm enough.[335]

In an attempt to streamline the system, the women's dispensary was enlarged by adding a large waiting room with separate entrances for the male and female patients. This allowed one physician to oversee the treatment of all the patients, but at the same time keep them separated according to Chinese custom. Two other additions were the women's guestroom and a room for the medical assistant.[336] By 1896 the number of patients treated in the larger facility totaled 3,147.[337] As with the men's work, the number of patients did not reflect the number of people present since each had one or two family members or friends to care for them while recuperating in the hospital.

As shown in Table 8 the number of patients in the Women's Department was only a fraction of the Men's Department. However, it also experienced significant success in treating patients. In 1893 the most common forms of diseases treated were those of the digestive system and the eyes and ears. Other important treatments included Anemia, Rheumatism, and Breast Cancer that were not recorded in the Men's Department. The female doctors also began new types of treatments. These were cases of 'Diseases of the Genito-Urinary Tract' that recorded 246 treatments during the year. This category included treatment of Ovarian Tumors, Oystitis, and Obstetrics. These new areas were

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[333] *58th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1895. PHS.* p. 69.
[334] When one or another doctor was out in the field or on furlough they would cover for each other. However, if the buildings were too far apart it would be impossible to continue.
[335] 'W. Faries to F. Ellinwood.' February 1, 1895, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.
[336] 'Letter from Dr. Mary Brown.' *WWW.* vol. 8, no. 7, July 1893. p. 193 and 'W. Faries to F. Ellinwood.' March 24, 1894, Pacific Grove. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.
[337] 3,147 was the largest number of patients treated at the women's department due to the absence of Dr. Faries in 1897 and the sickness of Dr. Brown in 1898. 'Report of Mary Brown.' October 19, 1896, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.

important because they show a greater move towards improving the general health of women in the area. They also indicate the immediate impact made by the new female doctors. Additionally, the number of patients had decreased dramatically from the 7,000 reported in 1891. However, this did not prevent women from obtaining medical help. Dr. Faries reported that many men arrived at the dispensary to obtain quinine for women in their families.[338] Thus, although a doctor did not examine them, women could continue to receive emergency medical aid. The itinerant medical work described later went further in extending medical care to women.

Earlier it was noted that Dr. Faries took important steps to ensure the success of the surgical work. It appears that his efforts were relatively successful. This showed the need to keep up with modern medical practices on the field. Although one cannot be certain of the number of deaths from a lack of post-operative care at the time, the missionaries were very worried that fatalities in the hospital itself would damage the overall work of the station. Out of 1,144 surgical procedures performed at the hospital there were only five recorded deaths. Although these were only a minute percentage of the total number of operations performed, the missionaries were worried about the consequences that might come out of this bad publicity. For this reason, complicated surgeries were not performed often enough to affect the work at the hospital. Of the individual surgeries performed during 1893 abscesses on the skin was the most common with 468 patients treated, and abscesses inside the body were operated on fifty-eight times. Other surgical treatments mentioned include tumors of various types, hernias, gangrene, fractures, and human and donkey bites. We also begin to see the use of anesthetic in the operating room. Out of the 287 internal operations performed fifty-nine required either chloroform or ether. Aside from the fatalities described above, surgery was 'heralded the widest and [made] the most friends.'[339]

### Chinese Support of the Medical Enterprise

Once the missionaries had achieved this relative success, they were afraid of doing anything that could harm their work. Specifically, the appropriations for the enterprise did not increase with the amount of work. They were afraid of the negative impact this would have on the treatments they were able to provide. The records give no explanation for the failure to increase the appropriations. One possible reason was that the funds entering the Board's accounts were not enough to support the expansion of foreign missions. An additional problem was that the enterprise could not claim converts directly

[338] 'W. Faries to F. Ellinwood.' March 24, 1894, Pacific Grove. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.
[339] *Ibid.* p. 3.

from its work. Nevertheless, soon the appropriations and desire to improve the level of medical care were not compatible. The doctors needed to find another source of funds. For this, they did not turn to the home churches as many would assume. Rather, they looked to the patients for financial support, as they had done in education. This brought an interest in the enterprise and a demand for better treatment.

The idea of Chinese supporting the medical enterprise was not as controversial as the institution of such a policy in education. However, medicine was also more expensive. As noted in Chapter 2, there were discussions about the adoption of self-support before it was introduced in Weixian. Specifically, the ideas of Dr. Randle and other missionary groups convinced the three Weixian doctors of the need for this policy.

Since the establishment of the Mateer Memorial Hospital in 1890, the doctors followed the ideas of Dr. Randle and pushed for self-support as closely as possible. This was the case in the dispensary where medicine was sold at cost price. This policy did not appear to be followed by either of the first two doctors. However, by the late-1880s they found that the people being treated in the dispensary were ready and willing to give money for the medication they received. They also found that the people were already paying Chinese physicians for medical services. Therefore, the principles behind self-support were already accepted by the Chinese rather than scaring them off. With these two conditions in favor of a fee policy, Dr. Stephen Hunter formally instituted it in 1889. However, the upkeep of the hospital to ensure hygienic conditions took more money than the Chinese could provide. Therefore, this service continued to be provided for by the missionaries.

Many in the mission groups opposed the idea of self-sufficiency in the medical enterprise on the grounds that this gave it a commercial nature, and that its charitable function became secondary. The Weixian doctors were aware of this problem, and they continued opening their hospitals to the entire population regardless of whether the patient could afford the treatment. Those who thought it was unnecessary to give away medicine to people that were able and willing to pay for it outnumbered those opposed to the idea. The policy of the Weixian station continued throughout the 1890's and into the 1900's.

> 'From the well-to-do and people able to pay, we ask the cost price of medicines; but from the poorer people we take less, and if a patient comes to the hospital and says that she is not able to pay for the medicine, we give it to her free.'[340]

[340] Brown, M. 'Medical Fees on Mission Ground.' *WWW.* vol. 12, no. 10, October 1897. p. 270.

## Chinese Assistants and Doctors

While the financial support of the medical enterprise was an important part of its future expansion, the incorporation of Chinese as medical assistants was just as important to guarantee a higher level of care in the hospital. A significant aspect of this was the beginning of medical training for them. The intention was to give them a greater role in treating relatively minor cases that allowed the doctors to work on the more serious cases. Eventually, their contributions were key to the success of the enterprise.

We know that Dr. Faries hired assistants to take some of the patient-load since the time of his arrival. In 1893 it was reported that two male assistants were working in Weixian.[341] The Women's Department made similar use of medical assistants, particularly as the itinerant medical work increased. In her report of the Women's Department for 1893, Dr. Brown reported the use of female medical students to take some of the work for the first time. The idea of a student here fit well into the established medical enterprise that used apprentice-style training. Dr. Brown felt that the most prominent area that the assistants could make an impact, as they had in the US, was in the field of obstetrics and childbirth.[342] It was to this end that the training and work of the assistants was aimed.

The duties of female assistants went beyond just that of a bedside nurse. They also worked in the dispensary and prepared medicine for distribution. For example, the elder student in the Women's Department was entrusted with the care of the dispensary and made some housecalls without the doctor.[343] It may seem unimportant, but the great responsibility that was entrusted through this action showed both an increasing confidence in their ability and greater reliance on the assistants. In 1894 Dr. Brown added another medical student to the two she already employed and Dr. Faries added two to his team.[344] The more experienced took care of almost all the dispensary work when the doctors were off the grounds. For all their work the students were not paid well, but they were given enough money to support themselves. The course of study consisted of four classes: Anatomy, Physiology, 'Materia Medica,' and the Practice of Medicine.[345]

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[341] 'Wei Hien Appropriations, 1893-1894.' April 1893, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r234.

[342] 'Childbirth was mainly supervised by the family or by "old style midwives" who paid scant attention to antisepsis.' Although Jewell is speaking about the 1920's, we can assume that much of the same practices were going on at the beginning of the century. Jewell, J. 'The Development of Chinese Health Care, 1911-1949.' in S. Hillier and J. Jewell, eds. *Health Care and Traditional Medicine in China 1800-1982.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1983. p. 31

[343] Note that most of the information we have on the assistants came from the female doctors. However, it is likely that the same system of training and assignments held true for Dr. Faries as well. *Annual Report of the Mateer Memorial Hospital for 1893.* p. 14.

[344] 'Appropriations for the West Shantung Mission, 1895-1896, Wei Hien.' April 1895, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r236.

[345] 'Report of M. Brown for '93-'94.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.

The use of medical students as assistants at the Women's Hospital was especially important during the furlough of Dr. Brown in 1897. During this time they 'performed...some very difficult operations' as well as attended to dispensary patients.[346] By 1900, two of the female students were engaged in country work while the remaining student worked at the hospital full-time.[347]

We should note that the assistants' work at this time was not confined to a single department in the hospital. In this decade the idea of specialist assistants was first established. The importance of the assistants is rarely noted in the records. The first mention appeared in 1903 when one of them, 'Dr. Ding,' died. His death highlighted the reliance that the doctors placed on fully trained assistants and the chaos that the loss of one could create.

> 'The death, two weeks ago, of Dr. Ding, the old native assistant, leaves me without a qualified man to put in charge of the native work while a new missionary is learning the language.'[348]

The death of Dr. Ding caused great concern in the surgical department where he administered the anesthetic. Dr. Edna Parks reported that he was the only Chinese assistant skilled in this procedure, which was becoming more common in surgery.[349] His role was doubly important as the medical staff entered other professions or left the station. After his death, the role of medical assistants was reduced to the treatment of minor ailments in the dispensary.[350]

Missionary records rarely give assistants much credit, but the constant complaints of doctors about their increasing amount of work lead us to believe that assistants were crucial to maintaining the quality of treatment. It also allowed the missionary hospital to expand through the ability to treat more patients. Their status within the mission community was further enhanced by the attachment of the title of 'Doctor' before their names that became common practice in the following twenty years. This new title also invested them with more prestige in the local community as the society changed with the end of dynastic rule and the rise of the Republic after 1911.

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[346] 'Report for the Weixian Station for 1897.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.
[347] Of the two students located outside the station, the first worked at her home in the country and the second went to work with the missionaries in Shanxi. One of the four died during her training. Boughton, E. 'Dr. Mary Brown of Wei Hien, China.' *WWW.* vol. 16, no. 2, February 1901. pp. 43-44.
[348] This was in view of the impending withdrawal of Dr. Faries. 'W. Faries to Members of the West Shantung Mission.' February 16, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.
[349] Dr. Peter Parker used sulfuric ether as an anesthetic in Guangzhou in 1847 and in 1848 chloroform was introduced. 'Personal Report, E. Parks, September 1st 1902-1903.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261 and 'Anesthetics in China.' *CMJ.* vol. 31, no. 5, September 1917. p. 441.
[350] 'Station Report.' September 22, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.

## Medical Work in the Field

The work in the station's facilities was not the only form of medical practice. The itinerant style of medical work was more important to the spread of Western medical ideas throughout the mission fields. This had two important consequences. The first was that it brought the missionaries into closer contact with the local population. The second, and perhaps more important, was that it brought the medicine closer to its evangelical purpose. When the enterprise was first introduced, early medical missionaries based their work upon this idea. It was later replaced large centralized hospitals. However, it was not completely forgotten and throughout the history of the medical missions in China the traveling doctor became a highlight of the enterprise. It allowed those who could not get to the central station the chance to benefit from the doctors. This was especially common among women. Throughout the history of the Weixian station, the patients who traveled from great distances only came to the missionary practitioners as a last resort. This continued to be true even after Western medicine became a more acceptable form of treatment.

The itinerant doctor was introduced in Weixian with the arrival of the new doctors in 1890. Although Dr. Faries adopted this form, it was not emphasized nearly as much as by Drs. Madge Mateer and Mary Brown. After all, there were two female doctors and it was more difficult for women patients to get to the hospitals. Therefore, this work became their crowning achievement in this decade. With two doctors, one traveled around the countryside providing primary care. Any cases that were more serious or where surgery was required were sent to the station. This system also allowed the medical assistants to fully participate in the enterprise for the first time.

Their early experience proved that this form of work could be highly successful as an icebreaker for the evangelists and as an evangelical tool itself.[351] In 1891 the success of their work on the city population was paying off better than expected, and it led the missionaries to think of beginning permanent facilities within the city walls. During this time, Robert Mateer noted that they had gained access, both on a professional and social level, to some of the best families 'and have revolutionized the sentiment among the aristocracy.'[352] As reported earlier, the gentry and wealthy families were initially opposed to missionaries opening work in the city. It was their opposition that forced the missionaries out to the countryside. In addition to working among a new class of city residents, the success of this work also showed a change in the culture of the city. In the

[351] *54th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1891. PHS.* p. 59.
[352] 'R. Mateer to F. Ellinwood.' November 28, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

missionary literature we note that the foreign doctors were generally used after all other avenues were explored. The new strategy of going to the people rather than waiting at the station was breaking down this old barrier.

This form of work was not carried out solely to change the attitudes of the influential members of the population. The doctors also spent a lot time in the countryside and among the urban poor. In 1891, Dr. Brown spent sixteen days visiting the poor and wealthy in the cities and local villages throughout the station's field.[353] In the fall of 1892 she visited the area of 'Ju Gwo Gwang,' located in the vicinity of Changyi. In that day she treated patients from early in the morning until late at night, and there were more waiting to be seen when she stopped. In total, she noted that over 100 individuals received treatment for minor problems.[354] As the work spread, the number of patients seen on these trips grew. In 1893, Dr. Mateer noted that she treated 315 patients in one day and the medicine she had brought ran out quickly. The following year, Mary Brown reported that in nine days she treated 400 patients, and 666 patients were treated in 1895.[355] The initial results of this work were minimal as far as the evangelical enterprise was concerned, but in the treatment of disease these trips were very important. They brought the doctors into areas where women did not have the opportunity to travel to the central hospital for treatment.

Although it served a good purpose, itinerating medical work was not taken up by all of the medical personnel in Weixian or throughout China. The station was unique in that it had two female doctors and could continue this work at a constant pace. Because of the exhausting experience of constant traveling, many doctors on the field established large hospitals similar to those in Shanghai and Guangzhou. After the forced retreat to the coast during the turbulence of the Boxer times, many saw a new goal for the medical enterprise that had already been at work in Weixian. Medical itinerating could be used to bring the missionary message of goodwill to the people. This was the opinion of Dr. T. W. Ayers, of the Southern Baptist Mission in Huangxian, Shandong, who held that 'the ideal plan is, two medical missionaries at the same station working in the hospital, dispensary and itinerating.'[356] However, in its role as an evangelizing agency, this form of work was more important than that of the hospitals. Seen in this regard by the more

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[353] 'Report of M. Brown.' January 16, 1892, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.
[354] 'Report of M. Brown for 1892.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.
[355] The nine days referred to here included traveling time that we would assume took four or five of the days. 'Letter from Dr. Madge Mateer.' *WWW.* vol. 8, no. 10, October 1893. p. 279; 'Report of M. Brown for '93-'94.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216; and 'Wei-Hien Station to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.' October 17, 1895, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.
[356] 'Hospital Reports.' *CMMJ.* vol. 20, no. 1, January 1906. p. 48.

conservative evangelists, it is perhaps likely that they saw this role for the enterprise rather than the hospital work favored by many of the professional doctors. Therefore, the medical enterprise was slow in modernizing along the new advanced lines being established in Europe and the US because of the emphasis on evangelical work at this time.

## Summary

The first seventeen years established the base upon which all future work in the medical and educational enterprises was conducted. During this time, the missionaries realized that the future of their work could not rely completely on the foreign personnel. It would require the heavy involvement of the Chinese to promote the expansion of their movement on the ground and its overall financial health. In this period one can point to a few instances when this took place. First, the introduction of fees for education and medical treatment showed the need of the missionaries and the willingness of the Chinese to support the enterprises. Second, there were the initial attempts to incorporate the Chinese as teachers, school superintendents, or medical assistants. This was clearly a result of the need for expansion and the chronic lack of enough foreign personnel.

The first area that the missionaries became concerned with was the financial health of the enterprises. As noted throughout this chapter, as the enterprises expanded in the 1890s and needed to modernize they ran into financial difficulty. The administrators were faced with the option of cutting down their plans or finding new ways to keep the operations going. For both medicine and education the local populations benefited from these activities and the missionaries looked to them to take over some of the financial responsibility. This was not out of character with the traditional systems of China where providing funds for education and medical care was generally accepted.

The second area of importance to the later expansion efforts was the incorporation of the Chinese into positions of responsibility. In general, it was not acceptable for the missionaries to devolve power too early. However, as reported here, this was done without hesitation by the theologians who were more interested in their itinerating activities. In the educational system this involved the creation of the Superintendent for the primary schools in the Weixian field. They were given a high degree of decision-making power and their work allowed the theologians to work in other areas, only retaining their general oversight responsibilities. In the area of medicine there was not a simultaneous increase in the administrative power of the assistants due to the more professional nature of the enterprise. Nevertheless, their work allowed hospitals to treat more patients and the missionaries expanded the scope of their work through the itinerant

work. Like the Superintendent, the medical assistants were also extremely important in the improvement of medical care that the hospital provided.

The Boxer Uprising in 1900 brought the work of the 1890s to a quick end. For Weixian it was dramatic, with the destruction of many buildings, but it also had a positive aspect to it. The station's destruction enabled it to rebuild and reposition many of the buildings within its compound, as shown in Appendix G. This allowed for later expansion and established the station in the elite of the mission. The period following the Boxers also brought with it a new attitude on the part of the missionaries. They now attempted to develop a better relationship with the local population. The areas they chose to accomplish this were the welfare activities, education and medicine being important aspects of this. This had the effect of expanding the enterprises to bring more of the population under their umbrella. However, to accomplish this the field theologians needed the expertise of more professional lay personnel who started to become a presence in the China missions. The increasing power of this group had consequences for the development of cooperation.

# Chapter 4

## Recovery and Expansion, 1900-1910

The nineteenth century established the general policies of the secular enterprises. In many cases they went against the current thinking of other mission groups and there was general disagreement over their self-support policies. However, with good foresight they pushed their policies forward in an attempt to expand their work throughout the mission field. The impact of this was an emphasis on Chinese financial support in the boys' primary schools and the medical enterprise. On an administrative level the previous decade began the devolution of foreign control to the Chinese through the creation of the Superintendent in the school system. In the medical enterprise a similar position was not considered, but specialist assistants forced the doctors to rely on the Chinese much more than previously. In the post-1900 period these policies were carried through with greater effectiveness as new missionaries arrived wanting to expand the enterprises. All of these changes were stimulated by the Boxer Uprising.

### The Boxers in Weixian

By the end of the 1890s it was evident that the educational and medical enterprises needed to overhaul their administrative systems and facilities. Any plans along these lines were effectively shelved in June 1900 with the retreat to the foreign concession areas because of the Boxer threat. This event did not signal the end of the work in China. Rather, it gave further impetus for expansion and brought a new social purpose to medicine and education. In Weixian the ailing institutions were rebuilt and assumed a greater position within the mission. Joseph Esherick's *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* or Paul Cohen's *History in Three Keys* provide good analyses of the Boxer movement. As these works indicate, the Boxer Uprising is complex and a detailed analysis of the movement is beyond the scope of this study. Here I will focus on the impact of the Boxers in the Weixian compound.

The events related to the Boxer Uprising in Weixian are still sketchy and there does not seem to be a single account on the matter. By January 1900 the district was still free of the violence that was reported in other areas. In the west the Dadaohui[357] was active and to the east there was opposition to proposals for laying rails over a 'water

[357] The group referred to as the 'Boxers' was made up of many different groups. The missionaries did not distinguish which group and only referred generally to anyone as a 'Boxer' or a 'member of the Dadaohui.' I do not presume that the group in Weixian was in fact the Dadaohui, but that name is used here as the missionaries used it.

course.'[358] One result of the eastern opposition was the pursuit of five German railway workers from Nanliu [sic], fifty *li* to the east of Weixian, to the station where they remained until German soldiers were sent to collect them.[359] Although this event is never connected to the eventual destruction of the station, it is possible that this incident increased the tension between the missionaries and local society. After the German soldiers left 600 Chinese troops were sent from the local army encampment and apparently had a calming effect on the situation. Three months later *The North-China Herald* reported that the rioting had stopped and the railroad construction work was progressing 'merrily.'[360]

In March 1900 tensions rose with rumors of the spread of the Dadaohui to eastern sections of Shandong. In addition, on April 26 William Faries reported that many 'hard looking characters' were passing through the district.[361] Even with this new note of caution, the missionaries continued their work. On May 1 the Shadyside Church in Pittsburgh even offered to pay for a new house for single women. No mention is made of delaying the project due to the prospect of trouble.[362] News of the attack on Tianjin and the Dagu Forts soon reached Weixian and a decision was finally made to retreat to the foreign concession areas on the coast. The first party left on Saturday, June 23, to catch a ship sent by John Fowler to Yangjiakou, under Rev. George Cornwell's control.

Not all of the missionaries were at the station when the first group set off. Without perceiving any danger, Charlotte Hawes and Emma Boughton had remained in the countryside. Frank Chalfant quickly sent messengers for them to return immediately. When the women arrived, they began packing all the valuables they could lay their hands on and sent the remaining girls in the Wen Mei School home.[363] As they were packing, people from the city and surrounding area came out to the station thinking it had been abandoned. One small group led by Chen Xi-qing, also known as Chen Shuang-chen, mixed with this growing crowd. Chalfant soon discovered some individuals throwing rocks at the outer wall. Fearing more intense attacks he sent a letter to the local official requesting protection. Although the magistrate did show up later that evening, the

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[358] *NCH.* vol. 64, no. 1697, February 14, 1900. p. 264 and 'J. Fowler to E. Conger.' February 5, 1900, Chefoo. *US Archives Microfilm.* RG59/M102/R5.

[359] *NCH.* vol. 64, no. 1698, February 21, 1900. p. 306; 'Telegram from F. Chalfant to J. Fowler.' February 2, 1900, Weixian. *US Archives Microfilm.* RG59/M102/R5; and 'Annual Report of the Weihsien Station for the Fifteen Months from Sep. 1899 to Nov. 1900.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

[360] *NCH.* vol. 64, no. 1714, June 13, 1900. p. 1065.

[361] 'W. Faries to A. Brown.' April 26, 1900, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r214.

[362] 'A. Brown to the West Shandong Mission.' May 1, 1900, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r237.

[363] The girls had planned on remaining for the summer vacation period. All the boys in the academy were already gone.

missionaries were forced to escape to Fangzi. During this time, the small group of miscreants in the crowd began pushing at the main gate to gain entrance. With the stories of foreigners being attacked in Tianjin and Beijing, Chalfant panicked and retrieved a revolver from his house. On his return, he reported that a 'howling mob' of 100 individuals was lobbing bricks and tiles over the wall from the high ground outside the northwest corner of the compound wall. To keep the mob in check he ran through the main gate, took aim at the group of men, and fired twice. One was killed before Chalfant retreated into the compound. The death of their comrade did not deter the other members of the group, and they scattered to find another point of entry. Around 8:00 PM, the missionaries and the few Chinese servants that remained came out of the Chalfant house where they had taken refuge and climbed over the compound wall. They slowly made their way to the German mine at Fangzi. Later that night a group of eighty Chinese soldiers approached with a message from the commander of the Chinese forces in the Weixian area. He gave a deep feeling of regret for what had happened. The missionary group remained with the Germans until July 4 when they and the miners were escorted to Qingdao by a force of 100 Chinese soldiers dispatched by Yuan Shi-kai.[364]

Although a frightening time for the missionaries, we cannot be sure if the 'howling mob' that plundered the station were really Boxers.[365] We also cannot be sure what their intentions were concerning the foreigners in the compound. According to the missionary sources and some official Chinese sources, it was a group of Boxers led by Chen Xi-qing. Another Chinese source claims that the group was not Boxers but local troublemakers. However, all agree that Chen was the leader of the group, perhaps egging them on with ideas of the wealth that lay inside. A final question relates to the size of the group that gained entrance to the station. Chalfant himself only reported a mob of 100 individuals, but a later letter from Paul Bergen reported that the group was composed of 1,000 men.[366] However, this seems to be an overestimation. Whatever its actual makeup, it seems that the crowd was not murderous, but, seeing a party of foreigners leave two days before, thought they would see what could be salvaged. Something similar occurred

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[364] *Wei Fang Shi Ren Min Yi Yuan Zhi.* Weifang: Wei Fang Shi Xin Wen Chu Ban. 1991. p. 37; Han, T. *Guang Wen Xiao Pu.* Qingdao: Qing Dao Shi Zhuan Yin Shua Chang. 1993. p. 27; Hawes, C. *New Thrills in Old China.* New York: Hodder & Stoughton. 1913. pp. 90-104; 'F. Chalfant to A. Brown.' June 27, 1900, Fangzi. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r214; 'F. Chalfant to J. Fowler.' July 6, 1900, Qingdao. *US Archives Microfilm.* RG59/M102/R6/F291-294; *NCH.* vol. 65, no. 1718, July 11, 1900. p. 65; and Heeren. *Op cit.* p. 126.

[365] The use of these terms here is just for reference purposes. It has previously been established that the Boxers were confined to the western part of the province. However, the Chinese materials continue to use this name to identify the group in Weixian.

[366] 'Extract of Letter of Rev. Paul Bergen, Tsingtau, July 7, 1900.' *AH.* vol. 3, no. 3, September 1900. p. 758.

in the British Baptist Qingzhou Station after the missionaries left for the coast. In this case, the missionaries reported that anything of value or that was not too heavy to carry was looted but that the buildings in general were left untouched.[367] Chalfant's actions may have angered the crowd by shooting two of their comrades. It is interesting that this individual, who was meant to be fluent in the local dialect and an 'expert' on Chinese society, reacted in this way.

The Weixian personnel scattered after everyone's safety was ensured. William and Priscilla Faries, John and Mary Fitch, and Mary Crossette went to Japan; Charlotte Hawes returned to the US; and Mary Brown and the Mateers remained at home where they had been on furlough. This left Edna Parks, Emma Boughton, and the Chalfants as the only individuals left on Shandong soil. Even with the personnel located in different parts of the world, plans for rebuilding went forward. For this the Foreign Board approached churches in Pittsburgh to take the lead in financially supporting the project.

In March 1901, the American Consul finally gave permission for some of the male missionaries to return to inspect their properties.[368] On March 19 Robert Mateer, Frank Chalfant, and William Faries left Chefoo for Yangjiakou where they disembarked and made their way to Weixian by way of Qingzhou. John Fitch came overland from Qingdao and met up with the party four miles outside the walled city. With a new magistrate and soldiers from the troop encampment, they made their way inside the city walls where they met with other civil and military officials. The following day the group went to inspect the compound. They were encouraged by the decent condition it was in and the reception they received from the local population.

> 'We found the hospital ward rooms, a Chinese guest room, and some small outbuildings of Dr. Faries' still standing, but with doors and windows destroyed. The walls of the other buildings were many of them standing, but so ruined by fire, and the falling in of floors and roofs, as to need to come down in rebuilding. The compound walls were broken in many places for purposes of carrying off the loot, or brick stealing, but the gaps had been laid up loosely without mortar by the official. At first the people seemed to look at us askance, but held down under pressure of the civil and military powers, they spake [sic] to us neither good or bad.'[369]

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[367] Stanley. *Op cit.* pp. 9-10.
[368] The women were not given permission to return to the interior until the following fall.
[369] 'Wei Hsien Station's Annual Report to the West Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church, December 1900 to August 1901.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

Although the station's property was essentially worthless, its destruction can be seen as a blessing. Both the medical and educational enterprises were in desperate need of enlargement at the end of the last decade.[370] Concerning their reestablishment, the West Shandong Mission resolved that 'the Wei Hien Station [be] allowed large liberty in planning for the rebuilding of the station; and that we strongly recommend the desirability of making a rearrangement of the compound, regardless if necessary, of existing foundations.'[371] In the reconstruction process, there was an acknowledged need to enlarge the compound. As a condition for revoking the indemnity claim, the missionaries were permitted to buy an additional 60 *mu* of land by the provincial and local governments.[372] This allowed for the needed expansion and led to the relocation of the Arts College of the Shandong Christian University from Dengzhou. This move became important as expansion continued and the Arts College was moved to Jinan in 1917. By August 1901 not much of the compound had been rebuilt, but because some of the buildings were still habitable the missionaries were able to begin evangelistic and educational work almost immediately.

[370] A blueprint of the station before and after 1900 can be found in the Appendix.
[371] 'Minutes of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the West Shantung Mission, held in Tsingtau, Aug. 10th to Aug. 23rd, 1901.' *PHS*. MF10.F761a.r260.
[372] The indemnity was made from an inventory of Weixian's losses during the Boxer Uprising. This included the costs of rebuilding and loss of personal property. According to the Chinese sources, the full amount of the indemnity came to 100,000 taels. *The North-China Herald* refutes this amount. It stated that the total came to 45,000 taels, a drop from the 64,000 taels of damage originally assessed. The full amount was never mentioned in the missionary writings. *Wei Fang Shi Ren Min Yi Yuan Zhi. Op cit.* p. 37; *NCH.* vol. 66, no. 1764, May 29, 1901. p. 1030; and 'F. Chalfant to J. Fowler.' May 7, 1901, Jinan. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.

## Expanding the School System After 1900

It is important to point out that not all areas of the compound were destroyed in 1900. However, the buildings of the educational institutions were in desperate need of rebuilding. During the fire and looting, the academy was destroyed and the Wen Mei School's facility needed rebuilding since the previous decade. The damage to the facilities allowed the missionaries to push for the enlargement of the schools in the rebuilding plans. The necessity for larger grounds was a result of the new desire for western education that the missionaries perceived and the increasingly prominent position of the station's schools in the mission and local area.

As they returned to Weixian in the spring of 1901, the missionaries immediately called for the start of classes in the primary schools. There was a desire among them to show that there were no feelings of hostility towards the population and they did not want the organization to fall apart. The following year they reported that thirty-five schools were organized with an attendance of 350 pupils, 100 less than before 1900.[373]

One immediate concern was attracting non-Christian students back to the primary schools. In 1902, John Fitch, head of the boys' school network, reported that only 14% of the students were from non-Christian families. The following year this balanced out and 104 non-Christian pupils were reported in the school system, about 33% of the total students.[374] The missionaries were generally pleased with this achievement.

In addition to attracting students back to the primary schools, they also wanted to ensure that apathy towards women's education did not set in. Specifically, they were afraid that society would lapse back into norms that existed before their arrival. Therefore, the missionaries moved quickly to reopen the girls' boarding schools. They began by opening them on a day school basis, but this ended up not meeting the students' needs. By September 1903, four girls' day schools with forty-five pupils and nine boarding schools with 150 pupils were reopened. This compared with a total of 395 pupils in thirty-six day schools for boys.[375] In 1905 there were eleven boarding schools and three day schools for girls. Two years later thirteen boarding schools with 261 pupils were reported. This was out of 360 female pupils in the entire primary system.[376] The

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[373] *65th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1902. PHS.* p. 105 and 'Station Report for Period Aug. 10, 1901 - Oct. 1, 1902.' Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

[374] 'Personal Report of J. Fitch to West Shantung Mission, For Year Ending September 1st 1902.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260 and *67th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1904. PHS.* p. 114.

[375] 'Personal Report of J. Fitch to the West Shantung Mission, for the Year August 31st 1903.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261 and 'Station Report.' September 22, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.

[376] Boarding schools were reported in Shang Chuang, Tung Ying, Chang Tuen, Tang Kai Chuang, Pang Wang, Chang Kia Chuang, Teng Kia Chuang, Meng Kia Chwang, Tien Yu Kou, Tsao Hu, and Yin Ma [sic]. This is the most complete list of these schools given by the missionaries. 'Annual Report of the West Shantung Mission (China) of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. for the Year ending August 30th,

success of these actions in rebuilding education for girls was fairly high and came close to fulfilling missionary expectations. However, they fell short of the ultimate goal of opening more opportunities for girls in the new era. Many of the boarding schools took on day pupils, but they could not accommodate the new desire of families to educate their daughters. It was only with the breakup of the boarding primary schools in the 1910s that this was finally accomplished.

With the missionary primary school system reorganized, the missionaries noted that the new provincial schools that had been established were 'languishing' and they moved to establish themselves as the best means for education in the area.[377] This was one of the important elements in the expansion of the school system. As Table 6 shows, the number of pupils in the school system almost doubled during this time. Many times, the missionaries were the only viable system around and students flocked to them.

As the primary schools reopened, the second priority was to find funds to rebuild the high schools. The body that contributed the most towards the reconstruction efforts was the Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. This was particularly true in the case of the academy. Their contributions were originally made to the cover the cost of the project before the indemnity was paid by the Shandong government in Jinan. An unforeseen addition was that the Chinese government made the indemnity payment more quickly than anticipated. Rather than returning the funds to the churches, the contributed funds remained in the station to cover any extra building and unforeseen expenses associated with the construction work. The Point Breeze Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh gave a majority of the funds for the new Boys' Academy. This began the close bond between the Church and the academy.[378] The new Point Breeze Academy was completed in September 1902.

> 'The main school is a neat one-story building with a well-lighted study-room...and opening from this are four smaller rooms for recitations. The other buildings are a dining-room furnished with square tables and benches; a kitchen in which there are no stoves of foreign pattern, but only several large Chinese kettle-stoves; and the dormitories, which are rows of

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1905.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261. p. 36 and 'Report of the Weihsien Station, 1907.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.

[377] 'J. Fitch to A. Brown.' November 24, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.

[378] The Secretary of the Foreign Board, Arthur Brown, was hesitant about giving the school the name of the Church, but suggested it as a good idea in case of future needs at the school. 'C. Fenn to R. Mateer.' March 24, 1903, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r259 and 'A. Brown to the West Shantung Mission.' July 14, 1903, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r259.

rooms built on the usual Chinese plan, with the exception that they have brick floors instead of earth as have most of the houses in this region.'[379]

The Wen Mei School, on the other hand, did not have strong financial support from the US. However, its success before the Boxers justified reestablishment on a more permanent basis and on a larger scale. Although the old school buildings were adequate for the early phase, they were poorly built. The school was given its own grounds on which to make a permanent home.[380] In September 1902 the new buildings were in place and plans were made to reopen in December. Despite the improvements there were still severe problems that limited the number of students to seventeen until 1903.[381]

**Professional Educators for Weixian**

A key ingredient to the incorporation of Chinese into the school system was the arrival of new missionaries to take over the institutions, a new trend in the Protestant missionary enterprise after the Boxers. In the medical enterprise this was done at an early stage because of the training needed. Unfortunately, this group was never able to make a significant impact on the incorporation of Chinese in their enterprise like the education staff did. In the early years of the new century the missionary education systems became more complex and required staff with training and experience in running schools. After the appointment of new individuals, interest was focused on the schools rather than the itinerating activities that dominated the lives of the nineteenth century personnel. Their new views combined with an increasing emphasis on social work. The final outcome was that this group was successful in using the abilities of the Chinese.

After the 1903 Chinese New Year, the academy took its full complement of students, fifty.[382] However, the station was not satisfied with the facilities and the administrative system. The teachers and directors that came before were not professionals and were more interested in fieldwork than in the educational system. With the increase in student numbers and plans for further expansion, it was inevitable that the amount of teaching and oversight needed would also increase. The oversight of the school took a lot of time from the general work of Madge Mateer. She was teaching three classes per day in the academy, was the head of four girls' primary boarding schools, and taught classes for Bible Women.[383] In other words, she was too busy to give her full attention to it.

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[379] Wells, R. 'The Point Breeze High School at Wei Hsien.' *AH.* January 1905. pp. 65-66.
[380] 'J. Fitch and F. Chalfant to C. Fenn.' November 13, 1901, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.
[381] 'Station Report.' September 22, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261 and 'Personal Report of Jennie Chalfant.' September 22, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.
[382] 'Station Report for Period Aug. 10, 1901 - Oct. 1, 1902.' Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260 and 'Station Report.' September 22, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.
[383] 'Personal Report of R. Mateer, 1902-1903.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.

Looking to the future expansion of the boys' primary schools it was resolved that a professional educator was needed to give full attention to the administrative duties. At the West Shandong Mission meeting in Jinan they requested that a such a person be found. The mission voted that Mr. Ralph Wells, originally brought in to work in the Dengzhou College, be reassigned from the East Shandong Mission.[384] Although Wells had only been on the field since July 1902, his background in education connected to the US Government in the Philippines was invaluable.

Of the contributions that Wells made, the most important was his drive to expand the grounds of the school. When he arrived in Weixian, he observed that the number of dormitory rooms provided for the students was not enough to accommodate expansion. In 1904 he wrote that the main school building could accommodate seventy or eighty students, but with fifty students in the school every dormitory room was full. For further expansion twelve more rooms were needed.[385] This lack of planning on the part of the evangelical educators goes to prove the point that the work of a full-time director was required. While the station's personnel had done well creating a curriculum and generally establishing the academy, they had not given their full attention to it resulting in problems of size and finances that Wells started to address. In September 1905 the school was officially handed over to him, and he pushed forward his expansion plans.

The position that Wells now held did not confine his responsibilities to the academy. In 1907, the increased responsibility and time necessary to run the primary schools was such that Robert Mateer began calling for 'a qualified man to throw himself into the primary school work.'[386] At this time it was not apparent whether the new appointee should be a foreigner or recruited from among the Chinese teachers and superintendents in the field. Nevertheless, it is clear that he wanted a person with experience and training in school administration. Their solution was to pass it to the new professional, Ralph Wells.

At the same time that the academy received its professional educator, the Wen Mei School also took steps in this direction. In addition to the building problems, it still required a full-time director. After their return to the interior, Emma Boughton remained in the US where she suffered a 'severe accident,' from which she would not recover. This

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[384] 'Minutes of the Ninth Annual Meeting of The West Shantung Mission held at Jinanfu September 26 to October 6, 1903.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

[385] Wells noted the spartan look to the rooms showing that no more students could be accommodated in the current condition: 'Two students occupy a room, the furnishing of which consists of two Chinese beds, a table, a locker, and two benches.' Wells, R. 'The Point Breeze High School at Wei Hsien.' *AH.* January 1905. pp. 65-66.

[386] 'Personal Report of R. Mateer, 1907-1908.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.

forced Jennie Chalfant to again assume temporary control of the school.[387] Many attempts were made to secure a full-time educator, but none had been found until this point. The significance of securing another individual was underlined by the fact that the Wen Mei School was an important element of the educational system. Its main contribution was as a supplier of teachers for the primary school network. More students were attending missionary primary schools throughout Shandong which meant not only were they better prepared to matriculate, but that more teachers were needed to take positions at that level.[388] Therefore, this institution required more attention than the wives were able to provide.

At the fall meeting of the West Shandong Mission in 1906 the request was finally approved.[389] In 1910 Ms. Grace M. Rowley arrived in Weixian as the first full-time director.[390] As with many of the new policies, not every member of the station approved of employing a new missionary to take over as director of the Wen Mei School. Charlotte Hawes wrote to Arthur Brown that it would be a mistake to send another woman for this purpose. She felt that using an individual already in the field was the correct course of action. It was her opinion that Jennie Chalfant would be the ideal person to transfer control to as she had done so well in the past.[391] However, this opposition was not strong enough to stop the new appointment. Mrs. Chalfant also did not want to take the position in a permanent capacity.[392]

### Expanding the High Schools

As soon as the school system began again, the priority became expansion. This was a real concern since the schools were overcrowded and the system began to exceed its capacity. Table 6 shows that the number of male students in the primary schools increased steadily between 1903 and 1906. The female pupils, particularly, increased by over 100 from the pre-1900 numbers. All of these students wanted to continue their education and each year more students passed the examinations to enter the high schools. This was mostly a result of the higher standards being achieved and the expansion efforts

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[387] *65th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1902. PHS.* p. 102.

[388] In 1903 the school had three girls from the Yizhou station's field, and had applications from the East Shandong field. Due to the small capacity in the school they were forced to decline acceptance to 12 girls from the Weixian field. Future reports note that the increasing applications to the school were also noted to be from the inability of a girl without a school degree to marry well, rather than an attempt to change their status in life. *67th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1904. PHS.* p. 114 and 'Station Report.' September 22, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.

[389] 'Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of The West Shantung Mission held at Ichowfu September 29 to October 10, 1906.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

[390] 'Untitled.' *PHS.* RG82/4/2/20/8.

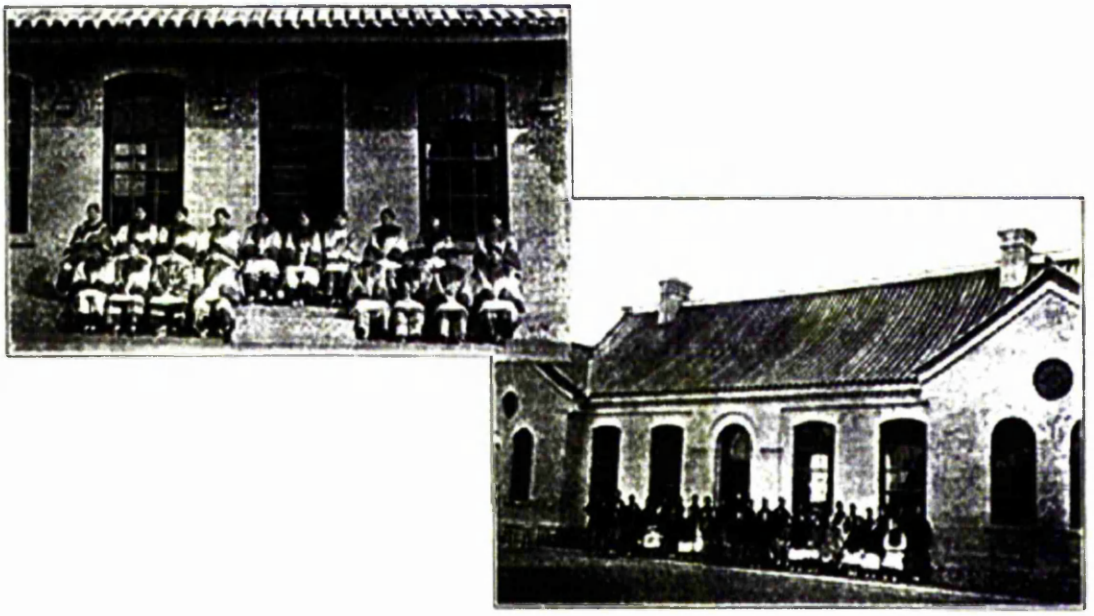
[391] 'C. Hawes to A. Brown.' February 6, 1906, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.

[392] 'R. Wells to A. Brown.' October 17, 1906, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.

of the local population. Another reason was the increasing prominence of the Shandong Christian University once the Confucian examinations were discontinued in 1905. This continuous growth created problems in the system, and it proved important for the further incorporation of the Chinese in the 1910s. However, the steps in this direction were slow and, at times, were opposed to such an extent that the missionaries backtracked on earlier policies.

**Figure 5**

**Weixian High Schools, 1904**[393]



The Point Breeze Academy, and the rest of the school system, was not insulated from the other work of the mission. The increased size of the academy and its purpose as the main preparatory school to the Shandong Christian University brought entrance applications from other stations. By 1905, applications were arriving from the Yizhou Station and the entire East Shandong Mission.[394] With pressure to accept more students, the school's population increased to fifty-eight in the 1905-1906 school year, forcing three students into some dormitory rooms only built to house two individuals. Although extra funding was secured for the construction of twelve more dormitory rooms, Wells was still disappointed with the small number of students that could be accepted each year.[395]

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[393] *67th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1904. PHS.* opposite p. 111.

[394] 'M. Mateer to A. Brown.' October 20, 1905, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.

[395] The importance of naming the school after the Point Breeze Church for future expansion funds now came into focus. The Church, with Madge Mateer acting as fundraiser, gave funds for the twelve new dormitory rooms. This allowed for less crowded conditions and a small expansion of student numbers. Even with the increased capacity of the school Wells was depressed about the small number that could be accepted each year. 'R. Wells to Mother.' February 18, 1906, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.

The Wen Mei School followed the same pattern established by the academy. In the spring of 1906 accommodation problems caused some students to be sent home. As Table 5 shows, between 1902 and 1905 it was full to capacity and more students were requesting entrance. Finally, in the summer months new dormitory rooms were built with money raised in the US. The new housing space allowed full accommodation for twice the number of pupils. The expansion effort did not end with the new dormitories. Further enlargement was planned and an additional $650 USG for land was requested from the mission.[396] These plans were adopted because of the new prominence it played, leading to more applications from the rest of Shandong. For example, in the fall of 1905 the school took nine students from the East Shandong Mission, two from the Yizhou Station, and two from the Jinan Station.[397] Three years later the number of pupils from outside the Weixian field rose to thirteen.[398] With the limited number allowed to enter the school each year space was a priority and the extra applications did not leave much room for students from the Weixian primary school system. The drive to increase student numbers did not coincide with an expansion of the school facilities. It soon became overcrowded with three students in each dormitory room.[399]

The following year, plans for enlarging the Wen Mei School and ensuring its financial health over a ten-year period were drawn. By this time, it had increased to its largest size with sixty-four pupils, and it had two full-time and three part-time foreign teachers. In these expansion proposals the missionaries planned to add two single ladies would join the foreign teaching staff, making a total of four full-time foreign teachers, and land for new school grounds was to be bought.[400] In almost no case was there an attempt to bring in Chinese teachers or administrators to help accommodate the growing numbers. This was very unlike other educational institutions where Chinese were readily hired to relax the responsibilities of the foreigners.

Even with the planned expansion, the high schools could not accommodate the increasing numbers of students from the primary schools wanting to continue to the secondary level. In 1907 the West Shandong Mission for the first time put to paper their plan of enlarging their educational institutions, including buildings and equipment, and teaching force 'to accommodate in our high schools about one tenth the number of pupils

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[396] 'Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of The West Shantung Mission held at Ichowfu September 29 to October 10, 1906.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260

[397] 'M. Mateer to A. Brown.' October 20, 1905, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.

[398] *72nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1909. PHS.* p. 129.

[399] 'J. Fitch to A. Brown.' October 24, 1905, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.

[400] Although they noted a desire to increase the foreign teaching staff, there is no mention here of increasing number of Chinese teachers. 'Reply of the West Shantung Presbyterian Mission to the Circular of the General Board of Education in China.' October 1907. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

in our country schools.'[401] From the primary school statistics we note that the Weixian Station was accomplishing this within its own system. However, it could not handle students from the rest of Shandong. Due to the growth of the station's schools and the increase in the number pupils from other stations applying to the academy, enlargement became the foremost priority. In 1906 Wells accepted twenty new students to the academy. This number rose to thirty-five the following year, but many that deserved to enter the high school were turned away.[402] The fact that he could not allow entrance to all qualified students depressed him. He reported that it amounted to only one pupil from half the primary schools in the Weixian field alone being accepted every other year.[403]

Without the financial backing of the mission to enlarge the academy, Wells began his own crusade to raise the funds. However, before he could proceed, he needed to find larger grounds for the buildings. At that time it was located in the middle of the compound and was surrounded by other buildings offering no room for expansion. His solution at this time was to give them to the Arts College and buy land for the construction of a new facility. This would allow for future expansion as needed. His idea called for enough space for 570 students, four foreign teachers, and ten Chinese teachers. This was in line with the new expansionist policy of the West Shandong Mission. It was a large increase over the current school which had room for seventy students, two foreign teachers (Mr. and Mrs. Wells), and four Chinese teachers. He also suggested that a residence for the director should be attached to the new buildings to ensure closer supervision. Altogether, this plan would have cost the mission $17,500 USG.[404] His ideas were supported by others in the educational community and especially by the Shandong Christian University's Board of Directors.[405] It is also likely that support for an enlarged and better equipped school came because of the rumors that the Chinese government was planning to establish a middle school in the area with the money remitted by the US government from the Boxer indemnity.[406]

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[401] 'Reply of the West Shantung Presbyterian Mission to the Circular of the General Board of Education in China.' October 1907. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

[402] 'R. Wells to Friends in the Homeland.' March 30, 1907, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.

[403] The statement on the number of pupils from the Weixian country schools was based on the twenty-eight students matriculating in 1908 with forty-six students having passed the examinations. *72nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1909. PHS.* p. 130 and 'R. Wells and W. Hamilton to A. Brown.' October 17, 1908, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r258.

[404] 'Report of the Point Breeze Academy, of Weihsien Shantung China for the Year ending September 1st, 1907.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261 and 'Reply of the West Shantung Presbyterian Mission to the Circular of the General Board of Education in China.' October 1907. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

[405] 'R. Wells and W. Hamilton to A. Brown.' October 17, 1908, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r258.

[406] Although rumored to be soon built, it would not be until 1913 that it was finally completed. *Wei Cheng Qu Zhi. Op cit.* p. 17.

## Solving Financial Problems on the Road to Expansion

The goal of the new full-time director was to make the academy as successful as possible. The route Wells chose included the expansion plans and other changes that would transform it into the most important secondary school in the mission. However, the achievement of this goal required a significant amount of extra funding. Many missionaries who were more concerned with the evangelical activities did not feel that the enlargement and improvement of the school system should take such a high priority. The most vocal critic of the large investment in the schools was again Charlotte Hawes who wrote to Arthur Brown: '...don't let the educational department swamp our great evangelistic needs.'[407] While not against educational work in general, she was against the massive expansion being proposed. The Shandong Mission was also sympathetic to this viewpoint. Therefore, it did not provide any suggestions about where the money for expansion should come from. By not giving a vote of financial support the mission was partially paralyzed by the conflict between the old-school evangelists and those who favored expanding the institutions.

Ms. Hawes was not the only one against increasing the funding for the educational sector. The Foreign Board and China Council agreed with her views. However, their opposition laid in the purpose of the academy. They felt that it should remain a feeder to the Shandong Christian University. Looking at the plans put forward, it appeared that the expansion would put it on the same level as the Arts College of the Shandong Christian University that was then in the Weixian compound. Luckily, the University was also looking to expand. In 1910, subject to the approval of the mission, the Foreign Board voted in favor of moving the Arts College to Jinan, giving its property to the station. It would then be used for enlarging the academy that would allow it to remain as the main missionary secondary school for males in Shandong. This solved the two problems of the enlargement of the University and the expansion of the academy without resulting in a second university-level institution.[408]

The Wen Mei School experienced a financial crunch that did not allow the administrators to make the changes necessary for expansion. With the lack of financial support, it was decided to continue using the existing buildings. Without expansion, it continued to be filled to its capacity with sixty-two pupils, graduating between eleven and thirteen girls each year. Although the missionaries had temporarily resigned themselves

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[407] 'C. Hawes to A. Brown.' March 31, 1908, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r258.
[408] 'A. Brown to R. Wells.' November 28, 1910, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761.r259; 'A. Brown to F. Chalfant.' March 27, 1911, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260; and 'A. Brown to F. Chalfant.' March 27, 1911, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

to using the buildings, they continued to request educational material; such as globes, charts, maps, lamps, and clocks; to improve the quality of education.[409] The problem of expansion in the facilities continued until 1917 when the Arts College was moved to Jinan.

As the mission became more hesitant about increasing the appropriations for expansion, the only solution was to begin enforcing the ideas of self-support in the primary schools formulated in the nineteenth century. This would allow them to reallocate the funds to the high schools without the requisite increase in mission funds. The idea of reallocating funds was combined with new plans for increasing the size of the primary school network in Shandong. In 1907 the West Shandong Mission devised a plan to increase the 'present number of schools at a rate of 20% each year for the next ten years.'[410] This exceeded the financial ability of the station. As can be seen by the appropriations given to Weixian in Table 2, there was no new money with which to accomplish this goal. Therefore, massive organizational changes were required.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Chinese attending the primary day schools provided funds for all the buildings, books (except Christian books), one-third of the teachers' salaries, and other educational costs reported as 'incidentals.'[411] Although this was a strong move towards a fully self-supporting system, the missionaries were still furnishing some money for this work. In 1902 the station appropriated 1,010,000 large cash to the forty-eight day schools and 1,779,000 to the nine girls' boarding schools.[412] As the school system grew, the patrons began to show a greater willingness to support the schools financially. This was due to the increasing use of western subjects in Chinese education and to the inability of the government to provide social services. In 1903, John Fitch reported that two of the boys' primary schools were paying half of the salary for their teacher rather than the required one-third.[413] In 1906 the patrons of the school system began to pay much more towards their schools. The report for this year noted that the boys' schools were paying one-half of the salary for the teachers, and, for the first time, the girls' schools had informally adopted the same policy.[414] This was on top of the school buildings and other costs.

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[409] 'R. Wells to A. Brown.' March 29, 1910, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r258.
[410] 'Reply of the West Shantung Presbyterian Mission to the Circular of the General Board of Education in China.' October 1907. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.
[411] 'Personal Report of J. Fitch to West Shantung Mission, For Year Ending September 1st 1902.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260 and 'Station Report for Period Aug. 10, 1901-Oct. 1, 1902.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.
[412] 'West Shandong Appropriations, 1901-1902.' April 1, 1901, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r259.
[413] 'Personal Report of J. Fitch to the West Shantung Mission, for the Year August 31st 1903.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.
[414] *69th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1906. PHS.* p. 126.

The question of the support provided by the primary school patrons remained a contentious issue. It became especially important with the opening of the Shandong Christian University, since its graduates demanded higher wages. Because of this, the station began to introduce new teaching methods, such as the Dan Gi method that is described later, which allowed more pupils per teacher making patron support easier. In 1907 Robert Mateer triumphantly reported that the patrons' share of the teachers' salary rose from one-half to three-fifths. [415]

The push for these new self-support policies had inevitable consequences for the enterprise and the Chinese Church that worried the missionaries. Although the aim of creating a self-supporting system was progressing at a fast pace, they began to notice that the issue was pushing the Church in the wrong direction. They thought that the policy was guiding its members to a 'commercial attitude toward the whole educational enterprise,' and that they were ignoring the Christian character of the students.[416] Robert Mateer advocated an easing away from pressuring the primary schools to provide more support. His wife also noted the problem in the girls' boarding schools. In the same year Mrs. Mateer reported that because of a lack of funds the schools were closed for a quarter of the school year and that the missionaries were 'trying to squeeze a dry sponge dryer.'[417] Because of the increase in tuition, many girls had to drop out. The missionaries provided each school with a fixed appropriation and required them to raise the remainder of the funds. The following year the policy was changed so that the pupils were required to pay for one-half of the teacher's salary, books, and other expenses.

While the system of fees was being considered throughout the primary school system, there were also important policies being instituted in the secondary schools. One of the reasons that the policy was so stringently enforced was that the station was not being given enough funds for expansion. As the success of these new policies was understood, the missionaries looked to the Chinese to put the high schools on a self-supporting basis. As a result, a more permanent tuition structure was put in place. Just as occurred in the primary schools, concerns over the ability of the lower classes to participate made it a contentious issue. In the end, this economic consideration forced the missionaries to rethink some of their policies and backtrack on them. They did not want to put further hardship on people that could not afford the Christian schools. This

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[415] Frank Chalfant later updated the figure of three-fifths given by Robert Mateer to two-thirds. 'Personal Report of R. Mateer, 1906-1907.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261 and 'Report of the Weihsien Station, 1907.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.

[416] 'Personal Report of R. Mateer, 1906-1907.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.

[417] 'Mrs. R. Mateer.' *WWW.* vol. 23, no. 3, March 1908. p. 69.

extended into the 1910s and was only turned around when the Chinese finally became more involved.

The Wen Mei School was more successful than the academy in creating a definite fees policy. As noted in Chapter 3, during the first five years the students paid fees to attend. After this time, there seems to have been a more consistent system of fees in place to provide for new equipment. In September 1903 each of the thirty-eight pupils paid between 3,000 and 9,000 large cash, a considerable increase over the pre-1900 levels.[418] By 1906 the fee for each student was reported to be a maximum of 14,340 large cash with an additional fee of 3,000 small cash each month for light, fuel, and food.[419] The students were no longer given the freedom to pay what they could. Now they were required to pay an amount equal to two-thirds of the boarding costs for those of ordinary means with the upper class families paying the full fee. The missionaries rarely discussed the financial situation of the lower classes in the secondary schools. It is likely that the missionaries followed the nineteenth century policy of allowing them to attend for free.

The increase in fees given above was possible because the Chinese were willing to pay for their daughters' education. This was particularly true among the upper classes that felt 'compelled to send their daughters to school, because otherwise they could not make suitable matches for them.'[420] With the inauguration of the new prominence of girls' education in Chinese society, and the subsequent increase in the number of applications, the missionaries continued to raise the school fees. In 1907 the new fees ranged from 6,000 large cash ($7 Mex) as the lowest amount to a maximum of 17,500 large cash ($22 Mex).[421]

In the academy the idea of self-support was aimed at lowering the number of students rather than to making the school less reliant on missionary funds.[422] The purpose of this policy failed, but it was continued. Pupils were charged for their food costs and books. In 1903 the students paid a total of 184,000 large cash to the school, each providing approximately 8,437 small cash. As the station reestablished itself, the issue became more important and the required fees were raised. The following year the amount paid by the students rose significantly to 240,000 large cash, coming to about 9,550 small

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[418] 'Station Report.' September 22, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.
[419] 'Personal Report of Mrs. R. M. Mateer, 1905-1906.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.
[420] 'Annual Report of the West Shantung Mission (China) of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. for the Year ending August 30th, 1905.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261. p. 36.
[421] 'Wei Hsien Girls' High School.' September 1907, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261 and 'Report of the Weihsien Station, 1907.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.
[422] In the 1901 report of the Foreign Board it states: 'For several years past the candidates for this school have been more than could be admitted, notwithstanding the annual school fees required of the students.' *64th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1901. PHS.* p. 107.

cash per student.[423] In the following four years the per student fee rose to 19,404 small cash.[424] Although a considerable increase in the fees collected from the students, it only covered the food costs of each student and did not make much of an impact on other school expenses, such as the salaries for teachers.

The increase of school fees coincided with the emergence of economic problems in the area. In 1907, food prices rose to an unusually high level due to general crop failure, more specifically the bean crop to the northwest. Thus, even with the higher fees paid by the academy students, 17,020 small cash per student, they had to close the school early.[425] In the Wen Mei School the increased prices devalued the school's fees that now only covered one-third of the school expenses. Fearing a wholesale desertion of the school, Jennie Chalfant thought it best not to raise the fees for the following year.[426] In 1908 the Point Breeze Academy encountered similar problems, but it was bailed out with a donation of $190 USG from the Point Breeze Church.[427] Notwithstanding the economic problems of the recent years, both schools were able expand their student populations.

The increased emphasis on patron support was heavily criticized. Those opposed to it argued that it took away access to education for poor members of society that had been the guiding force behind the primary schools. This impaired the evangelistic purpose of the educational system. In his report for 1908, Robert Mateer noted that the discrimination was both bad for the school system and bad for the Church.

> 'Because the poor are being more and more discriminated against in that with so little assistance may have not been able to attend and now that the pressure is being applied so severely others are dropping out and some schools entirely closed, and all this while there are largely increased expenditures in higher education for those more favored financially. This ignoring of the poor people is the way the Chinese Government is working, but it misrepresents Christianity and is calculated to produce alienation in the church. Moreover it is important to bear in mind that this throwing of so much of the expense of schooling in the country and high schools upon the parents is seriously curtailing their ability to support pastors.'[428]

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[423] 'Report of the Point Breeze Academy, of Weihsien Shantung China for the Year ending September 1st, 1907.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261

[424] 'R. Wells and W. Hamilton to A. Brown.' October 17, 1908, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r258.

[425] 'R. Wells to O. Baum.' December 18, 1907, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r258 and 'R. Wells to A. Brown.' February 3, 1908, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r258.

[426] 'Wei Hsien Girls' High School.' 1908, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.

[427] *72nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1909. PHS.* p. 130.

[428] 'Personal Report of R. Mateer, 1907-1908.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.

Criticisms of the self-support policies reveal the narrow interests of the evangelists. They opposed the idea of the mission providing more money for education, but they also opposed the practice of schools raising their own money through fees. Clearly, their concern was not with education itself but with its contributions to the Church. Those that advocated the enterprise moved quickly to deal with these issues. One area that was easily dealt with was the primary girls' schools. As noted above there was a movement to expand the system without putting in much extra money. In addition, the boys' primary schools were already restructured in the 1890s and were almost self-supporting in many cases proving that this could be accomplished. Financial problems in the local community soon forced the missionaries to take action. The main cause was the rising prices in the countryside that forced many students to leave. In 1910 attendance fell by about fifty pupils and the number of schools fell to nine.[429] By the close of the recording year in 1912, the problem began to correct itself. Not, however, by opening more boarding schools, but by using day schools and coeducation to reach more female pupils. This was the first time this idea was considered, and it changed the course of primary education in the Weixian field. In that year the head of the girls' primary schools, Madge Mateer, reported that there were ten boarding schools, two day schools, and 'a goodly number of girls attending the boys' day schools.'[430] The number of students in these schools was on the road to recovery of its pre-recession days with 217 pupils. The new system emerging in the countryside was not officially adopted by the station, but it worked to further extend the cause of female education without forcing the Chinese to contribute more.

In the primary schools the obvious solution was to break up the boarding schools and use the less expensive day school model. However, this could not be duplicated in the high schools. Similar to the Wen Mei School, in the academy the missionaries found that increasingly more students could not attend because of the increased fees. To solve this problem the missionaries queried for the first time whether a scholarship system of some sort could be established. One suggestion was for individuals in the US to support particular students. This idea was rejected on the basis that the costs of keeping a pupil in the school fluctuated from year to year depending on the local crop yields and the ability of the students to pay the existing fees.[431] By 1910, a solution had not yet been found, and

[429] 'Personal Report of J. Chalfant.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.
[430] 'Personal Report of Mrs. R. Mateer, 1911-1912.' *PHS.* RG82/4/2/20/8.
[431] 'R. Wells to O. Baum.' April 22, 1908, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r258.

it was only with the establishment of the Cooperation Committee that it was finally solved.

### A Move Towards Chinese Relevance in the Curriculum

While the missionaries debated the merits of enforcing fees, an important movement was also being made in the curriculum of the schools. The changes were part of the adaptation process that made mission schools incorporate Chinese needs. These were not instigated from within the station members themselves. It is also important to note that many of these changes were taking place as the Chinese school system was being created and the local community support system was slowly breaking down by the end of the Qing Dynasty.

The improvements and changes at the high schools were heavily influenced by changes in Chinese education. If they wanted to continue attracting students, the mission schools could not ignore these developments. As China's central and provincial governments implemented new educational principles, reformers promoted the establishment of institutes for the training teachers. The first of these was Zhang Jian in 1902. The development of a professional teaching force culminated with the 1911 Conference of Provincial Educational Associations held in Shanghai. It was important because of its emphasis on the idea that only professional educators, not the state, could competently run the educational system.[432] At this early time, however, there were very few Chinese educated in these areas. When it was first introduced, many of the Chinese institutions turned to the graduates of mission high schools to fill the posts in their own school system. This seems to have been particularly true of the female graduates when female education was only just entering the mainstream ideology.

The key change that took place was the incorporation of subjects that the students could use to improve the local community. This was due to a couple of factors. The first was that the schools became less of a religious training ground. The second, and most significant reason, was the increased competition from the Chinese-sponsored schools. In this era many began to incorporate more western topics, particularly science and mathematics, into their curriculum. According to Paul Bergen of the Shandong Christian University in 1903: 'A new era is at hand in China. Progress is in the air. Multitudes are ready to welcome the science, the civilization and even the religion of the West. Education is at the threshold of a momentous development.'[433] In addition, the Chinese

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[432] Bailey, P. *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes Towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-Century China.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1990. pp. 35, 99, and 136-137.
[433] Bergen, P. 'The Shantung Christian College.' *AH.* vol. 8, no. 2, February 1903. p. 44.

were introducing classes that were more relevant to the conditions they faced on a daily basis. The ideas behind this were enshrined in the 1904 regulations on supplementary education issued by the Chinese government that called for subjects to be introduced which raised the standard of living for the Chinese. One way to accomplish this was the opening of vocational schools where agriculture and handicrafts were taught. Besides specialized schools, the 1904 regulations also called for these ideas to be instituted in the primary and secondary schools.[434] With this new emphasis on education, the mission schools needed to change the courses they offered to continue recruiting students. However, it was a slow process, especially in the primary schools, and was not fully implemented until competition from the government schools became more noticeable.

Before 1900, mathematics and geography were included in the primary school curriculum, and a course in physiology was introduced to the high schools. As the Weixian missionaries returned and restarted their institutions, the advanced curriculum was adopted by three-quarters of the boys' primary schools. By 1907, trained teachers were coming out of the newly formed Shandong Christian University campuses in Weixian and Qingzhou. Additionally, a new curriculum was introduced in the high schools to prepare students for professions without attending the University. Because of these changes, the course material in the primary schools was updated.[435] The purpose of this was to further prepare the students as community leaders.

Although many advances were made in the primary schools, more dramatic changes were seen at the high school level. The most noticeable at the time was in the academy where students' intentions after graduation changed and secondary school became a terminal degree. This led to the creation of a two-track system where university and non-university students were given separate course offerings to suit their future needs.

Modifications to the curriculum of the academy were an issue since 1901 when Dr. William Faries wrote to Robert Speer that he anticipated a 'demand for enlightenment.'[436] It could not be content to offer a religious education with mathematics and geography as an afterthought. This realization was followed by the 1902 and 1904 education regulations passed by the Chinese government. Notwithstanding this, by 1903

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[434] Bailey. *Op cit.* p. 116.
[435] 'Personal Report of R. Mateer, 1906-1907.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261; 'Personal Report of Mrs. R. Mateer, 1906-1907.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261; and 'Personal Report of Madge Mateer, Weihsien, Shantung, China, 1917-1918.' *PHS.* RG82/16/1/20-8.
[436] 'W. Faries to R. Speer.' February 26, 1901, Shanghai. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.

no changes had yet been made. The problems experienced by government schools allowed the missionaries to drag their feet on the issue of curriculum reform.

This all changed when Ralph Wells took over running the Point Breeze Academy in 1905. In March he toured the areas around Jinan that had just experienced flooding. On his visit he was able to observe a 'trades school' offered by the local officials in place of free distribution of food.

> 'Another form of charity work which I saw there at Chinanfu carried on either by the government or by some official, I did not learn which, impressed me, from what I saw of it as being a far better plan than the free distribution of food. This is a sort of trades school. I had only a few moments to see the work, but they were gathered together in large number, I should say several hundreds of young men and boys, taken in from the street and taught useful trades....The two shops that I went into were the shoe shop and the carpenter shop. Evidence these young men and boys are learning there that which will make them useful members of society instead of beggars as they must otherwise inevitably be.'[437]

Wells was not bothered with the question of whether this was a better method of helping flood sufferers. He was impressed by the relevance of this work to the lives of those being assisted and the training for the future it provided.

A key to understanding the changes made at this time was the new type of student entering the Point Breeze Academy. The school was originally meant to have its students enter directly into the Shandong Christian University. However, now students were leaving the high school to enter the workforce as teachers, businessmen, or contribute to the local area in some other way. Therefore, Wells had to ensure that the new non-university track students received a full education, particularly those who would be entering the teaching profession. By taking the unusual step of ending their academic career at the high school, they would not get the more practical courses to train them for future employment provided by the University.

The creation of a non-university track program in the academy provided its students with a second option. However, the Wen Mei School's students did not have the option to go to a local university. Their formal education essentially ended at graduation. Nevertheless, Madge Mateer attempted to make its graduates able to take positions as

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[437] At this time Wells only reports that it was set up as part of the flood relief operations, but it is likely that it was established along the lines of the 1904 Government regulations. 'R. Wells to Friends.' March 23, 1905, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.

teachers in the local community. As can be seen in the 'General Plan and Constitution of Girls' Boarding School,' the wording of which can be found in Appendix A, the graduates were intended to return to the community as teachers and community leaders.[438] This purpose continued into this period and was expanded by the new social welfare movement. They now insisted that women be ready to lead from the classroom rather than strictly from the home as wives of preachers and pastors.

> 'It is the policy of the Mission to maintain at the Stations and other large centers Girls' High Schools for the higher Christ an education of the brighter girls from the country schools, with the purpose of fitting them for their responsibilities in making intelligent Christian homes, and for taking positions as teachers in the country schools for girls.'[439]

As the primary school system expanded, trained teachers were at a premium: 'Perhaps the most ominous feature (speaking generally) is an excessive spirit of office-seeking on the part of the Christians especially manifested in an unprecedented craze for teaching school.'[440] This new 'craze' in the local population, however, was only manifested in the male population. In some areas the missionaries tried to introduce female teachers, but found that this was detrimental to the school. They were not trained to teach the courses, specifically the Western subjects, causing a fall in a school's quality.

Not surprisingly, one of the big problems during the expansion movement was the lack of qualified teachers for the school system. The missionaries did not react quickly to the problem of teachers aside from closing schools. They had hoped that the graduates of the Wen Mei School would take up positions in the girls' primary schools, but by the end of the decade only one female teacher was officially added to the force. Many took positions in schools privately established outside the missionary system, or went to other areas.[441] This became even more pronounced with the introduction of a more advanced curriculum that could not be covered by the high school graduates. In an attempt to remedy the problem, they developed classes to train the teachers in these subjects. However, the institutes did not help because they continued to concentrate on religious issues. They failed to respond to the increasing needs of the school system.

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[438] 'General Plan and Constitution of Girls' Boarding School.' November 1882, Dengzhou. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r205.
[439] 'Reply of the West Shantung Presbyterian Mission to the Circular of the General Board of Education in China.' October 1907. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.
[440] 'Annual Report of (Rev.) F. Chalfant for the year 1893.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r216.
[441] 'Report of the Wei Hsien Station, China, for the Mission Year ending August 31, 1899.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

By 1905, a new training system had not been established and the girls' schools were again suffering from an inadequate number of female teachers. At this time the missionaries began to realize that the success of the primary schools could only come from new systems for training teachers. In this year the Shandong Christian University established the Arts College at Weixian and a Theological & Normal School at Qingzhou. The male teachers 'flocked' to these two schools to upgrade their qualifications. On first impressions it seems that this would be an advantage to the primary schools, but to the missionaries it proved to be problematic. With the rush to attend the University, schools were left without teachers. In addition, those that received the new training were demanding higher wages that the Chinese patrons could not always provide.[442]

This new movement in teacher training did not include female teachers. By 1907 their numbers had only regained their highest pre-1900 level. In an effort to increase the number of qualified female teachers Madge Mateer began a training course. Using the system to train male teachers before 1900, she called together a class for courses in religion, hygiene, and other secular subjects. Although the class was composed of both male and female teachers, it was aimed at improving the teaching quality in the girls' schools. Even with the more advanced training, the number of female teachers was still only 19% of the total number of teachers. However, they now constituted a majority of those in the girls' schools (twelve out of seventeen teachers). The missionaries continued attempting to raise the qualifications of the female teachers to ensure that all girls' primary schools could employ a female teacher. To supply this need the missionaries looked to graduates of the Wen Mei School as the main source of talent.[443]

By 1910 the curriculum of the high schools had changed considerably from the nineteenth century. They were now training professionals in addition to giving religious education for evangelists. This was seen in two areas. The first was the new non-university track program in the Point Breeze Academy. The second was the teacher training attempts made in the Wen Mei School. Both were reactions to changes in the local community that required individuals who were better prepared to enter society. No longer could the schools be used solely for religious training.

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[442] 'J. Fitch to A. Brown.' October 24, 1905, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256 and 'Annual Report of the West Shantung Mission (China) of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. for the Year ending August 30th, 1905.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261. p. 35.

[443] 'Annual Report of the West Shantung Mission (China) of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. for the Year ending August 30th, 1905.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261. p. 36; 'Personal Report of Mrs. R. Mateer, 1906-1907.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261; and 'Reply of the West Shantung Presbyterian Mission to the Circular of the General Board of Education in China.' October 1907. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

## Chinese in the Educational System

The period from 1900 to 1910 also saw a greater incorporation of Chinese into the administrative structure. When the nineteenth century closed, the Chinese had a foothold in the administration of the school system. They mainly held teaching positions in the primary schools, but also acted as superintendents of the system and were appointed as directors of the primary schools. All of this was continued and expanded in the period between 1900 and 1910. Their role in the school system became more pronounced as Ralph Wells took responsibility for the entire system.

After the school system recovered its pre-1900 numbers, the Chinese Superintendents continued to be responsible for conducting the examinations in the primary day schools and ensuring a uniform quality of scholarship. When Ralph Wells took over as general supervisor their role expanded. Before this time, the foreign missionary in charge took much of the responsibility for supervising the primary schools, at least in the correspondence to the Foreign Board. At this time, Ralph Wells was more concerned with running the Point Breeze Academy, and his obligations in the primary schools were passed to the Superintendents.[444] The devolved areas included not only general oversight but also the life of the students and conditions of the schools.[445] In other words, areas that had been seen to be wholly in the missionary's realm were now being passed onto the Chinese staff.

It should be noted here that position of Superintendent was only employed in the boys' primary school system. The number of girls' primary schools was still quite small allowing a missionary to directly oversee them. As girls' day schools increased and the system expanded, a female Superintendent was employed for them.[446] However, with the small number of schools requiring supervision, it appears that the position was short-lived and no further mention is made of it.

The participation of the Chinese in the school system went beyond their administrative role. Many supported the creation of new schools that were important for

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[444] In his report for the year 1913-1914 Ralph Wells states: 'This year as in former years I have had charge of the Point Breeze Academy and the fifty-two Boys' Country Schools in the Weihsien district. Sixteen hours a week during the autumn term and seventeen during the spring term have been given to teaching which together with the station treasurership, the management of affairs in connection with the Compound Gate and membership on the University Property Committee and other committees have kept my time fairly occupied.' 'Personal Report for Year 1913-1914.' Weixian. *PHS*. RG82/8/8/20-8.

[445] In the report for 1914 the new role of the superintendents was noted. 'The material equipment of the schools is gradually being improved, and the inspectors are gathering material for a comparative chart to use at our next institute, to show the sanitary conditions, lighting, ventilation, condition of the walls, floors, desks, seats, blackboards and other equipment.' 'Report for the Weihsien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914.' *PHS*. RG82/8/8/20-2. p. 22.

[446] 'Personal Report of Mrs. R. Mateer, 1906-1907.' *PHS*. MF10.F761a.r261.

the healthy expansion of the system. We should not oversimplify the process by thinking that it was only with the missionaries' entrance that this phenomenon took place. In China's past the idea of establishing self-supporting local schools was already present. Modern education in China was now beginning to be discussed at the upper levels of government with a concerted effort being made to introduce Western subjects after 1900. In Shandong itself Paul Bailey reports that 12.45% of the children were attending school by 1919.[447]

As education began to change and the government opened more schools, many private schools were established. It was through this process that the Weixian Station experienced the massive expansion in its own system that reported a total of 2,415 pupils in 1920. The creation of schools by local Christians began in the 1890s and continued after the reestablishment of the system in the spring of 1901. Many more schools outside the station's control were also established and later applied to become part of the missionary school system to receive all the advantages associated with it: sit the entrance examinations for the high school, be inspected by the Superintendents, receive the same graduation certificates as the rest in the system, and send their teachers to the periodic teacher's institutes at the station. This had the effect of further decentralizing the school system, and it encouraged the policies of self-support and self-government.

[447] Bailey. *Op cit.* p. 203.

## Recovery and Expansion in the Medical Enterprise after the Boxers

The first ten years of the twentieth century were the most important for the medical movement. They set the tone for the work until the late-1930s and inaugurated the social welfare policies. As the last section reported, the educational enterprise brought Ralph Wells, a professional educator, who was heavily involved in overhauling the school system. The medical enterprise, on the other hand, already had professional individuals working to improve the system. However, the first decade of the new century brought new individuals, specifically Charles Roys, who were instrumental in bringing it into line with modern medical practices that were becoming commonplace in the US. In addition to new levels of treatment in the hospitals and expanding permanent medical work beyond the borders of the compound walls, the new personnel encouraged responsibility to be given to the Chinese medical workers, building on the work of Dr. Ding in the 1890s. Unlike education that still had the old theologian administrators, the medical enterprise was able to rebuild from the beginning.

### Reestablishing the Medical Enterprise

The nineteenth century closed with a need to overhaul the existing institutions. Many of the ideas that emerged in the 1890s were adopted between 1900 and 1910. However, the plans were based on the financial support and knowledge of the nineteenth century. Although new facilities were established, they quickly became obsolete. The experience in the hospital facilities was similar to that of the secondary schools: they were not planned for expansion and they were constructed fairly cheaply. In addition to the realization that the old style facilities were insufficient, the first decade of the new century brought important advances to the medical enterprise that made it comparable to education in its capacity to involve the Chinese. These included the further incorporation of Chinese assistants, greater levels of self-support, and the establishment of dispensaries outside the station.

With their return to Weixian in March 1901 the missionaries were pleasantly surprised to find the hospital wards, Dr. Faries's Chinese guestroom, and other small buildings from the old hospital grounds still standing. However, their doors and windows were destroyed or taken by looters. Since the structures were intact, they were acceptable for temporary schools and residences. However, they were useless for medical work and new buildings were required. This allowed the staff to adopt earlier ideas for the physical separation of the Men's and Women's Departments, as shown in Appendix F. In their approval for the rebuilding project, the West Shandong Mission noted that it gave 'a

unique opportunity for perfecting the utility of the property.'[448] Despite the establishment of the new facilities, the enterprise continued to be considered secondary. In the pre-1900 period this had not resulted in open conflict, but the new doctors were not willing to sit idly by while their work suffered.

Before the medical enterprise could be restarted and any building projects were begun, it needed to find a temporary home. Since the hospitals and wards were the only buildings usable for residence, the physicians were not able to begin practicing on the compound premises. The priority at the time was the reestablishment of the evangelists' work, conducting bible classes, and starting the high schools before the hospital and dispensary were opened. Therefore, Dr. Faries began working on a limited scale in April 1901 in a makeshift dispensary in a local inn. Although his work was received well by the local population, it was greatly handicapped by the lack of space.[449] Between 1901 and 1902 the dispensary reported 5,030 patients with 'some surgical operations' performed.[450] Dr. Faries only operated the dispensary with no participation by the female physicians.

When the enterprise was reopened, the need for medical assistants was immediate. The proof that the Chinese assistants were going to be an important asset to the enterprise appeared before the missionaries ever returned to the interior. With the abandonment of the station in June 1900 the foreign medical staff were no longer available. Therefore, the treatment of patients in the area fell to the Chinese assistants. Again we see very scanty information on all this, but it was clear that they tried to take on the role of local doctors and continued to support the dispensary work. In December 1900 Dr. Faries noted the 'courage' of Dr. Ding in dressing the wounded after the riot. Although only one specific mention is made of their work while the missionaries were away, with their connection to the station it can be assumed that the local people came to them for help. Thus, even while the medical personnel were forced to the foreign concession areas, treatment continued under the Chinese assistants.[451]

After the doctors' return, the importance of the medical assistants continued. For the year 1901-1902 appropriations were made for five medical assistants, three men and

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[448] 'Minutes of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the West Shantung Mission, held in Tsingtau, August 10th to August 23rd 1901.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

[449] In the yearly report for Weixian the writer notes that Dr. Faries 'had patients from the first. The quarters were cramped, and nothing but dispensary work could be attempted. The Doctor looks forward to an earley [sic] rebuilding of his dispensary, and is sure that the old popularity is unimpaired.' This seems attributable not to the work itself, but the work of the assistants in the absence of the missionaries. Also important to note here was that this early dispensary work was condoned by the local population under fear of retribution from the missionaries for the destruction of their property. 'Wei Hsien Stations' Annual Report to the West Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church, December 1900 to August 1901.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

[450] 'W. Faries to the Board of Foreign Missions.' Fall 1902, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

[451] 'W. Faries to the Board of Foreign Mission.' December 15, 1900, Chefoo. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r217.

two women. This number remained steady in the early part of the new century and the Women's Department added another in 1904. Their contribution at this time is only specifically mentioned in a few cases when they worked separately from the foreign physicians. In November 1901 there is further mention of the work of the Chinese doctor connected to the dispensary. During this time, an epidemic stemming from the local population eating diseased meat was reported by *The North-China Herald* and that the doctor 'hastened to their aid with foreign antidotes.'[452] It is significant that the foreign doctors are not mentioned, and it is worthwhile to note that the Chinese assistants were beginning to move out into the society and take up work on their own. This was important for the station during the cholera epidemic in 1902. Before this time, Dr. Faries was heavily involved with the rebuilding projects. He only had time for supervising the daily work at the dispensary. With his added tasks of ensuring the sanitary conditions of the compound and the health of the workmen during the epidemic, he could not have spent much time seeing patients. Therefore, this work fell to the Chinese assistants.[453] This was the first time the assistants acted without direct foreign oversight.

Over the summer the medical enterprise was brought into full swing. It began slowly but increased dramatically in July with the outbreak of cholera in the area. In February 1903 the Weixian Medical Committee pronounced Dr. Faries unfit for continued work due to a 'malarial parasite.'[454] In May he and his family left China and did not return to the station. With the loss of Dr. Faries in the Men's Department, responsibility for the dispensary was passed to the Chinese assistant. Under his direction patients suffering from 'minor ailments' were treated.[455] However, without a foreign male doctor the Men's Hospital remained closed.[456]

The departure of Dr. Faries brought new life to Weixian. The arrival of new doctors trained in modern facilities accelerated the pace of change. More emphasis was placed on having an up-to-date hospital, improving the administration, and the general expansion of the enterprise. As will be seen later, the Foreign Board and other station non-medical personnel were not keen on this expenditure. The first step in this process was the centralization of the enterprise's management. This process began in 1903 with

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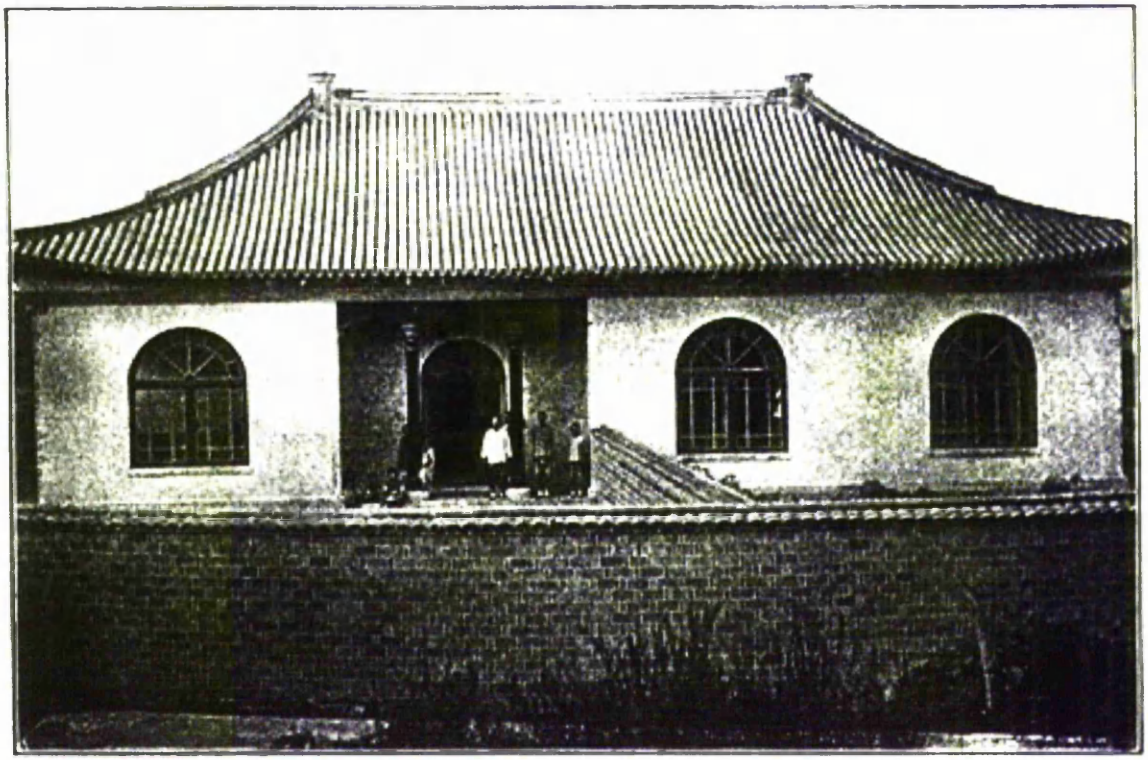
[452] The short piece does not mention whether it was a male or female doctor who had come to the aid of the local population. *NCH.* vol. 67, no. 1790, November 27, 1901. p. 1021.
[453] 'E. Parks to C. Fenn.' April 8, 1902, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256 and 'Station Report for Period Aug. 10, 1901 - Oct. 1, 1902.' Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.
[454] 'Medical Committee to Members of the West Shantung Mission.' February 14, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.
[455] Dr. Edna Parks likely supervised the Men's Hospital. 'Station Report.' September 22, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.
[456] 'Personal Record of Dr. C. Roys.' *PHS.* Uncatalogued Records of Charles Kirkland Roys.

the appointment of Dr. Charles Roys, a recent graduate of the Columbia University College of Surgeons and Physicians, and continued under Dr. LeRoy Heimburger.

**Figure 6**

**Weixian Men's Dispensary, Post-1900**[457]



The staffing problems during the early years in the Men's Department soon affected the medical work in general. The majority of the work fell on the shoulders of Dr. Edna Parks. However, she was unhappy with the hospital responsibility this brought. With new opportunities that rebuilding afforded her, she soon became disinterested in the traditional role of a missionary doctor. Her new views began early in May 1903. When Dr. Parks returned to station after the Boxers, it was thought best for only one doctor, Dr. Faries, to begin seeing patients because of the space problems. Instead of working in the station, she began a series of country trips to gain a better understanding of Chinese society. Through her experiences she decided that her calling was not in the hospital. It was in the country medical and evangelical work that she took up heartily.[458] Soon afterwards she and Rev. Alexander Waite were married and she left Weixian for the Jining Station in southwest Shandong.[459]

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[457] *69th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1906. PHS.* facing p. 123.
[458] 'R. Mateer to R. Speer.' May 4, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.
[459] 'P. Bergen to A. Brown.' March 25, 1905, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.

The Women's Department began much later than that started by Dr. Faries. Because of the lack of space in the inn, the female doctors waited until after the new facilities were completed to begin work. After the completion of the new hospital, the medical enterprise now had a new base from which to grow. The most important change was not its size, but that it was more sanitary.[460] During the year 1903-1904 the Women's Department recorded 3,845 patients at the daily clinic, an increase of 1,000 over the previous year; 122 inpatients, each averaging fifteen days in the hospital; and thirty-three surgical operations requiring general or local anesthesia in which only a single death occurred.[461] Over the following years the number of women patients fluctuated, but remained at between 3,000 and 4,000 dispensary patients and 100 inpatients until 1912.

**Table 8**

**Women's Medical Statistics, 1902-1918**[462]

| Dates | Dispensary Patients | Suicide Cases | Inpatients | Outcalls |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1902-1903 | 3273 | 50 | 84 | 101 |
| 1903-1904 | 5157 | 90 | 122 | 77 |
| 1905-1906 | 3117 | 101 | 51 | 51 |
| 1906-1907 | 3849 | 114 | 89 | 48 |
| 1907-1908 | 3950 | 87 | 132 | 63 |
| 1908-1909 | 3591 | 93 | 127 | 162 |
| 1909-1910 | 3191 | 55 | 147 | 296[463] |
| 1911-1912 | 3178 | | 202 | 124 |
| 1912-1913[464] | 4000 | | | 202 |
| 1913-1914 | 9000 | | 151 | |
| 1916-1917 | 3953 | 48 | 85 | |
| 1916 | 4138 | | 85 | |
| 1917-1918 | 5153 | 65 | 120 | |
| 1917 | 5323 | | 120 | |
| 1918 | 5726 | | 115 | |
| 1919 | 3932 | | 128 | |

The Foreign Board was quick to react with the appointment of Dr. Margaret Hughes Bynon. Upon arrival in September her first reaction to the appearance of the facilities was one of disbelief. Seeing the rows of rooms for use as the hospital wards she wrote: 'I wondered then as I do now how even I was to manage my future patients in

[460] In a later section on conditions in the hospitals this idea is refuted. This only shows the quickly changing world of scientific medicine and how sanitation became part of mainstream ideas in the US.
[461] 'Personal Report of Edna Parks for year ending September 1st 1904.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261 and *68th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1905. PHS.* p. 134.
[462] Compiled from the American Presbyterian Foreign Board Reports, Missionary Personal Reports, and Weixian Station Reports for these years. *PHS.*
[463] This high number of outcalls was noted to be mostly obstetric cases rather then general curative cases.
[464] For this year the records only covered 8 months.

them.'[465] In March 1905 she was forced to take full charge of the medical work at Weixian. She would have liked to continue her language study, but, in the opinion of the station, she was competent enough to begin working. During this time, she recorded 1,700 patients treated at the dispensary, fifteen hospital in-patients, twenty-two operations performed, forty-two calls to patients' homes, and sent 206 female patients medicine through male members of the household.[466] Although she was the head of the Women's Hospital, her work continued on a part-time basis until March 1906 at which time she had gained enough language experience. The response to this was an immediate increase in the dispensary cases.[467]

While the female doctor expanded her work, the Men's Department remained closed until 1907 when the station decided that the time had come for it to reopen. The report noted that the patients 'who have been sick months or years...are just waiting for the doors to open to come for treatment.'[468] However, Charles Roys did not feel confident enough to run the hospital. According to the correspondence, he was thought to be ideal for the position at Weixian because of his excellent surgical skills and experience in hospital work. However, he lacked the necessary experience in hospital management. This criticism could have resulted from tension with the evangelists, but he took immediate steps to remedy this upon arrival. In May 1906, he made a one-day trip to view the operational side of a missionary hospital at the Baptist Missionary Society Hospital in Zouping under Dr. Thomas Paterson.[469]

Once Dr. Roys took over he met with the realities of medical work on the China field. A main concern of his was the lack of funding he was receiving for surgical procedures. Although he could afford the basic equipment, he lacked the funds to provide proper post-operative care. Some of the equipment he required included quantities of antiseptics, sterile facilities, and clean dressings. These problems made the possibility of performing abdominal operations very limited, and, when performed, they were done at a

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[465] In a later section on conditions in the hospitals this idea is refuted. This only shows the quickly changing world of scientific medicine and how sanitation became part of mainstream ideas in the US. 'M. Bynon to A. Brown.' October 26, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256 and 'Letter from Dr. Margaret Bynon.' *WWW.* vol. 19, no. 2, February 1904. p. 40.

[466] 'M. Bynon to A. Brown.' May 2, 1905, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256 and Bynon, M. H. 'First Medical Report from Wei Hsien, March 27 - Sept. 1, 1905.' *WWW.* vol. 21, no. 2, February 1906. p. 34.

[467] 'Annual Report of the West Shantung Mission (China) of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. for the Year ending August 31st, 1906.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261. p. 18 and 'Editorial Notes.' *WWW.* vol. 22, no. 5, May 1907. p. 98.

[468] *70th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1907. PHS.* p. 127 and *Annual Report of the West Shantung Mission, 1906. PHS.* p. 18.

[469] 'C. Roys to A. Brown.' May 13, 1906, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.

very high risk to the patients and, therefore, to the work of doctors in Weixian.[470] These shortfalls were temporarily covered by a personal gift. Notwithstanding the problem, Dr. Roys was able to perform 120 operations between January and June covering areas such as cancer, miscellaneous tumors, and others 'of a minor nature.'[471] But he refused to perform abdominal operations. In his opinion it was too risky to the patient and if many died because of his efforts it might have proven detrimental to the work. In addition to the operations performed in this year, the hospital recorded 249 inpatients that increased by 100 in three years. The number of patients attending the dispensary also grew, eventually reaching 5,743. Because of the increasingly cramped conditions and the unsanitary state that the buildings were in, the only solution was for a massive overhaul of the facilities.

**Table 9**

**Men's Medical Statistics, 1902-1918**[472]

| Dates | Dispensary Patients | Suicide Cases | Inpatients | Outcalls | Outcall Patients |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1901-1902 | 5030 | | | | |
| 1906-1907 | 1,000 | 20 | 249 | | 495 |
| 1907-1908 | | | 359 | | |
| 1908-1909 | 4,458 | | 383 | | |
| 1909-1910 | 5368 | | 365 | 95 | |
| 1910-1911 | 5743 | | 324 | 196 | |
| 1912-1913[473] | 9538 | | 517 | 124 | |
| 1913-1914 | 13,834 | | 389 | | |
| 1916-1917 | 4629 | | 173 | | |
| 1916 | 4765 | | 173 | | |
| 1917-1918 | 6164 | | 233 | | |
| 1917 | 6268 | | 233 | | |
| 1918 | 5951 | | 288 | | |
| 1919 | 7114 | | 314 | | |

## Taking the Enterprise outside the Compound Walls

The expansion and modernization of the medical enterprise went beyond the institutions at the station. Throughout this process the missionaries spent much time and effort attempting to spread their influence among the population within the walled city. This is exhibited by the attempts of Dr. Charles Roys to buy land closer to it for a new hospital. One of the more concrete projects was the opening of a dispensary there. This had previously been tried, but opposition to the missionary presence was considered too

[470] 'C. Roys to Mr. Burrell.' March 24, 1907, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257 and 'C. Roys to Mr. Wisner.' July 7, 1907, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.
[471] 'C. Roys to Mr. Wisner.' July 7, 1907, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.
[472] Compiled from the American Presbyterian Foreign Board Reports, Missionary Personal Reports, and Weixian Station Reports for these years. *PHS.*
[473] For this year the records only covered 8 months.

great. As reported earlier, Dr. Faries established the first working city dispensary. His work at this point was only considered temporary and he gave it up after the station was rebuilt. Any hostile feelings that had been apparent during the times of Dr. Smith had been dissipated by the work of the missionaries throughout the 1890s. This was compounded by the forced acceptance of the foreigners' right to reside in the area from the local government when they returned to the interior after the Boxer Uprising.

With the appointment of Dr. Charles Roys in 1904 a new period of city work was begun. The female physicians had done extensive work among the urban women in the nineteenth century. However, according to Dr. Roys, the walled city of Weixian had a permanent population of 100,000 among whom the missionaries had made no progress.[474] At the same time, he noted that China was adopting more western ways of thinking and that Christianity should take advantage of this. The method that he chose to pry open the city was a dispensary to bring in crowds to a Christian complex that would include a dispensary, chapel, and museum. The facility was not intended to replace the station's dispensary and hospital, but it would be used solely as a tool to bring people into contact with the Christian message, as Peter Parker had done. The station's institutions would be used to treat the more serious medical and surgical cases. By 1905, Dr. Roys had already chosen the spot for his project.

> 'Near the south gate of the city, on an important and much used street, there is a building (quadrangle and court) now owned by the native church. The central house was burned down some time ago, which left a space about sixty by thirty feet. In the other rooms about the court there are now a chapel, school rooms and the house of the Chinese helper....I am already picturing a neat little building in that central court, one room large enough to be used as a waiting-room during the week and a chapel on Sunday, a small consulting room and a drug-room, and 200 patients a day from this busy, prosperous city and from the country about which fairly swarms and crawls with people.'[475]

In October the project was passed by the Shandong Mission on the condition that the funds, amounting to about $1,750, could be raised outside the general appropriations of the Foreign Board. This would cover the cost of purchasing the remaining land for a ninety square foot area, labor, and building materials.[476] On the suggestion of Rev. J. D.

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[474] 'C. Roys to Friends.' October 8, 1905, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.
[475] 'C. Roys to A. Brown.' March 5, 1905, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.
[476] 'C. Roys to Friends.' October 8, 1905, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.

Burrell, pastor of the Classon Avenue Church in Brooklyn, Arthur Brown wrote that since they were providing support for Dr. Roys, the Church might be able to give most of the money towards the new dispensary.[477] Although a long wait for the funds was expected, in the beginning of 1906 the entire amount was raised by the contribution of Mr. and Mrs. J. Amherst Wisner in memory of their son, Clinton A. Wisner.[478]

Upon receipt of the funds the land and building materials were bought. By August 1906, the preparations were completed and a feast was held to mark the commencement of the building at which a 'small wooden model' of the dispensary complex was unveiled to the local residents and officials. The following day the buildings were 'staked out' and construction began.[479] The new facility was not going to be constructed strictly along Chinese architectural lines. Roys was going to include some new designs that the compound hospitals were lacking. One aspect that was of keen interest to the missionaries was the use of a 'corrugated-iron roof' that allowed the main building to be much wider than other Chinese buildings in the area by about thirty feet. More important for building techniques was the inclusion of a 'hot-air furnace' that was intended to ensure healthy conditions.[480] The hospitals, on the other hand, were not built with this idea in mind. The dispensary was ready just about on time, and in late-October Dr. Roys reported that he was starting work there, although the official opening was not until December.[481]

The work at the Wisner Dispensary was fairly short-lived and difficult. On the suggestion of Henry Luce, in the US raising funds for the Shandong Protestant University, Dr. Roys came up with a plan to create an endowment for his project. In a letter to Rev. Burrell he brought up the idea that by raising an $18,000 endowment fund the dispensary would have a guaranteed yearly income of $720 on top of what the Board would give him. This additional income would allow him to run the dispensary at a higher level and not have to rely on the favor of the evangelists or the Foreign Board. His work towards endowment was done for a very basic reason: 'to see the dispensary put on an effective basis, and I want to see a more adequate effort made here to relieve the great mass of human misery which I see every day.'[482] Unlike other times, there is no evidence that Dr. Roys first gained approval from the mission or Foreign Board before proposing it

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[477] 'A. Brown to the West Shantung Mission.' December 9, 1905, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r259.
[478] 'A. Brown to C. Roys.' February 10, 1906, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r259 and *Annual Report of the West Shantung Mission, 1906. PHS.* p. 18.
[479] 'C. Roys to A. Brown.' May 13, 1906, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257 and 'C. Roys to A. Brown.' August 26, 1906, Iltio Bay. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.
[480] We noted in an earlier section the lack of heating in the hospital and the problems caused by it. 'C. Roys to the Classon Avenue Church.' September 30, 1906, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257 and 'C. Roys to Mr. Burrell.' October 29, 1906, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.
[481] 'C. Roys to Mr. Burrell.' October 29, 1906, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.
[482] 'C. Roys to Mr. Wisner.' July 7, 1907, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.

to the Classon Avenue Church. Throughout this process, Dr. Roys became greatly disillusioned at the possibilities of his work due to financial limitations.

Although the question of funding was not solved, the first full year of work saw 3,696 patients treated at the new dispensary. This took the burden off the station clinic and hospital workers as only 1,000 were reported there.[483] Between 1909 and 1910 the number of patients in the Wisner Dispensary fell slightly, but work at the dispensary continued.

In 1907 the hospital was reopened with a majority of its dispensary work transferred to the Clinton Wisner Dispensary in the city. The numbers at this time were small in comparison with later years counting 249 inpatients and 1,000 treatments given at the station clinics. It was not long before Dr. Roys needed to make a serious operational decision. Because of the rising cost of surgical operations and overcrowding problems, he had to take some of the base funds from the Wisner Dispensary. This action shows that the station was not willing to greatly increase the funds for the hospital to cover these costs. In the end Roys was bailed out by an outside contribution, but he saw at this time the tight strings of the Foreign Board when it came to medical work.[484] Notwithstanding this, Dr. Roys was able to perform 120 operations between January and June.[485]

When Dr. Roys left on one of his furloughs, many were ready to continue the dispensary because of its important evangelical contributions. The Cooperation Committee thought differently and voted to close it due to lack of foreign supervision.[486] It would be logical to think that the responsibility would be given to one of the Chinese medical staff. The correspondence does not explain why this did not occur. However, it must be remembered that although the female doctors had given control of the hospital to their Chinese assistants, there was always some level of foreign oversight. Without the possibility of a foreigner on-call in case there was a problem, Dr. Roys did not feel comfortable leaving it open. There is yet another reason that can be surmised from the Dispensary's history. The other missionaries not connected directly with this work saw it as a drain on resources, and it was not fulfilling its purpose of bringing in the masses as had been hoped. Many Chinese who had been associated with the station also had begun opening private practices in the main city and suburbs. Therefore, the Dispensary was not

[483] Most of these cases were from the station's schools and the Arts College located there. *71st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1908. PHS.* p. 130.
[484] 'C. Roys to Mr. Burrell.' March 24, 1907, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.
[485] 'C. Roys to Mr. Wisner.' July 7, 1907, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.
[486] 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.' *PHS.* RG82/6/2/20-2.

providing a specialized service. Thus, it was decided that continuing the work there was unnecessary.

Another important contribution in this period was the itinerant work that brought important medical care to Weixian's field. It built on that of the pre-1900 period and was most important for the female patients. Chapter 3 described the work performed by Drs. Brown and Mateer in the 1890s, but with the withdrawal of Madge Mateer into the educational enterprise it was difficult to maintain. After 1900, the itinerating work continued under Dr. Edna Parks. By May 1903 she had decided that her calling was not in the hospital, but that it was in the countryside. At the end of the year she had made 101 out-calls, covering a distance of 557 miles (1,670 *li*). In 1904 she recorded seventy-nine visits to patients' homes, excluding those made in the local area. At the time it was the view of the missionaries that if her heart was not in the work then she could not be a success and might do more harm than good.[487] This seems to have been very much the case with most medical missionaries who wanted to take a more active part in evangelization. Because of this, the idea of medical work outside the station was pushed to the fore of the enterprise.

Like the 1890s, the initial itinerant work after 1900 centered on the female population. As indicated by Tables 8 and 9, by 1910, the number of calls to women far outnumbered those made to men. In this year, the doctors made 296 calls to women with only ninety-five made to male patients. As had occurred in the surgical department, the home visits to women were most important in childbirth related cases. The traveling missionary doctor brought new advances in obstetrics to the rural areas. Out of the 296 calls made in 1910 the missionaries noted that most of the cases seen were obstetric. This form of work was also important in changing the attitude of the patients who might not have been willing to attend a dispensary or hospital in the past.

### Chinese Assistants

One of the important questions in relation to the involvement of the Chinese in missionary enterprises is the extent to which they were seen as integral to the evangelical work. During this period, the Weixian personnel began experimenting with using assistants in the medical work throughout the field. In this position they were placed in the surrounding region to support the evangelists. The idea was to expand the outstation dispensary idea using Chinese doctors and assistants. In May 1903 Robert Mateer

[487] 'Personal Report of Edna Parks for year ending September 1st 1904.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261; *68th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1905. PHS.* p. 134; and 'R. Mateer to R. Speer.' May 4, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.

described the plan to establish work in the Yizhou area with twelve helpers and one of 'Dr. Faries trained doctors' by renting a house and supplying rooms for the doctor's work. The doctor was intended to live and work as a 'Christian physician.'[488] The work of putting Christian doctors into the field was done on a very small scale, and was probably intended to enhance evangelical work. However, the concept of using trained medical assistants was in opposition to the plans of the medical personnel. They viewed the assistants' place to be in the station's hospital supporting their work and allowing them freedom to begin new projects.

The point of training medical assistants changed when Dr. Charles Roys began his work in 1906. With the removal of Dr. Faries, the training of assistants was interrupted. As noted earlier, Dr. Roys began work at the Clinton Wisner Dispensary in October 1906. This meant that he would have to spend much of his time traveling between the station and the dispensary. This cut down on the amount of time he could give to treating patients at both. Almost immediately his plan ran into problems. To carry out this idea, without reducing the level of treatment given to patients, he needed competent medical assistants to supervise the hospital in his absence. There had already been a three-year gap in the work of the Men's Department and there was only one assistant remaining. As a solution, he began teaching an ex-cook and two schoolboys rudimentary medical care. Like the assistants of the 1890s, they were taught the basic skills of compounding medicine, nursing, and primary treatment.[489]

While the work of Dr. Roys brought the number of assistants back up to six, three males and three females, they were still inadequate for the needs of the hospitals that registered 338 inpatients and 4,843 dispensary treatments for the year 1906-1907. This made the continuation of the policy that allowed patients to bring their own 'nurses' necessary. The inadequacy found in the Chinese assistants at this time was down to two reasons: 1. the inability of the station to hold onto the trained doctors and 2. the lack of training that the doctors who remained received. During Dr. Bynon's vacation in the summer of 1907, Ms. Chu and Ms. Huang, her assistants, took over the work in the hospital. This included the treatment of patients at the daily clinic, making calls to the houses of patients, and performing minor operations.[490] However, major operations were left to Dr. Roys. This was a problem that related to the inadequate training of the assistants that was only meant to make them good assistants rather than full-fledged

[488] 'R. Mateer to R. Speer.' May 4, 1903, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.
[489] 'C. Roys to Mr. Burrell.' October 29, 1906, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.
[490] 'Our Hospitals for Women in China.' *WWW.* vol. 23, no. 2, February 1908. p. 41.

doctors. With the opening of the Shandong Union College Medical School in Jinan this was intended to change.

### Self-Support in the Medical Enterprise

After 1900 the issue of funding became more important with the increasing expense of medical care. In an article entitled 'Where Medical Missions Fail,' Harold Balme clearly stated the apprehension of the evangelists towards the medical enterprise because of the 'considerable expenditure of money' that was required to retain a high level of care.[491] By 1906, some mission groups had already begun charging for outpatient and inpatient treatments. The amount charged by each group fluctuated and there does not seem to have been a consensus on the subject. This new view on self-support within the mission community coincided with the push towards the policy advocated by the Foreign Board of the Presbyterian Church. They wanted to see this adopted further, as had happened in the field of education.

Those in the Weixian Station had been ahead of the game, and they only had to continue their policy of charging patients for treatment.[492] The increased costs from operations performed with anesthetic and the price of medicine led Dr. Roys to the conclusion that it was not wise to rely too heavily on the Chinese for providing funds. He concluded that if the increasing cost of medical work was put onto the Chinese, they would cease attending the dispensary and would not travel to have surgery performed in the hospital: 'The self-support idea is very good theoretically, but as applied to modern medical work among masses of people who are never without the possibility of actual starvation, it becomes penny-wise and pound-foolish, and opposition and prejudice remain as intense as ever, largely because our best means for overcoming them is crippled and starved.'[493]

### Summary

The decade after the Boxer Uprising was a time of transition and reconstruction. When the missionaries returned, they found a changed society more open to Western education and medicine. Being a transitional period this decade also showed reluctance on the part of the missionaries to press forward with their policies of the nineteenth century too rigidly. This was caused by a fear stemming from financial problems in the local community. Missionary institutions had to adapt to these changes, sometimes applying old methods and developing new ones. These included the policies of self-

[491] Balme, H. 'Where Medical Missions Fail.' *CMJ.* vol. 24, no. 1, January 1910. p. 44.
[492] 'Report of the American Presbyterian Hospital, Weihsien, 1919.' *PHS.* p. 9.
[493] 'C. Roys to A. Brown.' October 17, 1909, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r258.

support and the use of Chinese assistants as traveling medical practitioners. The process of reconstruction pushed for greater cooperation. This was particularly true in education, but the medical enterprise made good progress, although it generally lagged behind.

Many of the policies were not expanded upon in this period to a large extent, but an important step was made with the employment of Ralph Wells and Charles Roys in the educational and medical enterprises. These two individuals did more for the growth of cooperation than those in the nineteenth century, and created the conditions for greater conflict with the evangelists. The most prominent point in this was the fact that they adopted the approach of the liberal missionaries and were more concerned with the social changes the enterprises could impart. Through their work more concentration was placed on the expansion of the secular enterprises as individual projects rather than as minor parts of the overall evangelical effort. This was particularly notable in the case of the Wisner Dispensary.

# Chapter 5

## Finalizing the Modern Institutions, 1910-1920

The period from 1910 to 1920 brought together the final pieces that formed the base of the institutions. The missionaries gained confidence in the Chinese and they in turn forced their interests through financial and administrative means that were available to them. In this decade there was an increase in the training of Chinese as teachers and nurses, a role for the new Cooperation Committee, and the part played by the Chinese in the financial wellbeing of the enterprises became more proactive. All of these continued until the 1930s when the station was abandoned in the face of the Japanese advance.

### Chinese Expansionists and Administrators in Education

One of the important characteristics of the 1910-1920 period was the increasingly active role taken by the Chinese. This was evident in all areas of education. It was particularly important for the expansion of the school system. Initially, their work focused on the primary schools. However, as this system developed, changes were forced upon the secondary schools and then the universities. It is important to note that the foreign missionaries did not push for expansion through the local population. Rather, it was stimulated by the developments in Chinese education that followed the 1911 Revolution. This included creating educational opportunities for girls, female students being allowed to follow a more professional life, and the opening of provincial university systems.

The new policies promoted by the Chinese were in line with the increasing interest in new education at the primary and secondary levels. The growth of government sponsored schools soon came into competition with mission schools. In 1913 the missionaries reported ten new schools in the city of Weixian that were established by private individuals and the Chinese government.[494] This would have taken many of the non-Christian students and would erode the evangelistic role of the primary schools. Facing this new prospect, the missionaries were forced to take a greater interest in extending their school system. This was partly to continue attracting students and individuals to the Church, but also they feared that Christian students would be discriminated against because they would not participate in all the class exercises. One of the most poignant aspects of this argument is that the missionaries wanted to make sure the students did not feel compelled to worship Confucius as God was in their schools. They did not want the children to revert to their previously held beliefs that they had worked so hard to get rid of. In 1916 Charlotte Hawes described these fears.

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[494] 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.' *PHS.* RG82/6/2/20-2.

> 'At Yen Kia Twang-z [sic], I found the Christian boys had been true to Christ under sore trial. Having no Christian school, they attended the Government school in the next village. At a large funeral, the school boys were all expected to bow down, with the others. The Christian boys refusing to do so, were expelled from school. They are now rejoicing in a Christian school in that village, and through its good influence, the church has prospered.'[495]

The impact of this problem was an inevitable expansion of the enterprise that led to administrative and financial restructuring efforts.

**Primary School Expansion**

As noted in Chapter 4, Ralph Wells took over the administrative responsibility for the Point Breeze Academy. Under his leadership the school expanded and was modernized along secular lines. In 1910, Wells began a new phase as the supervisor for the primary school system. His appointment brought a new era in primary education. However, his main interest at this time was in the educational system. For this reason, the Chinese were relied on to take a large role in the primary schools. The Chinese Superintendent was the first to feel the impact of this increased responsibility. Soon afterwards, however, a new organization emerged and took over the primary schools and revolutionized the entire system.

In 1913 the station organized its first Cooperation Committee that involved both the Chinese and foreign members of the mission.[496] One branch of this new group was the Education Committee that was given responsibility for the general oversight of the primary schools. Similar to earlier periods, the Chinese made full use of their position and asserted their interests.[497] The impact of these new responsibilities allowed the missionaries freedom to concentrate on other matters, such as the high schools and evangelistic work.

At the time of the Education Committee's formation, the girls' schools were overcrowded and the system could not expand without a massive investment of funds. As Table 2 shows, the appropriations would not have supported this action. The issue at hand was the fact that the girls' schools continued in the boarding school model. Therefore, they were heavily affected by the rising prices of goods. In the past, each student was given a monthly stipend of $.75 Mex. for food. In 1910 this sum only amounted to half of

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[495] 'Report of Charlotte Hawes, Wei Hsien, China, 1915-1916.' *PHS.* RG82/11/6/20-8.
[496] Unfortunately, the sources do not indicate how many Chinese were present on the committee. *77th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1914. PHS.* p. 154.
[497] *Ibid.*

what was needed. The required fees for clothes, books, and share of a teacher's salary compounded the problem.[498] Even by 1914 there were no self-supporting girls' schools. Many only gave a very small percentage of the teachers' salary, but plans were made to increase the funds the schools were responsible for raising.

Almost immediately the Committee began to make changes that impacted the growth of the entire system. Its first major accomplishment was to tackle the boarding school issue. In the past, the missionaries did not wish to change the system for girls. They felt that it was only through the boarding schools that they could get the protection the parents wanted and that the Christian morals of the girls could be upheld. However, the problems could not be overlooked and the Education Committee took a firm stand. Under its direction all but two of the girls' primary boarding schools were transformed into day schools. This resulted in thirty-four new schools for girls with two boarding schools acting as intermediate schools between the primary system and the Wen Mei School.[499] This was in addition to the new schools created with the funds left over from the appropriations for the boarding schools.

This was made all the more possible by the introduction of coeducation. One reason for these structural changes was the need to establish more schools for girls, but an overriding concern was the lack of self-support. These new ideas could not have been possible without the new attitude towards female education. This can be seen in the rise in the level of funding for the intermediate and primary schools. In each school the patrons paid over 50% of the running costs in 1918. This included completely providing the buildings, furniture, teacher's road money, and contributing towards a share of the teacher's salary. In 1917 the latter category came to 3,000 large cash per student in the primary schools and 2,000 large cash per student in the intermediate schools.[500]

One idea that the new plan hinged on was the coeducation policy that gave girls greater access to education. It required girls under eleven years to attend the boys' day schools if a school was located nearby. This was similar to female education before the mission school systems when some girls were educated with their brothers and male family members. To enforce this new regulation the boarding support for girls during their first two years was withdrawn.[501] This resolution followed the ideas of the 1911

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[498] 'Personal Report of J. M. Chalfant.' 1910, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.
[499] 'Weihsien Quarterly Station Letter.' January 26, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/102; 'Letter from J. Fitch to A. Brown.' April 6, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/43; and 'Report for the Weihsien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914.' *PHS.* RG82/8/8/20-2. pp. 22-23.
[500] *81st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1918. PHS.* p. 149; 'Personal Report of Madge Mateer, Weihsien, Shantung, China, 1917-1918.' *PHS.* RG82/16/1/20-8; and '36th Annual Report of the Weihsien Station, 1918.' *PHS.* RG82/16/3/20-2.
[501] 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.' *PHS.* RG82/6/2/20-2.

Conference of Provincial Educational Associations that stressed the importance of coeducation.[502] It appears that this was the first policy adopted by Chinese towards this end. Almost immediately, many parents withdrew their daughters from the expensive mission boarding schools and enrolled them in the day schools. This resolved the issue of girls not obtaining an education without the boarding schools in existence.

Not all were happy with the situation that was developing. Madge Mateer, nominal head of the girls' primary schools, was not immediately won over to the new plan. She was still of the generation that felt boarding schools were better for the students. However, she was impressed by the success of the system on her first inspection tour in 1914. Her report stated that forty-one girls were attending fifteen boys' schools and fifty-four boys were attending thirteen girls' schools. While acknowledging the small number of pupils taking advantage of the new policy, the missionaries were heartened by the fact that education was more popular in the country districts.[503] Combined with the new emphasis on day schools there was a hope that a larger proportion of girls would be able to obtain an education.

The impetus for breaking up the boarding primary schools was the issue of self-support. They were just too expensive to continue if the system was to grow. However, there were questions over how stringently to enforce the program. It was concluded that a gradualist line would best serve the new environment. In short, they would proceed with the current levels of support and allow the patrons to progress within their means. This took away the severe restrictions on those that could not pay, but required the financially capable families to pay a larger share. In the ensuing years this policy brought many of the schools to support themselves without the inducement of regulations. By 1909 five boys' primary schools were self-supporting, and over the entire system the Chinese provided 58% of the salary for the teachers.[504] This figure rose slowly, and in 1914 ten self-supporting schools were reported. Even in the forty-two schools that were still helped by the mission the patrons of each provided 71.3% of the teacher's salary.[505] The success along these lines was attributed to the new 'Dan Gi method,' described later, being employed in the primary schools that allowed for a 34% increase in the salaries without

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[502] Bailey. *Op cit.* p. 136.

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

[504] 'Weihsien Station Report for the year September 1, 1908 to August 31, 1909.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261. p. 7.

[505] The station reported that out of 4,939,000 'string cash' total paid for the teachers' salaries the missionaries provided 1,416,000 and the Chinese provided 3,523,000 with the average salary per teacher being 117,595 string cash. 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.' *PHS.* RG82/6/2/20-2.

increased foreign investment.[506] The number of self-supporting schools continued to grow. By 1920 the mission considered it a success when twenty-five of the ninety-two schools broke off from the station's lifeline. Although they had come a long way, there were still no self-supporting girls' schools reported by 1920.

The new support schemes developed in this period were directly influenced by the creation of new schools. The foreign staff was generally content with the system as it stood. On the other hand, the Chinese were more interested in school building in line with the new government systems being established after end of the Confucian examination system. It was the local population who pushed for more schools that eventually became part of the missionary system and forced changes in missionary policies. The coeducation policy also assured that the new schools would not be created at the expense of education for girls. Many of these eventually wanted to be brought within the Christian school system to take advantage of the opportunities for further education it offered.

The Superintendents were vital in the formation of new schools. By 1900 they had been part of the station's school system for many years, and they had gained much experience in school administration. Some began to establish their own schools outside the missionary system and introduced some innovations. An example of this was the breakup of the intermediate and elementary school pupils into separate institutions. In 1914 the regulations for the school system stipulated that both the intermediate and elementary pupils be taught in one school, essentially a one-room schoolhouse. One ex-Superintendent took it upon himself to break up the elementary and intermediate pupils through the establishment of a higher primary school that only more advanced pupils would attend. This was contrary to the missionary-approved system, but it proved to be an improvement over the old practice. The students were more prepared to take on the rigors of academic life in the Point Breeze Academy. When its success became clear, the missionaries adopted it and opened the Converse Higher Primary School in 1917.[507]

The Christians in the Weixian field were also important in creating new schools. This was not uncommon in Chinese society. School formation on a village-wide scale is recorded in books on the history of education. A new point to this was that they did not attempt to join with the government middle school systems, but looked to send their pupils to the Christian secondary schools and universities. First, they needed to become members of the existing system for their students to be allowed to take the matriculation

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[506] 'Weihsien Quarterly Station Letter.' June 26, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/102.
[507] *Ibid* and '36th Annual Report of the Weihsien Station for the Year Ending July 1st, 1918.' *PHS.* RG82/16/3/20-2.

examinations. The missionary school systems were still very insular and would not allow students from outside into their high schools. In 1915, Ralph Wells noted that primary schools begun by the local population throughout the field were applying to be 'recognized as Cooperation Committee schools.'[508] It was intended that they would continue to act on a self-supporting basis but could take advantage of the Point Breeze Academy and Wen Mei School that were among the top schools in Shandong. To be accepted the teachers and managers were required to be Christians, and the regulations and course of study set by the Cooperation Committee needed to be followed. The schools would also be inspected by a Superintendent, would receive the same certificates as the rest in the system, and their teachers could take advantage of the periodic training institutes at the station.

One question the records do not answer is why these schools were attempting to get into the missionary system. From other studies we know that the Chinese saw the foreign system as a way to move up in society and obtain better positions after graduation. At this time the new Chinese education system was just taking off locally. Their interest in the mission schools over the new government institutions was mainly due to an increased chance to learn English and gain contacts with foreigners that might help them later in life. Additionally, one could cite the greater opportunity to enter the Christian universities and secondary schools regardless of whether they were in Shandong.

With the changes noted above, the number of primary schools increased from sixty-seven in 1913 to ninety-two in 1920. There was also a rise in the number of pupils at the schools, from 1,416 to 2,027. What is important to note here is that it was not all done through the boys' schools. Although Table 6 shows that the number of boys in the schools increased at a faster rate than the girls, by 1917 there were forty-one girls' primary schools and three intermediate level schools for girls. In addition, there were seventy-three boys attending the girls' schools.[509] Thus we can see the changes that occurred in the girls' schools increased the opportunity for a larger number of students to get an education and there was no duplication of similar work in the field.

**Secondary School Expansion**

Expansion at the primary level inevitably led to pressure on the high schools to accept more students. Similar to the changes in the primary schools, this began with the

[508] 'Report of the Weihsien Boys' Primary and Intermediate Schools for the Year Ending June 30, 1915.' *PHS.* RG82/10/7/20-2.
[509] *81st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1918. PHS.* p. 149.

Wen Mei School. It took on a new level of importance in the station's field, particularly in the area of teacher training. In the beginning, however, there was concern over the expansion of its facilities and increasing the amount of support required by the students. This was also attempted in the Point Breeze Academy. Although an immense effort was put into developing these schools to accommodate a larger number of students, it was only as the Arts College withdrew to Jinan that changes could be effective.

Due to the changes in the primary school system noted above, this period ushered in a new feeling of permanence in the Wen Mei School. The station began to look at adapting female education at the secondary level to allow more girls to continue. However, even with the now steady number of graduates and student numbers at sixty-two, the issue of women's education remained divisive. The controversy centered on the possibility of creating post-secondary education for women throughout the province. In 1913 the mission voted to add two years to the course of the Wen Mei School, anticipating the eventual establishment of a Woman's College in Shandong.[510]

Before implementing this idea, the school needed to be enlarged to accommodate the anticipated growth of the student body due to the extra years of study now required. Due to the cramped conditions in the compound, the administrators had to think of a way to add space without much additional ground. They eventually settled on adding a second floor to the main building and erecting a larger recitation room. As shown in Figure 5, the schools were still single-story buildings at this time. The China Council adopted the motion by circular letter in March 1914, and $6,600 USG was appropriated in July.[511] Notwithstanding the anticipated expansion, it was still too small for the large number of applicants. Grace Rowley, the new director of the Wen Mei School, reported its increasing popularity.

> 'Last year the whole number that applied for entrance was thirty (and the number is increasing yearly) but say that only thirty apply next year, then we can only take in five, or one-sixth of the whole number. As for the others, there is no school that they can go to. It merely means that their education must stop, that they must go home and be married to heathen who were well to do when the girls' family was poor and needed the money. Whereas if she could have gone on to the High School she could have obtained a position as a teacher as soon as she graduated, and paid

[510] *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission, 1913. PHS.* p. 12.
[511] 'O. Crawford to A. Brown.' March 31, 1914, Shanghai. *PHS.* RG82/8/5/106-9 and 'Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.' 1914. *PHS.* RG82/8/9.

back the money her folks put into her. She could have been, in a measure, independent and married when she pleased and often whom she pleased.'[512]

The newfound desire for female education did not stem from any specific government regulations, but was the natural outcome of the breakdown of societal constraints on women after the 1911 Revolution. This resulted in larger numbers in the primary schools that wanted to further their education. Therefore, the new building could not wait for the Arts College to move to Jinan. The old building was torn down and a new two-story building was erected in time for the start of the school year in mid-September 1916.[513]

Coinciding with the push for expansion were the new self-support plans emerging from the mission hierarchy. This idea was becoming increasingly contentious. The schools had reached their uppermost limits of student population, but the parents were finding it difficult to pay the fees necessary to build and sustain the high schools. A large part of the economic problem was the unsettled condition of the countryside due to the revolution. This caused rising prices and poverty in the area. In 1912, the mission's Education Committee resolved that boarding school students should be required 'to pay the full cost of their board.'[514] Following this lead the Weixian's Education Committee adopted a more stringent policy of a self-supporting education system in which the pupils in the boarding schools were required to pay, as far as possible, the full boarding cost. Although it stipulated that a committee consisting of foreign missionaries and Chinese was to determine the amount of financial aid that students would receive, it required the schools to raise their fees. With this in mind, the fees in the Wen Mei School were raised to 26,000 large cash per student, beginning in the fall 1913 term. [515]

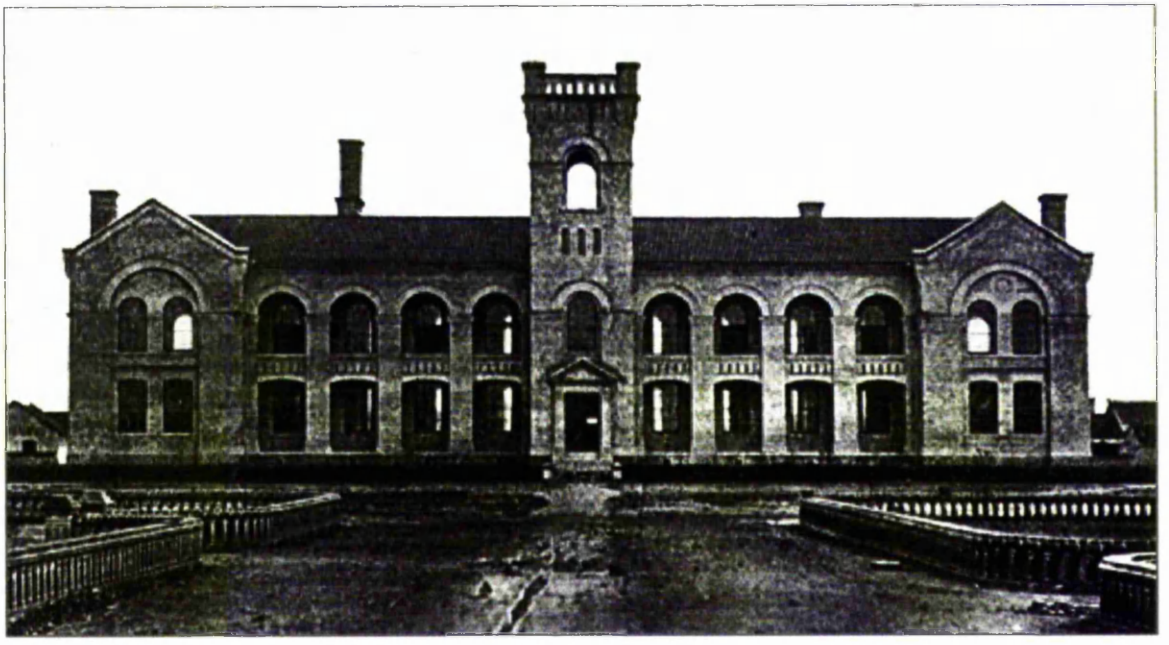
One of the key problems in this decade was the lack of space within the station's walls. They did not want build new facilities because of the expense, but without new construction further expansion was impossible. Debate over the expansion of the academy and Wen Mei School was carried on simultaneously with the discussion over the removal of the Arts College to Jinan. The College administrators wanted an enlargement of the high schools, but there was not enough money to provide for such a project. In 1910, subject to approval, the Foreign Board voted in favor of relocating the Arts College and gave its property to the station. This would solve the issue of station enlargement and the

[512] 'G. Rowley to A. Brown.' January 22, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/87.
[513] '35th Annual Report of the Weihsien Station, 1917.' *PHS.* RG82/13/12/20-2. p. 4.
[514] *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission, 1912. PHS.* p. 29.
[515] At the 1913 New Year the fees were raised by an extra 3,000 cash to pay for better quality food. 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.' *PHS.* RG82/6/2/20-2.

expansion of the high schools.[516] Ralph Wells specifically notes that the accommodations in the academy would greatly increase when it took over the Arts College's campus.[517] Therefore, it was deemed unnecessary to supply extra buildings until the changeover was completed.

**Figure 7**

**Main Building of the Arts College, 1905[518]**



By 1917 the academy reported that its capacity had increased to seventy. At this time the premises only consisted of a one-story main building, with an assembly room and four recitation rooms; three rooms for the kitchen, cook, and food storage rooms; and forty-two Chinese-style dormitories.[519] With the removal of the Arts College in October 1917, the Point Breeze Academy took over the main building. Room was also provided for the Converse Higher Primary School in the old Converse Science Hall. The new home gave the academy adequate room to spread out its activities. A main advantage was found in the increased space for reading rooms and outdoor sporting activities.[520]

For the Wen Mei School the removal of the Arts College also proved significant. The Woman's Bible Institute took the old buildings of the Arts College. Once the change

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[516] 'A. Brown to R. Wells.' November 28, 1910, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761.r259; 'A. Brown to F. Chalfant.' March 27, 1911, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260; and 'A. Brown to F. Chalfant.' March 27, 1911, New York. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260.

[517] Wells, R. and G. Wells. 'Weihsien Quarterly Station Letter.' January 26, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/102.

[518] *68th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1905. PHS.* opposite p. 124.

[519] '35th Annual Report of the Weihsien Station, 1917.' *PHS.* RG82/13/12/20-2. p. 4.

[520] *82nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1919. PHS.* p. 126 and '36th Annual Report of the Weihsien Station, 1918.' *PHS.* RG82/16/3/20-2.

was made, the Institute's grounds were given to the school. This provided five new rows of dormitories, one of which was altered for use as a dining room, as well as the grounds necessary to ensure future expansion.[521] The enlargement did not cease and, as long as they had room, continued to increase the enrollment.

### Chinese Influence in the High Schools

While the main responsibility of the Cooperation Committee was the primary schools, this was not a strict division of labor and it continued to expand its policymaking abilities. In the high schools its influence was notable in financial and curriculum matters. In the financial area it was the first to institute a rigid tuition policy. For the curriculum and course of study it forced the institution of English and brought forward the idea of a post-secondary school for training teachers. Much like the earlier formation of intermediate schools, both of these ideas were not fully supported by the resident missionaries but became a reality after the weight of the Chinese members was put behind them.

Before the 1910s the high schools had a rather informal funding policy with no proper form of tuition being charged. With the later involvement of the mission's Education Committee and station's Cooperation Committee a more formal tuition structure was put into place. The most important aspect of this new position was that the missionaries did not have a good understanding of the Chinese situation. This made the institution of fees controversial for them. In their eyes the surrounding area was suffering serious economic problems as a result of poor crops and problems following the 1911 Revolution. The poverty of the region was a serious issue for the introduction and success of the tuition system.[522] Notwithstanding the economic problems, the mission and station Education Committees pushed for a stronger policy of self-support. Their view was that the pupils in the boarding schools of the mission should pay, as far as possible, the full boarding cost. In 1913 the Shandong Mission adopted the idea.

One of the fears that a rigid policy of self-support brought was a possible alienation of certain members of the population. This was the reason why these policies had been slowed in the previous decade. The mission funds were for expansion and the Chinese for sustaining the schools by providing the living expanses for the students. They did not bow to pressure to reverse their views and held onto the strong position. In 1914,

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[521] For the alterations $2,500 USG was requested by the Shandong Mission at their 1917 annual meeting in Yixian. *81st Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1918. PHS.* p. 147; *82nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1919. PHS.* p. 126; and 'Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission June 28, July 6, 1917.' *PHS.* RG82/13/11/20-1. p. 10:

[522] 'Annual Report of the Point Breeze Academy to the Shantung Mission for the year ending August 31, 1912.' *PHS.* RG82/4/2/20/2.

after consultation with the station's Cooperation Committee, the term 'tuition' was finally introduced in the Point Breeze Academy for the first time.

Only a few students could afford the full cost of the new tuition, but some could pay even more than the required amount. For example, thirty-two out of the eighty-nine students paid some percentage of the tuition over the full boarding costs as required. Therefore, the Cooperation Committee formulated a system of financial aid in the form of a work-study program for the Point Breeze Academy to help the students pay for their boarding costs and something to the tuition. The new program allowed students, who had been at the academy for at least one term, to take up part-time janitorial work that earned them between $2 and $8 to pay part of their tuition.[523] This amount was quite minimal when compared with the $22 fee that was required. However, it was helpful and some students took up the offer.[524] Even with the new financial aid system and boarding expenses being put on a sliding scale, the academy continued to be affected by local economic problems. In 1917 it had the lowest enrollment numbers due to the failure of crops and the ensuing economic problems it caused.[525]

The Cooperation Committee's involvement did not stop at the administration of the high schools and soon moved into curriculum changes. An area that became highly contentious in educational circles during the early-1900s was the teaching of English in mission schools. Many missions used this subject to draw students to their schools, but the Shandong Mission was not wholly in favor of it. Their main worry was to denationalize students. In addition, they argued that their system did not detract from the quality of education.

> 'And so we have turned out students that have been in demand over the Empire, students who had a knowledge of both the sciences and the Chinese language, as well as being intelligent Christians. All this was accomplished in the absence of English.'[526]

As the English question came to the fore of educational discussions in the West Shandong Mission, especially in the Arts College, interest in its introduction in the high schools mounted among the patrons and Cooperation Committee.

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[523] The adoption of this new scholarship program by other stations was suggested by the mission Finance Committee at the mission's Meeting in July 1914. *78th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1915. PHS.* p. 147; 'Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.' *PHS.* RG82/8/9/20-1. p. 14; and 'Report of the Point Breeze Academy for the Year Ending June 31, 1915.' *PHS.* RG82/10/7/20-2.

[524] 'Report of the Point Breeze Academy for the Year Ending June 31, 1915.' *PHS.* RG82/10/7/20-2 and '36th Annual Report of the Weihsien Station, 1918.' *PHS.* RG82/16/3/20-2.

[525] '35th Annual Report of the Weihsien Station, 1917.' *PHS.* RG82/13/12/20-2. p. 7.

[526] Mateer, R. 'Presbyterian Policies.' *CR.* August 1915, vol. 46, no. 8. p. 501.

In 1911 the West Shandong Mission resolved that the issue should be left to the individual principals, but that the introduction of an English course should not interfere with the current curriculum. Two years later Ralph Wells decided to introduce it as an optional subject. However, this would not have kept the school competitive with others that were using this subject to move up in the ranks. In addition, their students would have found it more difficult to enter Christian universities where the language was necessary. Therefore, the Cooperation Committee used its weight to push for its introduction into the regular curriculum.

By 1915 the introduction of the course was thought to be successful. On further inspection Wells found that many of the students could communicate, but there was a great disparity in the level of fluency. Because of this, the students were divided into two ability levels after their first year. Those in the less advanced classes were taught 'simply enough' for the entrance requirement to Christian universities. The upper class was given free time to take as much as they were able within the allotted time for English in the curriculum.[527] One year after its introduction to the Point Breeze Academy, the course was adopted in the Wen Mei School. Unlike the academy, it was not given to all students within the regular curriculum, and for those who wished to take it an extra fee was charged.[528]

The Cooperation Committee was also influential in creating new institutions. In the case of Weixian this was true with the founding of a formal training school for teachers. In previous studies it has been shown that the missionaries were amongst the first to respond to the increasing needs of the local society. One of the important contributions of the missionary schools to Chinese society was the teaching force they provided to the new government schools. This was particularly true with the female graduates. However, there was never a concerted effort to train students in this field. There were attempts to promote new techniques among the primary school teachers with periodic classes, but this was not enough to ensure proper training. Ralph Wells later attempted to incorporate this idea with the new two-track curriculum, but it did not adequately train students for the field. Even at the Shandong Christian University teachers were not given proper instruction. Therefore, by the 1910s there were still no training schools specifically for teachers. It would again be up to the local Christians through individual ingenuity and the Cooperation Committee to force the new program.

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[527] 'Report of the Point Breeze Academy for the Year Ending June 31, 1915.' Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/10/7/20-2 and 'Personal Report of Mr. & Mrs. Ralph Wells. For the Year Ending June 30, 1915.' *PHS.* RG82/10/7/20-8.

[528] 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.' *PHS.* RG82/6/2/20-2.

Between 1907 and 1913 the quality of the teachers and graduates of the primary school system increased. A large part of this was due to the changes in the curriculum of the Shandong Christian University and the secondary schools. Another important reason was the 'new methods' being introduced through the training institutes.[529] In comparing their schools with those of the Chinese government schools, the missionaries stated 'the quality of the work done is not to be compared with that in these Church schools.'[530] However, the salaries at the Christian schools were quite low, about 80,000 small cash.[531] Many of the newly trained teachers sought positions in government schools where the salaries were higher for individuals with an advanced education. Therefore, an improvement in the teaching force without university degrees was needed, particularly for the primary schools.

The earliest work in teacher training was done in the Wen Mei School. In 1912 Madge Mateer saw that a teaching course was required to supply individuals for the country schools to avoid shortages as the system expanded. Two years after the initial suggestion, the Education Committee of the Shandong Mission voted that the girls' secondary schools needed to offer training within the regular curriculum. This was aside from a further course required after graduation to prepare the students for a future in the classroom.[532] Although this policy was intended to ensure that a steady supply of trained teachers graduated from the school, it was also instrumental in preparing the students for life after graduation. Unfortunately, these plans were never instituted in Weixian. It was likely that the failure to introduce a course was due to the establishment of the Anqiu Normal School as described below.

Taking a cue from the work of Madge Mateer changes were made to the training classes, Normal Institutes, held at the station where new teaching techniques and courses were introduced. Originally, their purpose was to reinforce the religious training of the teachers. In 1913 the missionaries began to use it to instruct the teachers in a new teaching technique, the 'Dan Gi method.'[533] The new method was introduced with the

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[529] Unfortunately, the missionaries do not specify what these 'new methods' involved. In one report they appear to be linked to the introduction of new courses to the primary schools. These changes to the teaching techniques were begun in 1907 and continued through to this date. 'Personal Report of Mrs. R. Mateer, 1906-1907.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261 and 'Weihsien Station Report for the year September 1, 1908 to August 31, 1909.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261. p. 7.

[530] *75th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1912. PHS.* p. 193.

[531] *74th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1911. PHS.* p. 155.

[532] In addition to Madge Mateer, Grace Rowley, and Ralph Wells, the committee included Liu Guang-zhao and Wang Xiao-yi. *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission, 1913. PHS.* pp. 11-12.

[533] According to the Weixian Station's yearly report the method was 'a development of the system of Pestalozzi, and came to China from Germany by way of Japan; and is practically the same method used at home in our ungraded country schools.' Unfortunately, a breakdown of exactly what was involved in this new method of teaching is not given, but from a description of the advantages of the system it seems that it

help of a Mr. Zhao from the Government Normal School in Jinan. The following year the institute was held again, organized by Mr. Zhao, and classes in teaching methods were given for the second time. Other changes were also made to its program and structure. In this year the missionaries recorded a change in the subjects to include more non-religious topics for the first time: Elementary and Advanced Chinese Literature, Geography, History, Nature Study, Drawing, Manual Training, and Music.

The change in the coursework was not induced by the missionaries, but was due to the new Chinese organizing group from the Shandong Christian University and Point Breeze Academy. The new group included Professor Wang Yuen Deh [sic], Professor Teng Ging Shui [sic], and Mr. Yin Bing Wen [sic] who managed the business details and boarding of the attendees.[534] Not only was this the first time that more relevant training was given, but it stands as the first instance when both male and female teachers from the missionary system and local government schools were brought together. The Normal Institute was carried on in the same fashion until 1920 when the missionaries and Chinese became disinterested in this style of training and pushed for a more permanent institution.

The efforts by the missionaries to institute changes through the station's classes and the Wen Mei School curriculum were inadequate to the needs of the school system. In 1911 the station changed the policy of the Wen Mei School and required each student to teach for two years after their graduation.[535] Even with the ensuing increase, the demand for female teachers continued to increase from both the missionary groups and Chinese government. The newly established Education Committee first came up with the idea for a separate school to train female teachers that would augment the curriculum of the Wen Mei School.[536] However, they were slow in developing a new plan.

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involved, as teaching does today, a teacher in front of the classroom with the pupils themselves performing individual classwork. One real advantage to the new system was the ability of one individual to teach 40 or 50 students, of both primary and intermediate levels, at a single time and would allow more students to attend school without hiring a large number of teachers. It would also permit the schools to move more towards the self-supporting policy without the expense per student rising too drastically, but giving the teacher a higher salary. There were also three expressed disadvantages of the system: 1. There was less opportunity for individual attention than desirable, 2. The time to teaching was broken up into smaller parts, and 3. If the teacher was inexperienced the pupils could copy the work of another student thereby getting nothing from the school. However, these disadvantages were felt to be acceptable if the result was a more efficient school system. 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.' *PHS.* RG82/6/2/20-2; *77th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1914. PHS.* p. 155; and 'Weihsien Quarterly Station Letter.' January 26, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/102.

[534] 'Weihsien Quarterly Station Letter.' January 26, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/102.

[535] At one point the missionaries stated: 'So great is the demand for teachers in Government schools, that unless we had a two year contract without graduates, we should have none for our own schools....already ten of our girls are teaching in government schools in Wei Hsien district alone.' 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.' *PHS.* RG82/6/2/20-2.

[536] Recall that at this time the missionaries were pushing for higher education for Chinese women in Shandong through the establishment of a Women's College. One reason for this was to establish a Normal School to train teachers for the missionary school system.

This idea was made a reality when Liu Guang-zhao,[537] Pastor of a local church and principal of a Chinese government middle school, and his wife established the school in Anqiu, south of Weixian. It opened with thirty-one students from both the government and mission schools. The attendees signed up for a nine-month course after which each was given a certificate of completion. The school was basically self-supporting with funds coming from the students, local officials, and 'one or two foreigners.'[538] The purpose of this school was not solely to replenish the teaching force of the mission primary schools, but to also provide the demand for teachers in the government schools. The students, however, were all taken from the Christian school system. They were generally made up of pupils who, for one reason or another, could not attend or finish the full course at the Wen Mei School and only had a primary school education. This was the only opportunity open to many and the only attempt to create a training institute for teachers. The Anqiu Normal School quickly expanded by opening a primary day school for training purposes, and it employed three government teachers to raise its quality. This was more than the missionaries were able or willing to do with the current level of their funding.

The impact of this school on the primary school system was immeasurable. Without the work of Pastor Liu, the conversion of the girls' primary schools would never have been realized. There would not have been enough trained teachers. By 1914 almost half of the female teachers had received their training from the Anqiu School. His work also allowed more to take up positions in the government schools. What was surprising for the foreigners was that the teachers coming from this school had only a general primary education with one year additional training at Anqiu.[539] By 1918 the teachers in the girls' country schools numbered forty-two of which thirteen came from the Anqiu Normal School and twenty-three were graduates of the Wen Mei School.[540] Although Pastor Liu's institution was never intended to supplant the station's training system, the education it gave was important both for the local government schools and the expansion of the girls' school network.

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[537] In the missionary literature his name is given as Liu Gwang Djao.

[538] 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.' *PHS.* RG82/6/2/20-2 and 'Weihsien Quarterly Station Letter.' January 26, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/102.

[539] *77th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1914. PHS.* p. 155; 'Weihsien Quarterly Station Letter.' January 26, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/102; 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914.' *PHS.* RG82/8/8/20-2; and 'J. Fitch to A. Brown.' April 6, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/43.

[540] 'Personal Report of Madge Mateer, Weihsien, Shantung, China, 1917-1918.' *PHS.* RG82/16/1/20-8.

With the evident success of the Anqiu Normal School, the benefits of this kind of training institution became obvious. The only condition holding the missionaries back in their plans for opening a similar school for men was the lack of space. In 1917 this situation changed with the final preparations to move the Arts College of the Shandong Christian University from Weixian to Jinan. When it left, the College grounds were to be divided up to expand the educational institutions. As part of this plan a department to train teachers for work in the primary schools was considered. This would be connected to a training school for male evangelists, to be called the East Shandong Bible and Normal School.[541]

Before the proposed school could be established, the mission had to be convinced of its necessity. Members the Shandong Christian University Executive Committee were in favor of the Primary School and Bible Training Departments.[542] This covered areas that that they did not wish to continue at the university level. However, they felt than any training for the secondary schools and pastors should remain in the Arts and Theological Colleges.

Some disagreed with the confidence of the Executive Committee in supporting the training of secondary school teachers. John Fitch, a major proponent of the new plan, argued that teacher training at any level could not be done at the university because the students could not get the necessary practical experience. The support for a new school, however, centered on the primary schools. A specific training institution would provide a more practical experience as Pastor Liu had done in Anqiu. The graduates of the Shandong Christian University were out of touch with conditions in the country schools and the result was that the missionary school system was falling behind the government schools. He reported that these views were also those of the leaders in the Chinese Church and the foreign middle school teachers. Another problem that Fitch laid out was the high salaries university graduates expected. They would not be happy with the wages of a primary school teacher and would likely not take up a post. While many in the mission community thought that teacher training was necessary, they felt that the same training could be done in the high schools. This, according to Fitch, was unacceptable and would cause further stratification in the educational system of the mission by having 'Lower Normal' students working in the primary schools and 'Higher Normal' students working in the middle and university level institutions.[543]

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[541] The missionaries had already built rooms for a Women's Bible Training School. '35th Annual Report of the Weihsien Station, 1917.' *PHS.* RG82/13/12/20-2. p. 3.
[542] 'W. Elterich to the Shantung Mission.' March 2, 1918, Chefoo. *PHS.* RG82/16/3/20-1. p. 3.
[543] 'J. Fitch to A. Brown.' May 24, 1918, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/15/22/28.

In 1918 the mission approved the founding of a Bible Training School at Weixian, but the department for teacher training was not approved. However, the Chinese representatives of the Weixian Presbytery were adamant in their demand for the school. It was their contention that it was the 'rights of parents, and the local church to [have] a voice in matters affecting the character and conduct of schools for their children.'[544] They argued that the students were graduating from the high schools without being trained for teaching. Therefore, the establishment of a Normal School was as important as the creation of a Bible Training School. Because of these views, the Chinese representatives looked into establishing a Bible and Normal School in the Weixian area. They came up with a curriculum and planned the first classes for September 1919. This idea was accepted with the understanding that when the mission was ready to begin its own school the Chinese would end theirs.

In November 1919 the opening ceremonies of the Bible and Normal School took place. However, from the evidence given in the records only theological students attended the school. It appears that the students were intended to strengthen the country churches. The evangelical section of the school continued until it was relocated to Tengxian in 1922 as the North China Theological Seminary.[545] The formation of training institutions is an excellent example of an increasing presence of Chinese in the secular enterprises. The foreigners were still mainly concerned with evangelical issues and it was only through the work of the Chinese that the importance of these institutions was put forward resulting in the mission adopting such measures.

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[544] *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission, 1919. PHS.* p. 49.

[545] 'L. Heimburger to G. Trull.' November 19, 1919, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/17/15/49; *82nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1920. PHS.* p. 162; and '1882-1932, The Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Dr. Hayes' Missionary Service in China.' 1932. *PHS.* RG360/62/41.

## Taking on the Evangelists in the Medical Field

As noted in the last chapter, the new doctors that arrived in the post-1900 period were more concerned about modernizing their enterprise and the quality of treatment they could provide. This inevitably affected the position of the Chinese assistants and doctors. Between 1900 and 1910 an attempt to establish outstation dispensaries that had Chinese personnel in charge was made by Dr. Roys. Between 1910 and 1920 the missionaries returned to concerns over their work in the station, specifically the construction of a new hospital. The concentration on this goal had two consequences. First, it showed the indispensability of the Chinese, which provided the foundation for the creation of a program for training nurses. Second, it brought forward the conflict between the evangelists and the medical missionaries. Finally, as occurred in the previous period, the doctors were handicapped by a lack of funds. Until 1910 there is no direct evidence of the impact that the Chinese funds made to the enterprise. However, the numbers provided for this decade show that they were key to the success of the enterprise.

## New Personnel and Administrative Changes

Chapter 4 described the increasing workload of Dr. Charles Roys. Among his contributions were the attempt to open the Wisner Dispensary and the improvements in the surgical department. It soon became evident that there was too much work for one person and almost immediately he began looking for more support. In 1913 Dr. LeRoy Heimburger was finally appointed.[546] His arrival heralded a new era in the medical enterprise as he moved to expand upon the work begun by Dr. Roys. His main contribution was the extensive work to obtain funding for a new hospital complex that still stands today.

Before his arrival, when Dr. Roys was not in the station, the Men's Department was looked after by Dr. Margaret Bynon of Weixian, Dr. Robert Dunlap of Chefoo, Drs. Emma Fleming and Louise Keator of Yizhou, and the 'corps of native assistants and the native Physician [Dr. Yang Xiu-shan].'[547] However, in the fall of 1911 Dr. Bynon left her position in Weixian.[548] Her departure caused a problem in the enterprise's management structure. In the 1890s the Men's and Women's Departments were split. Each operated and requested funds separately. This position now became untenable. One issue was the

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[546] 'Personal Record of L. F. Heimburger, M.D.' *PHS.* RG 360-63-25.

[547] 'Personal Report of Margaret Bynon for the year ending August 31, 1910.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261; 'Report of the Wei Hsien Men's Hospital for the year 1911-1912.' *PHS.* RG82/4/2/20/2; 'Emma Fleming - Personal Report, Shantung Mission, China, 1911-1912.' *PHS.* RG82/4/2/20/8; and 'Report of Dr. and Mrs. R. Dunlap, Wei Hsien, 1912.' *PHS.* RG82/4/2/20/8.

[548] 'Personal Record of Margaret Bynon.' *PHS.* RG360/24/14; 'Report of Weihsien Station for the Year Ending August 20, 1912.' *PHS.* RG82/4/2/20/2; and 'Report of the Wei Hsien Men's Hospital for the year 1911-1912.' *PHS.* RG82/4/2/20/2.

inability to cover the hospitals adequately while one of the doctors was on furlough. Although they did relatively well, there were cracks in the system. Another problem was the lack of a true head of the hospitals. Even in 1915 the records indicate that Dr. Madge Mateer was the Superintendent of the Women's Department.[549] This was the case even though Dr. Mateer is not credited with any hospital or dispensary work aside from occasionally teaching Chinese medical students in the general reports and correspondence. Therefore, after Dr. Bynon left, the hospital work was essentially under a single management in practice but not in name.

After 1914 it was decided that uniting the hospitals under a single individual would also allow them to streamline the process for obtaining funds and to work more smoothly in the new hospital building.[550] The idea of two separate hospital facilities that was so revolutionary immediately after 1900 was not working anymore. This was likely also undertaken by the missionaries to reduce their expenses on foreign physicians, and for them to act in a supervisory position with the Chinese taking over more of the actual patient care. The new direction of the hospital also put more emphasis on self-support, something that continued throughout the life of the station.

Dr. Heimburger did not have to wait long before he was thrown headlong into his work. In 1916, after the appointment of Dr. James Brown, there was enough foreign staff and Dr. Roys was released to work at the Medical College in Jinan. However, in August 1918 Brown was forced to leave Weixian for Dengzhou where he remained for one year before returning to the US.

The withdrawal of Brown was unfortunate for Dr. Heimburger as he was now the only active doctor at the station. Unlike earlier vacancies, a female doctor was not brought in to work among the women. This was due to the changing views in medicine of what procedures were acceptable for a male physician to perform, and the unsettled political situation in the area that made it difficult for female patients to come to the hospital for care.[551] This was evident between 1909 and 1910 when the medical staff made 296 outcalls, a majority of which were obstetric cases. Not only does this show a decrease in the need for female physicians for general care, but also a view that they should be only used in extreme cases like problems in childbirth. The solution was to employ and train professional nurses. In 1915 they appointed Ruth Brack, RN, to begin

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[549] 'China Medical Work - American Presbyterian Mission.' *PHS*. RG82/10/10/1057.

[550] *79th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1916. PHS.* p. 165.

[551] Due to this the medical staff at Weixian turned to more of an outcall system to care for the Chinese women. This was one of the reasons that Chinese nurses came to the forefront of the medical policy after 1910. Tables 8 and 9 show that this type of work was carried on much more here than among Chinese men.

the project. The loss of female physicians allowed a new generation of Chinese assistants, the nurses, to enter the hospital. The incorporation of a nursing staff was significant for two reasons. The first was the ability of the hospital to accommodate more inpatients. The second was the improvements in surgery and post-operative care they could offer. Families were no longer required to care for a patient while he/she recovered from surgery.

### Overcrowding and Problems with the Facilities

With the single management scheme the doctors began to push for a new hospital. The current facilities were built on nineteenth century ideas and were now inadequate. The new hospital was to be of a higher standard that would facilitate the work of a single foreign supervisor. It would also bring the enterprise into line with new specifications for mission hospitals that proliferated throughout the China missions.

The issue that most concerned the new arrivals was the increasingly cramped conditions that they found.[552] The lack of hygiene that resulted was harmful to the patients in post-operative care. These conditions were caused by the fact that the hospitals were based on pre-1900 models. To increase the good that could be done through the enterprise it was obvious that a new facility was needed. However, modernization was a long process that was hampered by financial problems and opposition from other missionaries. A key roadblock in this was the issue of the enterprise's purpose. To many, it was to serve the evangelists and open new areas for their work. However, the doctors now had a social welfare ideology that they wanted to emphasize.

Overcrowding in the wards had been experienced throughout the 1890s and in the early years of the new century. As noted above, most important were the health concerns that were first noted by Dr. Faries in 1900. With so many individuals in such tight living areas, it was possible for disease to spread rapidly. The wards did not only have to provide space and treatment for the patients, but also for the families or others sent to care for them. This was general practice before the advent of nurses, and it exasperated the overcrowding problem making it difficult to keep a proper hygienic level. The new hospitals built after the Boxers were intended to deal with this problem, but they were not given enough space for enlargement.

Dr. Bynon reported difficulties with the new buildings as early as 1903. However, it was not until the arrival of Dr. Charles Roys that these concerns were really addressed. After his first six months, he noted that between twenty-three and forty individuals were

[552] Tables 8 and 9 indicate the increasing number of inpatients being treated by the hospital. Note that the number in 1919 was approximately double that of the 1890s.

being treated in the Men's Hospital when there were only a total of thirty-five beds in the two hospitals combined. This was, according to him, due to the inability of the hospital to provide funding for nurses resulting in the policy of allowing relatives or friends to remain on the premises. The busiest time was in the spring of 1906 when patients 'were sleeping on the floor, on benches in the waiting-room, and even on doors which had been taken off their hinges.'[553]

The doctors did not let the conditions deteriorate without action. To reduce the spread of contagious disease they began constructing isolation wards. In 1906 the station requested $450 USG to begin the project. In response, the Minneapolis Presbyterial Society donated the funds in the name of Robert F. Sample. Although the money was given to the Women's Department, the buildings were constructed where both hospitals could use them. However, the purpose of the wards was to ensure containment of disease should an epidemic break out among the increasing population of school students. They were not intended as general wardrooms to accommodate the greater number of inpatients.[554]

The medical staff adopted a new tactic in 1909. Previously, the doctors concentrated on the lack of inpatient beds. They now saw that the problem was directly affecting their ability to perform surgery. This was the mainstay of their position as doctors in China and might impinge on their ability to attract non-Christians. The station's report noted that only twelve beds were being used for surgical cases when over forty were needed for the anticipated spring and autumn rush.[555]

As noted above, new wards were to be placed within the areas each hospital occupied at the time. However, there was a very small amount of space where they could be built. The separation of the hospitals, which had been the backbone of the rebuilding plans, was now seen as a great handicap. Both doctors were still lobbying for more money to expand their hospitals, but even if they had the money there was no space. Due to the increasing student population and the delay in moving the Point Breeze Academy, Arts College, and other teaching institutions, they were 'hemmed in on every side.'[556] The

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[553] 'C. Roys to Mr. Wisner.' July 7, 1907, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r257.

[554] 'Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of The West Shantung Mission held at Ichowfu September 29 to October 10, 1906.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r260; 'A Short Medical Chapter, 1908.' *WWW.* vol. 24, no. 2, February 1909. p. 37; 'Charles Roys, Personal Report for the Year 1907-1908.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261; and 'Personal Report of Margaret Bynon, 1908.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261.

[555] 'Weihsien Station Report for the year September 1, 1908 to August 31, 1909.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261. p. 8.

[556] 'R. Wells to A. Brown.' March 29, 1910, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r258; 'Report of the Woman's Hospital, Weihsien, for the year ending August 31, 1910.' *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r261; and 'Report of the Wei Hsien Men's Hospital for the year 1911-1912.' *PHS.* RG82/4/2/20/2.

doctors continually referred to the problem and is one notable reason given for the 'stifling' of their work.[557]

In 1913 the problem of space was again highlighted. However, the evangelists and other foreign staff did not raise the issue. In fact, this group was conspicuously silent on the matter. This time it was the Chinese members of the Cooperation Committee who were protesting against the hospital conditions. However, they were forced to reconsider their protest after concluding that without additional buildings the conditions could not be improved.[558] By 1914 the problem had gotten so bad that when writing to the China Medical Board Dr. Roys noted that for fifty-nine people they had only twenty-six beds in the Men's Hospital, and forty women for only twenty beds in the other.[559] The type of bed that they were able to provide, as reported later by Roger Greene, was also not acceptable. In general, they were Chinese brick beds (kangs) or old iron beds that needed replacement.

The need for a new hospital was also argued for in terms of its value as an evangelical tool. It would help better their relations with the upper classes. Throughout its life, the hospital had always provided the missionaries with a tool to approach the gentry and scholarly classes. Since this group had access to better Chinese doctors, surgery was the main reason for this group to approach the foreign doctors. Other types of work had not been able to attract this sector of the population. However, as conditions deteriorated, the doctors began to note that the upper classes were not as willing to remain for treatment. Aside from poor conditions, the problem of space forced them to place the upper and lower classes together in the hospital wards.[560] Although good relations with the more privileged class was resurrected to some extent through the itinerating medical work, the hospitals were still the best tool for approaching the different classes in the local society. Even in their itinerating medical practices, the doctors could not perform surgery.

The removal of the Arts College in 1917 was a blessing. It provided the doctors with extra space, but, unlike the educators, they could not occupy one of the existing

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[557] 'Report of the Wei Hsien Men's Hospital for the year 1911-1912.' *PHS.* RG82/4/2/20/2

[558] 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending August 20, 1913.' *PHS.* RG82/6/2/20-2 and Roys, C. 'A New Hospital for Wei hsien.' January 22, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/88.

[559] 'Statement of facts relating to the Hospitals of the American Presbyterian Mission, Wei hsien, Shantung.' 1914. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338 and *78th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1915. PHS.* p. 150.

[560] We should note here that the policy of making separate accommodation for the upper and lower classes in Chinese society was an accepted part of missionary work and before this time was generally adhered to. Dr. Roys also noted that the conditions in the hospital were not only unacceptable for the missionaries, but that even by Chinese standards they were unacceptable. Roys, C. 'A New Hospital for Wei hsien.' January

buildings. Therefore, a new hospital continued to be a top priority. The new facility would combine the Men's and Women's Departments into one. With the backing of the general missionary force, the station submitted a request to the mission for $10,000 USG. A committee was set up to look into it and later approved the proposal.[561] However, there were doubts about the location and they were hesitant to approve the funds until this was resolved. Hearing this Dr. Roys immediately began looking for the best possible place for the hospital. He was not prepared to allow further evangelical meddling ruin his plans. His vision was for a two-story hospital with two wings containing sixty-four beds in total, increasing the patient capacity by twenty beds. He had already concluded that the existing location did not allow for proper enlargement and the ground was too low-lying which made it vulnerable to dampness. He even went on to foresee its possible flooding by the Yu River, a premonition that became a reality only nine months later.[562]

In 1914 the request for funds was formally taken up by Oliver Crawford, of the China Council, and Dr. James Lowrie. Following a request from the Shandong Mission's Executive Committee, chaired by Dr. Charles Johnson, a committee was organized to look into approving the funds before the next meeting of the mission. Lowrie was sent to Weixian to investigate the hospital conditions. He found them no different from what was described earlier and reported back the necessity of obtaining the funds quickly. In a letter to Arthur Brown, Crawford quoted Lowrie's report about the great need for a new hospital at Weixian. Continuing with the emphasis on the expansion of the Church, he noted the great importance of the station 'whose Christian constituency is nearly one-fifth of that of our entire China Mission.'[563] He also reported that up to that time Weixian had maintained one of the 'poorest and cheapest' facilities and that it needed a new 'first class hospital plant' to increase its standards in line with Weixian's importance in the China field.[564]

At this time, the Foreign Board did not take any action, but in July 1914 the plan was put forward by the station. In its approval the mission appropriated $32,500 Mexican

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22, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/88 and 'Report for the Weihsien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914.' *PHS.* RG82/8/8/20-2.

[561] The committee consisted of Dr. James B. Neal, William E. Winter, and Mrs. W. B. Hamilton. The task of this committee was not only to look into this one request, but also to look into what to do with the entire Arts College property when it moved to Jinan. *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission, 1913. PHS.* p. 49.

[562] 'C. Roys to A. Brown.' January 11, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/88; Roys, C. 'A New Hospital for Wei hsien.' January 22, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/88; and 'Statement of Facts relating to the Hospitals of the American Presbyterian Mission, Wei hsien, Shantung.' 1914. *RAC.*.

[563] 'O. Crawford to A. Brown.' March 31, 1914, Shanghai. *PHS.* RG82/8/5/106-5.

[564] *Ibid.*

Silver (Mex.) to the project.[565] This included $22,000 for the hospital, $2,000 for equipment, $8,000 for a residence, and $500 for the land.

### The China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation

As explained in Chapter 2, in addition to mission funds the medical staff could also approach the China Medical Board. Not satisfied with the progress through the Foreign Board, Dr. Roys turned to this second outlet. The motivation for this was likely that the bureaucracy of the Foreign Board was not moving quickly enough and he wanted to get started on the project. It also appears that he was looking for more money than the Foreign Board could give.

In 1914 Dr. Roys began the tough procedures to secure funding from the China Medical Board. At that time he wrote a 'Statement of Facts' in which he outlined his plan for the hospital as described above. With two wings, one for men and one for women, a single doctor could easily oversee all the patients. Imbedded in his proposal was a plan for special wards to be used for general inpatients and surgical treatments. The main emphasis of Dr. Roys at this time was on obtaining new buildings rather than fixing up the old facilities. He went so far as to note that they had originally been built for use as dispensaries. However, funds were not arriving quickly from the Foreign Board. By this time he had only $1,000 USG of the $10,600 needed.[566]

In May the Rockefeller Foundation sent George B. McKibbin as a representative to assess the situation.

> 'He [Dr. Roys] is very much ashamed of his hospital but seemed to be doing the best he could under the circumstances. He has a few crowded buildings with about thirty beds, all Chinese style built about fifteen years ago. Patients furnish everything and everything was dirty.'[567]

The buildings that were once highly celebrated in the correspondence and yearly reports were now seen as a disaster. Unfortunately, any plans to improve these conditions were forcibly shelved by the flooding of the Yu River on September 8, 1914.

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[565] The committee organized to investigate the proper placement of the hospital consisted of Mr. Ralph Wells, Dr. Charles Roys (Chairman), Mr. Wang Yuen Tei [sic], and Rev. Li Tao Hwei [sic]. A very mixed committee in line with the new policy of cooperation developed recently by the Shandong Mission. I also assume that $32,500 equaled approximately $10,000 USG at the time of the meeting. 'Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.' *PHS.* RG82/8/9/20-1. pp. 46 and 16.

[566] 'Statement of Facts relating to the Hospitals of the American Presbyterian Mission, Wei hsien, Shantung.' 1914. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338.

[567] 'Visit to the Hospital at Weihsien with Dr. C. Roys, G.B. McK.' May 20, 1914. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338.

## 1914 Flood and Changes in the Hospital

Perhaps most devastating to the work of the missionaries were the environmental disasters that China experienced throughout this period. In looking at *The North-China Herald* and the communications between the US State Department and their officials in Shandong, one gets the picture of continuous crises caused by natural phenomena. In the Weixian field these generally took the form of droughts and insect problems leading to famine. Most of these events did not directly affect the work of the station. However, in 1914 the province experienced massive flooding with many rivers breaking their banks. In Weixian the flood of the Bailang River in September became one of the most devastating in the city's recorded history.

The rainy weather that caused the inundation of the area began in July 1914 and continued through September. As it fell, water built up in the surrounding mountain ranges and fed the rivers running through and around the main city causing them to transform from the usual docile rivers into raging torrents. The most devastating of these floods came from the Bailang River, the main river that split the two sections of the city, which flooded through the Kuiwen Gate on September 8, rising to the eaves of buildings in places. The floods and heavy rains also devastated the surrounding countryside. It caused hundreds of deaths and thousands in the area were left homeless. Along with the loss of life and material possessions, crops that were to be harvested and those in storage were destroyed.[568]

The missionary compound did not escape the fury of the rising water. On the same day that the flood swept over the city the entire north end of the compound was inundated by water from the Yu River. Today it barely flows and in the past it was more of a local creek than a waterway, but on that day the river rose seven feet above its highest point in thirty-one years. It took down the compound wall, a row of rooms for evangelists, and seven small houses for Chinese professors at the Arts College. However, these were easy to rebuild and considered minor damage to the institutions. The missionaries were most distressed by the destruction to the Men's Hospital. In the flood much of their drug supply was lost, the kangs were washed out, and six wardrooms were destroyed. In those buildings that remained, the water crested four feet above the floor level covering them

[568] Yu, Y. '1914 Nian Wei Xian De Da Shui Zai.' in *Wei Cheng Wen Shi Zi Liao, Di Wu Ji.* Weifang: Zhong Guo Ren Min Zheng Zhi Xie Shang Hui. 1990. pp. 185-188; 'Great Floods in Shantung, A Terrible Night in Weihsien, Foreigners Rescue Chinese.' *NCH.* vol. 112, no. 2459, September 19, 1914. p. 895; 'R. Wells, R. Mateer and W. Chalfant to A. Brown.' September 11, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/103.

with mud, sinking their foundations, and causing structural damage to the rooms. For both the college and hospital property the total damage came to $9,900 Mex.[569]

While the flood greatly harmed the current enterprise, its impact was also constructive for the missionaries. The ideas of Dr. Roys regarding the need to build the hospital on ground with better drainage were proven, and they now had no suitable hospital facilities. The appeals for immediate funds could not go unheard. However, their push for funds was at the expense of the current work. At this time they only used $920 Mex for repairs.[570] Their call for more funds to rebuild progressed slowly. By the end of January 1915 the Foreign Board had only collected $605 USG for the hospital.[571] This was a far cry from the $10,000 USG mark that they were aiming for.

The conditions that were left by the floods had a direct impact on the possibility of obtaining funds from the Rockefeller Foundation. This organization was interested in plants that were already drawn upon modern lines that would use their funds for equipment and trained personnel. Unfortunately, Weixian needed more than this. In June 1915 the China Medical Board officially requested recommendations for hospitals requiring funding. Notwithstanding the previous visit and report of George McKibbin, the China Council, in consultation with Dr. James Neal, recommended Weixian, Jinan, and Jining for the Shandong Mission.[572] Even though Weixian was severely affected by the flood, it continued to be of vital importance to the medical enterprise in Shandong. Therefore, the funds were requested to upgrade and improve the institution. In Weixian, $14,095.30 USG was needed for the new hospital, more land, staff residences, and hospital equipment.[573] All seemed to be in order at this time except for the inspection by Roger Greene, required to complete the application procedure. His inspection into the Weixian hospitals produced a scathing denouncement of the facilities.

> 'Neither institution [Weixian or Jining] has at present any accommodation worthy of the name of a hospital in any sense. The plant in each case consists of a dispensary building, which includes an operating room, and

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[569] 'The Weixian Station to W. Merrill.' September 10, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/90; 'R. Wells, R. Mateer and W. Chalfant to A. Brown.' September 11, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/103; and 'Damage to Mission Property.' December 7, 1914. *PHS.* RG82/8/9/20-1.

[570] 'M. Roys to A. Brown.' September 10, 1914, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/8/7/90.

[571] The contributors to the hospital included both individuals, churches, and mission societies: Miss Hollenback, Mrs. D. L. Potter, the Classon Avenue Church (Brooklyn), the Brick Church (New York), and the Woman's Occidental Board. 'Amounts Received for China Campaign for Specific Purposes, Which May Now be Appropriated.' January 26, 1915, New York. *PHS.* RG82/8/11/597.

[572] 'Shantung Mission, Council Minute, June 29, 1915.' *PHS.* RG82/10/7/20-1.

[573] The sum of $10,340 USG from the China Medical Board was to be put towards the new hospital building. The residences, land, and equipment requests were in addition to this. 'R. Greene to W. Buttrick.' May 12, 1916, Beijing. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338.

> blocks of one-storey [sic] Chinese buildings opening directly on to the court yard, with brick floors in most cases. At Weihsien the Men's and Women's hospitals together cost only about $5,500 gold, including the walls around the compound. They were built in 1902....The patients are accommodated partly on dirty k'angs (brick stove-beds) and partly on iron beds, on which are spread first some coarse kaoliang matting and then the patient's own bedding. There the patients lie unbathed, in their own clothing, attended by their own friends or servants who cook for them and even bring their own kaoliang stalks for fuel. There is practically no nursing in the ordinary routine, and the conditions are as nearly as possible what they would be if the patients were in their homes and there visited by the foreign doctor....At both places the latrines were unprotected by doors or screens, and that at Weihsien was in filthy condition....At neither Weihsien nor Tsiningchow was there any laboratory, and even the centrifuge at the former place was out of commission.'[574]

He later criticized the lack of planning that had gone into the funding proposal. As an example of this he noted their request for staff residences when there would be ample housing with the removal of the Arts College. He also noted that the sum requested for building the hospital, $10,340 USG, was 'quite insufficient,' and the Presbyterian Board had not yet shown that it had the funds to make up the difference.[575]

Greene did not completely dismiss Weixian as an area in which to invest. In his report he was sympathetic towards the position of Dr. Heimburger and his work there. He noted the doctor's work to severely limit the number of patients by reducing the number of beds from twenty-six to sixteen to raise the hygiene standards. Other attempted improvements included the introduction of a kitchen and laundry. However, he was concerned over the lack of support given to the medical enterprise.

> 'He [Dr. Heimburger] is not receiving, however, the sympathetic co-operation of his clerical associates, who have permitted the kitchen only as an experiment, and are inclined to criticize the reduction in the number of patients admitted. When added to this one considers that in spite of the pitiful shortage of equipment the doctor is given by the mission an annual grant of only about $1,200 Mex, or about $500 gold, to work with, one can

[574] 'R. Greene to W. Buttrick.' March 17, 1916, Beijing. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338. p. 1.
[575] 'R. Greene to W. Buttrick.' May 12, 1916, Beijing. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338.

realize how discouraging his position is. The total expenses, not including the foreigner's salaries, are only about $1,000 gold.'[576]

To aid Heimburger in his new efforts Greene approved $940 USG for the purchase of additional equipment. He was most insistent that this money be used to purchase bedding and clothing for the inpatients to further improve the hospital conditions.[577]

Although some money was provided, the small amount of support given by the evangelists and the Foreign Board proved to be the deciding factor in the rejection of their application. The station could reapply for the funds in the future, but Greene concluded that until there was a set plan and a majority of the funds for the building of a new hospital were collected it 'would be a waste of money for us [the CMB] to co-operate there.'[578]

### Ruth Brack and the Nurses Training School[579]

The need for better conditions led to a greater reliance on the Chinese for many tasks. For that reason, this last period saw a greater recruitment of Chinese personnel. Throughout its history the medical enterprise was hampered by the lack of trust in the Chinese staff to work without the supervision of foreign doctors. This was no longer acceptable and the doctors sought to place more of the work on the shoulders of Chinese in case they were away. They had already shown themselves capable by continuing to provide medical care during the Boxer interlude. However, the missionaries soon ran into a problem of staff retention.

The Chinese were not motivated by the evangelical goals of the missionaries. They could get better deals outside the compound. Looking to attract graduates from the Shandong University Medical School to Weixian, residences were built for a Chinese physician and a chief hospital assistant with their families. The plans called for a two-room house with a small kitchen attached. If the accommodations proved inadequate, the houses could be combined into one large dwelling and another built on a second site. While planning for the homes, Dr. Roys alluded to the fact that, as had happened in the schools, the missionaries could not pay the Chinese medical workers enough to persuade them to remain at the station. He noted that with the rise in openings for Chinese doctors trained in Western medicine the difference between retaining and losing an individual

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[576] 'R. Greene to W. Buttrick.' March 17, 1916, Beijing. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338. p. 3.
[577] 'R. Greene to W. Buttrick.' May 12, 1916, Beijing. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338.
[578] 'R. Greene to W. Buttrick.' March 17, 1916, Beijing. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338. pp. 3-4 and 5.
[579] We should note here that the school trained both male and female nurses, but the ideas for it were formulated under the idea that women would enter the profession. This seems to have been perpetuated by the ideas coming out of the US at the time.

was the possibility of having a home and their family with them.[580] This shows that these trained individuals were not flocking to the mission institutions as the teachers were. Their attempts to retain Chinese personnel is significant because it proves that there were more Chinese available and that their use was becoming widespread. Western medicine had finally begun to penetrate Chinese society becoming less foreign in the process.

The Chinese doctor and assistants had reached a level of competency not seen before by 1912. Dr. Robert Dunlap noted that while he had 'general supervision of the Men's Hospital...practically all the Medical work is done by the corps of native assistants and the native Physician, whom Dr. Roys left in charge.'[581] At the same time, the female medical force was attempting to strengthen itself after the departure of Dr. Margaret Bynon. The training of female assistants was in disarray after having been neglected since the time of Dr. Mary Brown. Because of this, the male medical assistants were required to fill the vacancies at the Women's Hospital. This was not a position the missionaries were comfortable with. In an attempt to alleviate this problem Dr. Madge Mateer and Dr. Emma Fleming began a medical class of four students, where they were taught obstetrics and physiology. The objective was to give them 'good training for their future usefulness whether as medical helpers, teachers or home-keepers.'[582] However, this work was temporary, and a permanent plan for the future of female medical assistants was not in place. This is likely due to the view that many girls could not be counted on because they would have to be married soon after their training and the mission would lose them. The situation had now changed that allowed for a reformulation of their plans.

> 'Changing conditions now make possible what a few years ago would have been impossible in Shantung; namely, to have a woman remain single and follow a profession without forfeiting the respect of her people. Parents who a few years ago would have scorned such a proposal, are now asking that their daughters receive the training of nurses.'[583]

By 1914 there were ten Chinese doctors and nurses in the hospitals, four in the Women's Hospital, and six in the Men's.[584] Although two medical workers were hired from Jinan and the number of nurses/assistants had increased, Roger Greene felt that

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[580] 'R. Wells to A. Brown.' March 29, 1910, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r258.

[581] When Chinese assistants had previously been left in charge of the medical work it seemed that it was only a temporary measure until another foreign physician could be brought in. Dr. Dunlap reported that he only really maintained oversight of the drug supplies rather than the hospital or the work of the Chinese staff. 'Report of Dr. and Mrs. R. W. Dunlap, Wei Hsien, 1912.' *PHS.* RG82/4/2/20/8.

[582] 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the Year Ending August 20, 1912.' *PHS.* RG82/3/2/20/2.

[583] 'Report for the Weihsien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914.' *PHS.* RG82/8/8/20/2.

[584] I assume here that the station is noting both the male and female nurses/assistants. At the men's hospital the doctor is listed as Dr. Yang Siu Shan [sic], trained at the Medical School in Jinan, with Mr. Li Fang-gwei [sic] acting as the chief dispenser. 'Untitled.' *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338.

neither group was very good.[585] It was outside views such as these that caused the doctors to refrain from giving the Chinese too much power and responsibility in the administration of the hospitals. This ran counter to the schools where Chinese were becoming involved through the Cooperation Committee and other means.

Notwithstanding their quality or numbers, medical assistants were key to the enterprise's continued success. At Weixian this idea was promoted earlier by Dr. Mary Brown who felt that there were many advantages to training Chinese women as physicians. This idea was later pushed forward in the 1914 Annual Report noting the specific importance of 'fully-qualified obstetrical nurses.'[586]

Before the Shandong Mission adopted the policy of requiring nurses in their hospitals, Weixian caught onto its benefits and in their requests for new missionaries they included a trained nurse in 1913. This request was encouraged by the general movement to include professional nurses in hospitals. It was a response to the increasing need for better sanitary conditions in the existing hospital, and to ensure these conditions remained high in the new facility.[587] The mission approved the request, and the following year the station was greeted by the assignment of Ms. Ruth A. Brack, RN.[588]

Upon Ms. Brack's arrival in November 1915, a changing tone on the teaching role of the hospital is noted. No longer were the women just taught in a somewhat unorganized fashion without an exact future in mind. With the new appointment the doctors realized that they could not carry on their work without a staff of Chinese nurses. They reported that their training was now more socially acceptable and could be done on a more permanent basis.[589] There was no longer a fear that the workers would be lost quickly to arranged marriages. This, however, was not the real reason why the consideration of formal training was being pushed for. Since 1907 the number of inpatients the doctors had to treat rose from sixty-nine to over 1,000. Although this number eventually went down, the doctors foresaw an increasing need for individuals to handle the everyday treatment of the patients. Under the new management scheme there were not enough physicians, foreign or Chinese, to cover this.

Ms. Brack's work in the nursing program consisted of supervising the male and female nurses and starting up a training regime. The first problem she encountered was

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[585] 'R. Greene to W. Buttrick.' March 17, 1916, Beijing. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338. p. 3.
[586] 'Report for the Weihsien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914.' *PHS.* RG82/8/8/20/2. p. 15.
[587] 'Statement of facts relating to the Hospitals of the American Presbyterian Mission, Wei hsien, Shantung.' 1914. *RAC.* RG 4/1.1/25/525/338.
[588] 'Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, September 1913.' *PHS.* RG82/7/2/20-1. p. 25.
[589] *78th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1915. PHS.* p. 150.

the lack of room given for her work, a recurring theme in the secular enterprises. By 1917 the hospital was attempting to do away with the policy of allowing members of a patient's family to attend to them. This was followed by the establishment of a kitchen and the beginning of the nursing program. However, the changes required living accommodations for the staff. While the female nurses were able to move into the quarters for the women assistants, the men did not have such accommodation set up.[590]

The second problem came with the need to train more staff, which resulted in the opening of the Nurses Training School. This was due to the high percentage of Chinese leaving to enter private practice. Immediately upon her arrival Ruth Brack began to set up a nursing course.[591] However, this work took a backseat to the hospital fund-raising efforts. Roger Greene of the China Medical Board went so far as to suggest that until a new hospital was built the teaching work be done at other 'better equipped and more adequately staffed' hospitals.[592] His suggestion was not looked upon favorably in Weixian. By January 1918 the preparations were completed and the first Nurses Training School in the area was begun. It was not very large with about ten students and only provided enough staff for the hospital. An early problem the new course met with was the lack of teaching materials at hand. However, with the small classes it was possible to mimic the second stage medical schools in which the staff cooperated in the teaching program that emphasized hands-on training.[593]

The medical staff was planning to carry on the training work in the same way as courses given in the US. However, with a crumbling hospital they could only teach the theoretical side of the profession. Once the new hospital was built, they would be ready to take up work immediately.[594] The resident doctors taught the more in-depth medical knowledge, such as anatomy, and Ms. Brack gave them instruction on hygiene, physiology, and primary care treatments.[595]

Although she was required to return to the US for medical reasons in May 1918, Ms. Brack returned the following year revitalized.[596] The problems in this beginning period of the nursing profession in Weixian were not her fault. Rather, it was the poor facilities described earlier. This could only be solved with a new building that would

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[590] *80th Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1917. PHS.* p. 158.
[591] 'Annual Report of the Weihsien Station, Shantung Mission, For the year ending July 1, 1915.' *PHS.* RG82/10/7/20-2. p. 9.
[592] 'R. Greene to W. Buttrick.' March 17, 1916, Beijing. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338. p. 5.
[593] *Wei Fang Shi Ren Min Yi Yuan Zhi. Op cit.* p. 295
[594] 'L. Heimburger to A. Brown.' January 14, 1918, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/15/22/35.
[595] The coursework described here were not given for Weixian, but were used in the Baoding Station of the North China Mission by Mrs. Charles Lewis and seem to have followed the same general principles. 'Letter from Mrs. Chas. Lewis.' *WWW.* vol. 27, no. 4, April 1912. p. 90.
[596] 'Records of Ruth A. Brack.' *PHS.* RG36/19/7.

provide better facilities for the school to flourish. The school remained in existence until the evacuation of the station during World War II.

By the close of the reporting year for 1919 the hospital only listed two Chinese physicians, Y. C. Loa and Loa Dung Ping, on their roster.[597] Although the number of assistants is not given, we can assume that there were more than nine with more expected through the Nurses Training School. The year 1920 marked a new beginning for Chinese doctors and nurses at the hospital. The following year Dr. Zhang Zhi-fu, a graduate of the Shantung Christian University Medical School, was expected to join the staff and head up the laboratory work that had been ignored because of the small hospital staff.[598] Notwithstanding this accomplishment, the goal of a new hospital was never abandoned.

**Treating Patients Outside the Station**

The spread of western medicine throughout the various mission fields was also important to extending the reach of the new social welfare ideas. In Chapter 4 the opening of the Wisner Dispensary was described. It was closed temporarily because it had no foreign supervision. In February 1914 it was reopened and the number of patients was reportedly larger than before its closure. The most important factor for this was the changing attitude of women in the city. Previously, it was thought that only a female physician would be able to treat the Chinese women patients. However, in the reopening of this work the doctors reported that this group attended the dispensary and permitted Dr. Roys to treat them without hesitation.[599]

With its increasing popularity, as with all medical work connected to the station, the dispensary soon became overcrowded. Although he had initially designed the buildings, Dr. Roys was increasingly dissatisfied with them.

> 'Our cramped quarters there, where the consulting-room has no window, and is only large enough to see one patient at a time, have been so crowded that most of the patients have to wait in the court-yard in all kinds of weather.'[600]

The dispensary also branched out into different areas of work. One of the most important of these was the public health information being handed out. Between 1914 and 1915, Dr.

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[597] 'Shantung Mission, Wei-hsien Station.' *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338.

[598] 'Report of the American Presbyterian Hospital, Weihsien, 1918.' *PHS.* cover; 'Report of the American Presbyterian Hospital, Weihsien, 1919.' *PHS.* cover and p. 2; and *Wei Fang Shi Ren Min Yi Yuan Zhi. Op cit.* p. 49.

[599] The missionaries were now able to move forward with their plans of bringing the station's hospital work under a single management scheme. 'Report of the Weihsien Station for the year ending July 11, 1914.' *PHS.* RG82/8/8/20-2. p. 13.

[600] 'Annual Report of the Weihsien Station, Shantung Mission, For the year ending July 1, 1915.' *PHS.* RG82/10/7/20-2. p. 9.

Roys began public health lectures with slides and vaccination campaigns among the urban population.[601]

In 1916 the end of the Wisner Dispensary was imminent with the departure of two Chinese doctors from the hospital. In total, the city now had eight Chinese selling 'foreign medicines,' and the Japanese were also opening shops selling medicine and morphine.[602] The increasing competition, the problems with the facilities, the claim that the inferior capabilities of the Chinese dispensers was harming the reputation of the missionary's work, and the increased workload put on the foreign physicians all combined in the decision to close it.

This, however, was not the end of the project. In 1907, Dr. Roys had noted his interest in opening dispensaries in other cities, but was forced to give up this work later in the year due to the increase in his work at the Wisner Dispensary and the hospitals. After the management of the medical enterprise was unified, the outcalls persisted among the local population. Under Dr. Roys the work of the traveling missionary was extended to include out-station work. This furthered the attempts to bring Western medicine to other areas in the Weixian field. In 1918 Dr. Heimburger took up the idea and opened a dispensary in Changle. He described it as 'a fairly large market place about ten English miles south of here.'[603] The main purpose was to allow women who could not travel to Weixian to get necessary treatment. He reported that 293 patients were treated on out-calls and 520 were treated in the Changle dispensary.[604] The following year he reported 648 patients treated there.

The missionaries did try to keep up the itineration work in the countryside, but lacked the staff to do it as successfully as it had started. By 1912 there was only one doctor in the station and this style of work needed to be downsized. However, this reduction allowed the doctors to concentrate on the out-station dispensary system. Therefore, although they were forced to give up on this part of the medical enterprise to a large extent, they succeeded in keeping the idea alive through the Changle dispensary.

**Chinese Support and Medical Modernization**

Before continuing with the fundraising efforts in the home churches for the new hospital, one must consider the role that the Chinese played in sustaining this enterprise. As noted throughout this section, the problem of funding was key in the decisions of the

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[601] *Ibid.*
[602] '35th Annual Report of the Weihsien Station, 1917.' *PHS.* RG82/13/12/20-2. p. 11.
[603] 'Personal Report of L. Heimburger, MD 1917-1918.' *PHS.* RG82/16/1/20-8 and *82nd Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, 1919. PHS.* p. 127.
[604] 'Report of the American Presbyterian Hospital, Weihsien, 1918.' *PHS.* p. 8.

Rockefeller Foundation to reject Weixian as a site for investment. Similar to the school system, the Chinese were contributing to the enterprise through the payment of fees for treatment. As in previous years, this money paid for the drug supply, but it could not cover the cost of expansion. Without the funds supplied through fees, the medical enterprise would likely have closed notwithstanding its importance in sustaining good relations with the local population.

**Table 10**

**Medical Contributions vs. Expenses, 1912-1920**[605]

| Date | Expenses (Mex.) | Contributions (Mex.) |
|---|---|---|
| 1912-1913 | 1,196.05 | 893 |
| 1913-1914 | 2,909.88 | 1,117 |
| 1915-1916 | 2,655 | 1,232 |
| 1916-1917 | 5,514 | 3,862 |
| 1917-1918 | 5,446.24 | 3,764 |
| 1919-1920 | 6,744 | 5,325 |

The 1910s continued the policy of the 1890s. The money the Chinese were charged was more than just a face-saving payment. It was a significant contribution that allowed the foreign funds to be allocated towards expansion. By instituting a strict fee based enterprise, the missionaries were conscious not to alienate certain members of the population. To ensure that the lower classes were not deterred from getting necessary medical treatment because of cost, the patients were separated into three classes with charges differing between each. If a patient did not have the funds to even pay for the lowest charge, they were taken on as a charity case. These patients were able to pay their fees by performing manual labor tasks after their recovery, but this system was not usually enforced.[606] Similar to the previous period, charging for treatment at the hospitals and dispensaries did not prevent patients from getting treatment.

The question over the significance of their contributions for the enterprise is one of the criticisms of the medical movement. The amount collected through patient fees is not recorded in the missionary records until 1913, as shown by Table 10. It is interesting to compare it to the expenses of the hospital to see just how far it was able to progress. The best year for the missionaries came in 1913 when the station collected $893 Mex that was only slightly exceeded by the medical expenses, which came to $1,196.05 Mex. In the following two years the expenses of the hospital were more than double that of the receipts. Even as the receipts climbed to $3,862 Mex, the expenses rose even higher and

[605] Compilation of appropriations requested from the Foreign Board. *PHS.*
[606] 'L. Heimburger to A. Brown.' January 14, 1918, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/15/22/35.

continued to exceed them by almost $2,000 Mex. By 1920 the station recorded $5,325 Mex in its receipts which had far exceeded the amount first recorded only seven years earlier. One can still question how much of the medical expenses came from the upkeep and modernization of the enterprise as compared with actual operations that the patients were charged for. In the 1918 hospital report the missionaries included a financial statement of the yearly projections for the first time. According to the report $1,176.48 went to the drug supply and the dispensary work, $551.91 went to hospital supplies, $218.12 went to the medical and surgical supplies, and $1,569.63 went to the kitchen. When added up, this sum comes to $3,516.14. The receipts from Chinese patients for that year came to $3,238.41.[607] Although it still fell short, the projections in this report show that an important step had been made in self-support. From this evidence, it is clear that the Chinese were making significant contributions to the financing of hospitals. Therefore, they were having a positive impact on the running of the institutions even though it might not have been enough to cover expansion costs.

**A New Hospital for Weixian**

The main obstacle in the construction of a new hospital was the lack of funding. The doctors approached the problem from every angle and were unsuccessful. However, to accomplish their goals of training and hiring more Chinese personnel, and improving the level of treatment they needed a new facility. The missionaries and Foreign Board were disappointed by the decision of the China Medical Board not to fund their enterprise in Weixian. They had been under the impression that money would be given to all hospitals listed by the China Council and Foreign Board that required additional plants and equipment, and would be 'influenced by the Medical College in Peking.'[608] This small setback did not discourage them and the missionaries pressed ahead with their fund-raising efforts in conjunction with the Million Dollar Campaign Fund the Foreign Board was running to raise money for foreign missions.

In 1917 the first large amount was donated to the hospital fund from the Shadyside Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh, which had previously contributed generously to the station. Hugh Kerr, Pastor of the Church, wrote to Arthur Brown the Church's intention to donate $10,000 USG to the Weixian hospital fund. By March the

[607] The report does not make clear whether the numbers here are in Mexican Silver or US Gold. There were other categories of expenses and the total came to $6,744.36, but these sums were those directly related to the care of patients. 'Report of the American Presbyterian Hospital, Weihsien, 1918.' *PHS.* p. 5.
[608] 'A. Brown to W. Buttrick.' March 1, 1916, New York. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338 and 'W. Buttrick to S. White.' June 24, 1916. *RAC.* RG4/1.1/25/525/338.

board received $7,474 USG. This was followed by another donation of $2,526 USG in June to make up the total pledged by the Church.[609]

With the receipt of the Shadyside funds, and with the prospect of more to come, feelings soared to heights that had not been felt for some time. Although they had scaled down the work, as is evident by the fall in the number of inpatients, they had not halted the planning of the new hospital. By August 5, 1917, plans for the new two-story hospital and an estimate of costs were completed. These provided for two wards (men's and women's) containing thirty beds each, six private men's rooms, three private women's rooms, a chapel with seating for eighty people, a children's ward containing eight beds, operating rooms, a sterilizing and instrument room, an examining room, a laboratory, and nurses quarters in the attic. The hospital was designed larger than required to allow for future expansion without the need for erecting more ward buildings. By finishing the attic, room for sixteen new beds could be made.[610]

When first preparing for a new hospital, Dr. Roys had envisaged that the entire plant would cost $24,000 Mex. Due to the rising cost of materials and labor, and the worsening rate of exchange from silver to copper cash, this amount now only covered the cost of the hospital building 'with modern plumbing and steam heat.'[611] Since the Church in the US had already given so much to the project, this put Dr. Heimburger in a difficult position. At the time they only had thirty iron beds with enough bedding for twelve, and he did not want to return to the practice of the patients providing for themselves. He also noted that they would need an operating table, instrument table, and laboratory equipment. To begin with the present plans he needed the approval of the Foreign Board to use the entire appropriations for the hospital building, asking the home churches for further donations after its completion.

The Board questioned the strategy of obtaining new equipment rather than using the equipment they had at the time. Heimburger replied that it all needed to be changed to make sure the hospital remained in line with the standards set by the Medical Committee of the Eastern Asia Conference. These included an increase in staffing, standardized equipment and space for certain departments, and the establishment of a management structure. Dr. Heimburger argued that the current plans would bring the hospital facilities

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[609] 'H. Kerr to A. Brown.' February 5, 1917, Pittsburgh. *PHS.* RG82/11/21/1523; 'A. Brown to the Shantung Mission.' March 7, 1917, New York. *PHS.* RG82/13/16; and 'A. Brown to the Shantung Mission.' June 19, 1917, New York. *PHS.* RG82/13/16.

[610] 'L. Heimburger to A. Brown.' August 5, 1917, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/13/7/45.

[611] The new costs for the building project excluded the gatehouse, surrounding walls, and equipment. 'L. Heimburger to A. Brown.' August 5, 1917, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/13/7/45.

up to 1918 standards, but that level was constantly being raised. He thought that if they did not plan ahead, the new hospital would soon be obsolete.[612]

The fundraising efforts began with renewed energy in 1918.[613] Dr. Heimburger now felt that the time was right to request money from the home churches for personal and societal donations to the Weixian hospital.[614] Later that summer, money began to arrive for the basic equipment fund. The first amount received in this new drive was $100 USG from the Woman's Board of the Northwest.[615]

By the following spring a new problem emerged. In addition to the dilapidated condition of the buildings, prices throughout the Weixian district began to rise. Heimburger blamed this on the large profits made by local farmers from the British-American Tobacco Company, and on the money brought by those who served with the Chinese Labor Battalion.[616] The new estimate made by the doctor increased the amount needed from $10,000 USG to $15,000 USG. He also estimated that the running expenses of a new hospital would rise due to the increase in salaries now being demanded. As an example, he reported that he would need to give the hospital's Chinese doctor a 100% pay increase to retain his services.[617] To alleviate these price fluctuations he tried to cut equipment costs at every corner. Heimburger suggested that the Foreign Board should look to the US government and the Red Cross who were getting rid of stockpiles of surgical and medical stores that had been built up during World War I to save money. These included surgical gauze and army blankets 'offered at a ridiculously low price.'[618]

It was not until 1920 that the home churches began to respond to Weixian's pleas. However, it was only one that gave a significant amount to the project, the Shadyside Presbyterian Church. They began with a modest sum of $500 USG from the women's auxiliary. These small sums continued until 1923 when word came from Rev. Hugh Kerr, Pastor of the Church, that they had a goal of providing $20,000 USG.[619] By March the Church had donated $25,864.45 USG and the building could begin. It was completed in 1925 and named 'Shadyside Presbyterian Hospital.'[620] Within its walls were located ward

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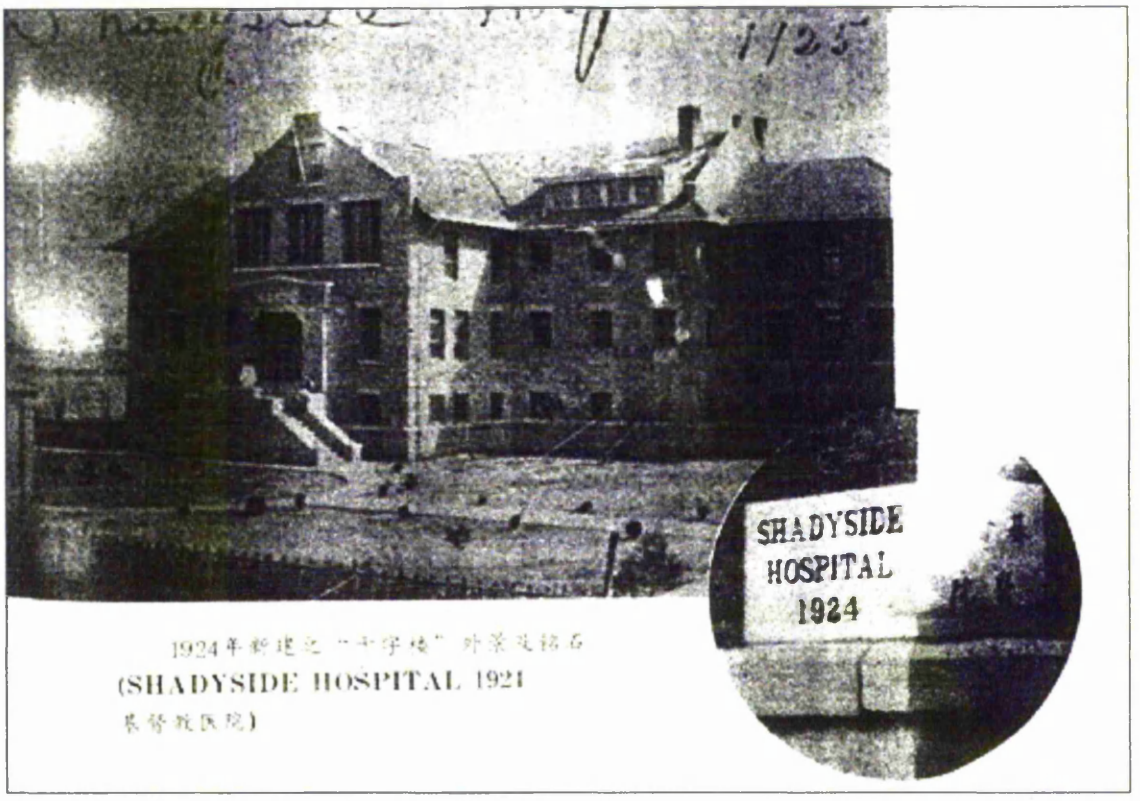
[612] 'L. Heimburger to A. Brown.' August 5, 1917, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/13/7/45 and 'L. Heimburger to A. Brown.' January 14, 1918, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/15/22/35.
[613] After this time all the money for the hospital was supplied by the home churches, mostly coming from the Shadyside Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh.
[614] 'L. Heimburger to A. Brown.' June 7, 1918, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/15/22/36.
[615] 'A. Brown to the Shantung Mission.' August 9, 1918, New York. *PHS.* RG82/16/15.
[616] The Chinese Labor Battalion were workers recruited for digging trenches and performing other menial labor jobs in Europe during World War I.
[617] 'L. Heimburger to G. Trull.' March 2, 1919, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/17/15/46.
[618] 'L. Heimburger to A. Brown.' October 19, 1919, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/17/15/48.
[619] This amount included the $10,000 USG already contributed by the Church.
[620] On the cornerstone the Chinese name *Ji Du Yi Yuan* (Protestant Hospital) was given alongside it.

and operating rooms named after key workers at the station and in the Shadyside Church: an operating room dedicated to Charles K. Roys, a ward room to Charlotte E. Hawes, and a small children's ward to Howard Heinz.[621] Unfortunately, Dr. Roys did not live long enough to see the hospital that he and Dr. Heimburger had worked so hard to establish.

**Figure 8**

**The Shadyside Hospital[622]**




**Climax of the Medical vs. Evangelical Missionary Rift**

Throughout the history of the Weixian hospital the evangelists had a large role in the fundraising activities and recruiting the medical personnel. With the arrival of Charles Roys their control of power within the station was a hindrance in his goal of a new hospital. The efforts of Drs. Roys and Heimburger to attract funds had itself taken almost eighteen years to complete. During this time, they found opposition from the Foreign Board to the directness of their fundraising activities. Additionally, they faced opposition from inside the mission. In 1916, as described earlier, Roger Greene noted the significant lack of support given to the medical missionaries in their task. It was not until three years later that evidence of this appears in the missionary literature.

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[621] 'Letter to H. Kerr.' January 17, 1923. *PHS.* RG82/15/20/2040; 'A. Brown to the Shantung Mission.' May 3, 1920, New York. *PHS.* RG82/18/18; 'Untitled.' February 23, 1923. *PHS.* RG82/15/20/2040; 'Untitled.' March 24, 1923. *PHS.* RG82/15/20/2040; 'Appropriation Notice.' July 24, 1923. *PHS.* RG82/15/20/2040; 'Untitled.' August 1, 1923. *PHS.* RG82/15/20/2040; and *Wei Fang Shi Ren Min Yi Yuan Zhi. Op cit.* p. 2.

[622] *Wei Fang Shi Ren Min Yi Yuan Zhi. Op cit.* illustrations before text.

Dr. Heimburger had spent a great deal of time and effort in making the hospital a reality. He worked on lowering the overall cost of the project. He attempted to get the hospital equipment at a discounted price through the medical stores after World War I. Finally, he tried to find the most cost-effective method of building it without lowering the quality of the final product. Even with these cost-cutting measures he still felt that he received no substantial support from the mission establishment.

In 1919 his fight to get the construction funds was finally wearing on him and his letters became more accusatory. In a letter to George Trull, the Secretary for Specific Work, he noted with anger that the station had been trying to get a 'new modern hospital building with the proper equipment to carry on a modern scientific medical work.'[623] They had received some funds for the construction, but the work of raising the money had gone on for so long that it seemed the hospital would never be built.

In relation to this he wrote of the low level of support given to medical missionaries and their almost insignificant status within the mission community. He reported that the time had passed when medical men had to work under adverse conditions and that it was only the will of the mission that held this work back. He went on to note that China would not be able to obtain medical men in the future unless the attitude toward them changed.

> 'Doctors will not be obtainable if they must become regular mission members unless a more liberal policy is maintained in the future. We medical missionaries feel that our work is not a substitute for the spread of the Gospel but an integral part of that work....In consequence our mission is composed of several over-worked [doctors], busy from sun-up to sun-down and many times after that, with no time or too tired after the day's work is over to read and keep up with the times, and with hundreds of matters which come up in running a hospital, which could be handled by a man less professionally trained, to worry about, as bookkeeping, buying drugs, etc., and keep him on edge.'[624]

With these letters he broke ranks and criticized the policies in place. It is likely that through this action he was able to obtain the remaining funds in such a short time. This may also have been why the Shadyside Church gave over and above what had been asked for. In the end, it seemed that through this long process the doctors had begun to

[623] 'L. Heimburger to G. Trull.' March 2, 1919, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/17/15/46.
[624] 'L. Heimburger to A. Brown.' October 19, 1919, Weixian. *PHS.* RG82/17/15/48.

establish themselves as powerful players within the mission community at Weixian, something that would carry on throughout the rest of the station's history.

## Summary

By 1920 the institutions at Weixian were almost unrecognizable from their beginnings in the 1880s and 1890s. The high schools took over the buildings of the Arts College that permitted future expansion. The main building of the Point Breeze Academy continued in use after the missionaries left until the 1980s when it was torn down. The hospitals also benefited and the new Shadyside Hospital is still standing in the grounds of the People's Hospital, but is unusable due to years of neglect. In addition to providing the new modern buildings, this final period brought important changes to the work. Of particular interest is the increasing participation of the Chinese in financial and administrative matters, which combined with a lack of evangelical support highlighted by Dr. Heimburger. Both were dealt with in different ways by the two enterprises.

One of the turning points in the missionary movement that affected its administration came during this period. This change lasted until the end of the movement in the early-1950s. As this chapter has shown, the enterprises were increasing in size and the foreign missionaries could no longer control all aspects involved. They had been the innovators and brought new ideas to China. However, in this period the Chinese took a more proactive stance and began formulating policy independently from foreign oversight. Of particular note in this was the creation and work of the Cooperation Committee. Although it is true that it consisted of both foreign missionaries and Chinese, if one considers its work the voice of the Chinese participants was significant and influential. This was true for both education and medicine, although its contribution was more noticeable in education. This was likely due to the fact that the medical enterprise required specialized knowledge.

When considering the expansion and policymaking ability of the new generation of Chinese members in the mission, one cannot ignore the financial wellbeing of the enterprises. This was seen throughout the history of these enterprises, but it was highlighted during this period of expansion. In education the local Christian population were organizing schools without inducement from the resident missionaries. These schools were all self-supporting and were only allowed to join the system after inspection by a Superintendent or foreign director. In addition, one saw the increasing support by the Chinese for sustaining the high schools and the missionary funds could then be put towards building projects and other major renovations. The medical enterprise had a

similar experience. Patients provided most of the funds to keep the hospitals going and the mission funds were used mainly for expansion projects.

Increasing Chinese involvement both within and outside the missionary structure finally allowed the educational and medical missionaries to break free from the control of the evangelists. This group dominated access to appropriations and had important contacts in the home churches where much outside funding could be obtained. The support of this group fluctuated throughout all three periods that this study has covered. However, in this last period the enterprises required greater outlays of funds than had previously been necessary. The older missionaries who founded many of these enterprises did not feel that this was needed and the institutions began to suffer. At one point, Ralph Wells considered building a new facility for the academy, but this project was deemed unnecessary by many of the evangelical staff. One can point to many cases when it is possible to see the resistance of the evangelists. Finally, there were the statements by the Rockefeller Foundation and Heimburger to show evangelical resistance to expansion. However, through the increasing participation in station administration of the liberal missionaries these ideas were overturned and the social welfare aspects of the missionary movement were brought forward. This had an impact both in the work and the increasing role in policymaking that the Chinese played.

# Chapter 6

## Conclusion

Throughout the first forty years of its history the missionaries at Weixian formulated the general principles of their missionary policy. They established an extensive school system and a new modern hospital. Additionally, their Church contained the largest membership in the Shandong Mission. In general, scholars have accepted this period as the basis for the work developed in the 1920s and 1930s. This study has brought out new findings about the increasingly important role that the Chinese played during this formative period. As the work in Weixian progressed the local Chinese population took on greater responsibilities as administrators and in the financial support of the institutions. In addition, they were proactive in ensuring that their local needs were covered. This increasing participation turned the missionary enterprise into a cooperative effort.

This study has sought to shed new light on the cooperation between the Chinese and the missionaries in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. This question has not been thoroughly explored in the existing historical literature. It has been generally accepted that it was not until the rise of Chinese nationalism that changes were forced on the foreign enterprises. This study of Weixian has shown a new model to understand the cooperative effort that emerged between the Chinese and the missionaries before the period of nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s. The development of the Chinese involvement in the secular enterprises began as early as 1890 and continued after 1900. This timeline coincides with the findings of Lian Xi who noted that the movement towards union efforts led to 'more cooperation with the Chinese and a greater Chinese voice in the Church.'[625] His study showed that it was not the nationalist movements of the post-May Fourth generation that forced these changes, but, as Xi argues, it was changes within the mission groups that promoted these developments.

The emergence of a cooperative effort in Weixian was, to a large extent, a consequence of its rural setting. The opportunities available to the local population and the limitations on the missionary staff had a significant impact on the direction of the secular enterprises. A constant theme throughout this thesis has been the willingness of the local population to take advantage of the services provided by the missionaries. This is not surprising considering the fact that education and quality medical care were luxuries not available to the vast majority of the inhabitants of this region. Therefore, there was a continuous effort to ensure that the missionary work survived and prospered.

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[625] Xi. *Op cit.* p. 135.

The expansion stimulated by the growing participation of the Chinese was not always followed by an adequate increase of the missionary staff. Missionaries were often unable or unwilling to devote their full time to the administration of the enterprises. There were two consequences to this continuous staffing problem. First, the Chinese had to get involved at some levels of the educational and medical work. Second, schools and hospitals had to employ missionaries who were more interested in the development of education and medical care than in the expansion of Christianity. The role of medical and educational institutions started to change as more professional missionaries became involved. They introduced a new social agenda that called for new methods and modern facilities. Moreover, given that their work was often restricted by the opposition of the evangelists, they relied even more on Chinese support and participation. Thus, the increasing liberalization of the secular institutions encouraged and consolidated the cooperative nature of the enterprises.

The evolution of the cooperative effort began in the early-nineteenth century before the union movement had gained acceptance. This study has shown that there were two main areas where one can appreciate the increasing cooperation between the Chinese and the missionaries. First in the sphere of financial responsibility and second in the administration and staffing of the institutions.

The secular institutions were an important testing ground in the development of financial responsibility. This was one of the most important problems that the foreign missionaries wanted to address before administrative devolution began in the organization of the Chinese Church. Different strategies were adopted to promote self-support. Some groups, such as the China Inland Mission, maintained this policy strictly within the boundaries of the Church. The Basel Foreign Board supported the strategy of using the educational institutions to accomplish this goal. This appears to have been an accepted method among those that adopted secular enterprises as a mission agency. The Weixian staff followed this line and began their efforts towards self-support early with the educational system. In 1891, Frank Chalfant led the movement with his ideas of instituting fees in the primary schools.[626] The new policy forced a subsequent change to replace the boarding school model with a system of day schools. This strategy allowed the patrons to more easily support the primary school network. At the secondary school level the progress towards Chinese self-support was slowed by the evangelical usefulness attributed to the schools. They were intended to be the main recruiting ground for evangelists and Church leaders. Therefore, there was a reluctance to make the self-

[626] 'F. Chalfant to F. Ellinwood.' September 9, 1891, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r208.

support of the Point Breeze Academy or Wen Mei School a rigid requirement. Nevertheless, the increasing costs of living in the area, the growing demand to attend the secular institutions, and the continuous conflicts between evangelists and educationalists contributed the fact that, by 1920, the patrons provided almost all the running costs for these institutions.

While education was the most successful at creating self-supporting organizations, medicine also made achievements in this area. However, it is important to remember that the objective of this policy in the medical work was different from its intended role in education. The adoption of self-support in education stemmed from its potential impact on the development of the Chinese Church. Medicine, however, required it for a different reason. The financial support provided by the mission for the medical enterprise was never enough to maintain decent levels of care. Therefore, there was a greater need for local income to sustain the enterprises. In addition, there was a precedent in Chinese society. As many argued, the local population was in the habit of providing funds for doctors and medicines, and the missionary work fit into this model. This policy did not detract from the charitable nature of their work, as some missionaries argued. Instead, it allowed the doctors to offer treatment to the poor members of the population.

Some have argued that the financial support provided by the Chinese was minimal and did not have a large impact on the secular work. This study has shown just the opposite. The funds contributed through the fees paid by the Chinese were the main means of support for the everyday activities of the institutions. The impact of this was to allow the foreign funds to be applied towards new areas that enabled greater expansion. This was particularly noted in the primary school system and the medical enterprise.

Increasing cooperation was also seen in the administration and staffing of institutions. By 1920, both secular enterprises entered into a new cooperative period that lasted until the independence of the Protestant movement from the foreigners in the late-1930s and 1940s. The new movement towards incorporation was important for both the Chinese and the missionary institutions. For the former it provided better opportunities to formulate their specific demands and proactively incorporate them into the missionary enterprises. This study has shown that this process started in the nineteenth century. An early example of this was the creation of the Chinese Superintendent position in the primary school system. Through their work, changes to the organization of the system were possible, such as the abolition of primary boarding schools and the substitution of day schools for boys and girls. Medical assistants, on the other hand, were indispensable to the efforts of the doctors to improve the level of care in the hospitals. In addition, the

work of this group proved that the missionaries would not be successful in their endeavors without the inclusion of the Chinese.

The crowning moment of this process was the creation of the Cooperation Committee. Through its work changes in line with Chinese needs and desires were effected in the secular enterprises. Particularly noticeable was the breaking up of the girls' primary boarding schools and the support of the doctor's work to provide better facilities for the patients. There was also a greater impetus in the local Christian population to create new schools, notably the founding of primary schools and Pastor Liu's school. The anticipated introduction of the new hospital allowed the medical enterprise to introduce Chinese nurses, which gave the foreign doctor freedom to devote more time to surgery and administrative duties. Work along these lines continued and in the 1920s the first Chinese heads of both enterprises were appointed. Zhang Xue-gong and Yin Huan-zhai respectively took over the Wen Mei School and Point Breeze Academy, and Zhang Zhi-fu headed the Shadyside Hospital for a few years.[627]

This study has also provided some information about the transformation of rural society in China as a result of the missionaries' work. Many feel that missionary institutions provided only for the elite. This is not true for those stations in the interior. On the contrary, as shown in Figure 3, the Weixian missionaries developed a large primary school system throughout their field. This new education was aimed particularly at the rural population that did not always have access to educational opportunities. The work in Weixian did not revolutionize education, but it promoted new ideals and made it available to more people. One of the significant changes that occurred was the creation of a professional female workforce through the Wen Mei School. Additionally, the missionaries provided a source of education at a time when the country was in transition from the Qing Dynasty to the Republican Government. During this period, the old system of education broke down and the missionaries provided schools where none were available. Once the new government began making plans for a new educational system, the mission schools were able to provide the government with a pool of trained individuals who took positions as teachers.

In the medical arena, they provided treatments that the Chinese practitioners could not give to the people, particularly those in rural areas. While surgery was an important new form of medicine, the doctors also worked hard to spread their influence outside the

[627] Dr. Zhang's position at the Shadyside hospital only lasted a few years until the appointment of Dr. Everett Murray. *Shan Dong Wei Fang Er Zhong Xiao Zhi, 1883-1993.* Weifang: Wei Fang Xin Wen Chu Ban Ju. 1993. pp. 3 & 7 and *Wei Fang Shi Ren Min Yi Yuan Zhi. Op cit.* p. 49.

compound walls throughout the field. In the early years this consisted of dispensing medicine while traveling with an evangelist. After 1900, there was a greater effort to establish more permanent outstation facilities where the doctor could be more effective. Of specific note was the work to create the Wisner Dispensary by Charles Roys. Through his work many primary treatments were given and only the more serious cases were sent to the station's hospital.

Finally, one issue that has not been addressed in this study is the possible connection between secular institutions and the organization of a native Church. Throughout the period studied here one can appreciate the increasing emphasis on Chinese support in financial and administrative matters. In 1914 Weixian saw the emergence of an important indigenous movement, the City Evangelization Movement (CEM). The study of increasing cooperation between the Chinese and the missionaries in the secular enterprises raises some questions about the contribution of this process to the emergence and growth of movements such as the CEM. Was cooperation in secular areas a preface to an autonomous Chinese Church? If this was the case, where can one find the relevant connections? These questions cannot be answered within the scope of this study. However, they highlight the importance of the study of the development of cooperation to increase our understanding of Christianity in China.

This study ends in 1920 after the medical and educational enterprises were permanently established and were playing leading roles in the Shandong Mission. This did not mean the end of their work and both continued in this position through the 1930s. At this point, the province was swept up into the Second Sino-Japanese War and the missionaries attempted to continue in spite of rising tensions. On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the American Naval Base at Pearl Harbor. Following this, the British and Americans in North China were captured and placed in Civilian Internment Camps. The American Presbyterian Weixian Compound was transformed with barbed wire around its walls and it admitted its first internees in March 1943. Through its gates passed approximately 1,200 individuals, the most famous being Eric Liddell the great Scottish runner from the 1924 Olympics. For two years the internees lived on the grounds of the Point Breeze Academy and Wen Mei School. Although it had a checkered past as a foreign institution and a Japanese camp, the grounds of the station returned to its former glory as educational and medical institutions after the Chinese Civil War in 1949. Today the old compound contains the No. 2 Middle School and the People's Hospital, two of the preeminent institutions in the city of Weifang. They stand as a testimony of a history of cooperation between foreigners and Chinese.

## Appendix A

### General Plan Constitution and Courses of the Chefoo Girls' School[628]

'II. The School is established for the Christian Education of Chinese girls, and not for widows or married women, nor as an asylum for destitute children.
III. The aim of the school shall not be exclusively to teach religion, but to give such an education both religious and secular, as will elevate the pupils, and gratify them to teach others, and to be leaders in every good work.
IV. Pupils must be of respectable parentage; children of prostitutes and professional beggars are not to be admitted.'
'VI. Every pupil shall receive systematic instruction in sewing, cooking, and general housework.
VII. Clothing is to be furnished by the parents of the pupils. In the case of orphans or destitute children, clothing, including bedding may be furnished in whole or in part from the school funds, in no case to exceed the sum of five dollars a year for such pupil.
VIII. ...the binding of the feet shall not in all cases disqualify pupils for admission to the school. Children of Christian parents, whose feet have been bound after the parents became Christians shall not be received into the school, unless their feet are unbound and no one shall be permitted to commence foot-binding while a member of the school.'
By-laws
'I. Pupils shall not be admitted to the school under nine (9) years of age, unless for special reasons.
II. There shall be an examination at the end of each year, conducted in the presence of a Committee of the Mission.
III. Those pupils who come up to a fair standard of scholarship may be retained in the school for 5 years or more.
IV. Those who fail to come up to a fair standard of scholarship shall be dismissed.
V. Pupils who persist in disobeying the rules of the school, or are guilty of culpable indolence and negligence shall be dismissed.'
VI. No money shall be granted from the school fund for out-fit or marriage portions, except in cases of orphans or destitute pupils, or in recognition of special services rendered while in connection with the school: Each case to be decided by a vote of the Mission. In no case shall such allowances exceed the sum of $10.00.
VII. No pupil shall be retained in the school indefinitely on the scon [scam?] of poverty.
VIII. Increasing efforts shall be made to induce parents not only to clothe their daughters while in school, but also, either in whole or in part to defray the expenses of boarding.
IX. The following course of study is approved and adopted.

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[628] Note that only the relevant sections to this study have been quoted. 'General Plan and Constitution of Girls' Boarding School.' November 1882, Dengzhou. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r205.

## Course of Study

### First Year

Three Character Classic
Mandarin Catechisms
Gospel of Matthew, from 1st to 8th chapters
Hundred Family Names
Commit to Memory 500 Characters

### Second Year

Read the Analects, (Confucius)
Explain the Analects (1st Part)
Explain three character classic
Commit to Memory 500 Characters
Parables of Our Lord
Mental Arithmetic (first part)

### Third Year

Great Learning (Confucius)
Doctrine of the Mean, do.
Mencius (1st Part)
Explain Analects (2nd Part)
Catechism on 10 Commandments (1st Part)
Mental Arithmetic (2nd Part)
Geography (1st part)
Book on the Soul
Arithmetic (1st vol.)

### Fourth Year

Mencius (2nd part)
Book of Poetry (1st and 2nd Parts)
Explain Great Learning
Explain Doctrine of the Mean
Catechism of 10 Commandments (2nd part)
Mandarin Essays
Vocal Music
Arithmetic (2nd vol.)
Geography (2nd Part)
Evidences of Christianity (1st book)

### Fifth Year

Book of Poetry (3rd & 4th parts)
Arithmetic (3rd vol.)
Evidences of Christianity (2nd book)
Essays in Mandarin
Book Keeping
Explain Mencius
Review Geography
Acts of the Apostles
Old Testaments History
Physiology

### Sixth Year

Book of History (1st and 2nd part)
Explain Book of Poetry (1st & 2nd parts)
Composition
Epistle to the Romans
Primer of Physical Geography
Book of Essays (1st Part)
Review Analects
Elements of Natural Science
Extracts from Chinese History
Elements of Geology

### Seventh Year

Book of History (3rd & 4th Parts)
Composition
Explain Book of Poetry (3rd and 4th Parts)
Extracts from English History
Book of Proverbs (Old Testament)

## Appendix B

## Short Biographies of Educational and Medical Workers at Weixian

Two missionaries who we cannot give background on are Drs. Horace Smith and J. M. Mathewson. Unfortunately, their information was not contained in the missionary records. The personal information given below was compiled from the personal records of each at the Presbyterian Historical Society.

### Emma F. Boughton

Emma Boughton was born on March 9, 1861, in Nassau, New York, close to Albany. She later attended the Temple Grove Seminary in Saratoga Springs, NY, and upon graduation in June 1880 took up a position as a teacher. While teaching she applied to the American Presbyterian Foreign Board to obtain a position as a missionary. On June 3, 1889, she was assigned to the Weixian station of the Shandong Mission. It was not usual for the Foreign Board to make such an exact appointment. However, because a Ms. Hills of New York City offered to pay the salary of a female missionary in Weixian she was chosen for this specific post. Expected to sail out on the 19th of September from San Francisco she received a call from Robert Mateer earlier in the month. Although she had come highly recommended to the Foreign Board, Mateer noted that she was a 'delicate' woman. He sensed the health problems which would later force her to stay in the US after 1900. While on the field, she founded the Wen Mei School, and worked as a teacher in the Point Breeze Academy. Because of these later health problems, Emma Boughton was forced to retire from the field in May 1903.

### Ruth Alice Brack, RN

Born on October 19, 1889, in St. Paul, Minnesota, to David and Christiana, Ruth Brack went on to become one of the longest serving missionaries of the Weixian Station. After her education at St. Paul Central High School, graduating in 1909, she attended the St. Lukes Hospital Training School for Nurses from which she finished her studies in 1912. After her formal education she continued her nursing career specializing in obstetrical surgery. In the Summer of 1913, after speaking with Dr. Charles Roys of the Weixian station, she decided to enter the mission field and in October she formally applied to the Foreign Board. Although her only activities were in the Christian Endeavor societies and a substitute Sunday School teacher, in November of that year she was accepted as a missionary and in January of the next year was assigned to Weixian. On September 26, 1914, Ms. Brack left the US for Shanghai with her sister Edna Brack, who died in 1916, reaching their destination on October 24. Between 1914 and 1918 she took charge of the nursing duties in the Weixian Station, but was forced to return to the

US in June 1918 for a surgical operation. By May 1919 she was allowed to return to the field and establish the first Nurses Training School at the station. From 1919 until 1933 she worked in the Shadyside Hospital and superintended the Nursing School. Between 1933 and 1942, when the station was evacuated, she acted as the Superintendent of the Shadyside Hospital.

James Winter Brown, MD

Dr. James Brown was born on January 15, 1886, in Reidsburg, Pennsylvania. In 1910, after graduating from Grove City College in 1909, he attended the University of Michigan for three years. For his final year he moved to the University of Oklahoma where he received his medical degree in 1914. After graduation he settled at the Presbyterian Hospital in Pittsburgh where he specialized in surgery. On June 3, 1915, he was married to Laura Edith Smith and one year later was appointed by the Foreign Board to the Shandong Mission. On August 25, 1915, he left the US for Shanghai where he arrived on September 18, 1915. By August 9, 1918, difficulty with the Chinese language leading to a lack of motivation for medical work forced Dr. Brown and his family to move to Dengzhou for one year after which they returned to the US and were dropped from the Mission role.

Mary Brown, MD

Dr. Mary Brown was one of the first women medical missionaries appointed to the Shandong Mission, sailing for China on October 17, 1889. She was instrumental in setting up and expanding the medical work among the Chinese women of the Weixian field. Arriving on the field in 1890 she remained in Weixian for nine years until her health began to fail. In November 1899 Dr. William Faries reported that 'she was practically starving to death' from malnutrition, but a true diagnosis was never fully given. Later that year she returned to the US where she died before being able to help reopen the station after the Boxers.

Frank Herring Chalfant

Rev. Frank Chalfant was born in Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, on May 29, 1862, to Rev. and Mrs. George W. Chalfant. After his graduation from Lafayette College in 1881, he worked as an Examiner of Real Estate Titles in Pittsburgh until 1884 when he entered the Western Theological Seminary, graduating in 1887, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Pittsburgh in 1886. Looking towards life after graduation he applied to the Foreign Board for an appointment as a missionary. In March 1887 he was accepted by the Foreign Board and appointed to the West Shandong Mission, but held off his departure until October 20, 1887, for his marriage to Jennie A. Martin on September 29,

1887. Primarily an evangelist, Chalfant was instrumental in transforming the primary school system, and collected specimens, thought not to be forgeries, of the 'Anyang inscriptions (oracle bones)' which he later donated to museums and private collections in Great Britain, the US, and China. He also published a book entitled *Early Chinese Writing*, and other works entitled *Ancient Chinese Coinage* and *Weights and Measures.* While on a fishing trip in Qingdao in 1911, he sustained a spinal injury from falling on a rock that caused paralysis in his lower limbs. He returned to the US in 1912 where he died in his Pittsburgh home on January 14, 1914, from 'miolitis' from the injury.

Jennie Martin Chalfant

Born on January 5, 1864, in Jennie A. Martin grew up in Salem, Ohio. She later took up her educational studies in Pittsburgh where she met Frank Chalfant. With her future husband she was appointed to the West Shandong Mission in March 1887 and sailed on October 20 of that year after her marriage to the Rev. Frank Herring Chalfant on September 29, 1887. With her arrival on the field she took a large role in running and expanding the Wen Mei School until she was forced to leave the field with her husband in 1912. After his death in January 1914, she was requested to return to Weixian. However, by March she was not yet ready to return to the field and presented her resignation to the Foreign Board. Initially accepted as a temporary measure by the Board, her resignation was made official on July 8, 1914.

William Reid Faries, MD

Dr. William Faries was born on September 5, 1860, in Phelps, New York. Educated in the public school system he received his medical degree from the University of New York in 1888 during which time he worked in the Brooklyn Hospital. After graduation he took a special course on problems of the eyes and ears from an 'eminent doctor in New York.' All of this training was done with a view to entering the foreign mission field as a medical missionary. One year after graduation his application to the Foreign Board came through, and he was appointed to the West Shandong Mission on March 4, 1889, leaving for China in October 1889. He was only on the field a short time before returning to the US in June 1890 for his marriage to Priscilla Ellen Chittick on August 18, 1890. After returning to the field in November, he set to work establishing the Men's Department of the Weixian Hospital. While in China he contracted malaria which eventually caused him to withdraw back to the US in 1903.

LeRoy Francis Heimburger, MD

Dr. Heimburger was born on June 25, 1889, in St. Louis, Missouri, to Frank Joseph and Estelle Belle Heimburger. From his home here he attended Central High School in St. Louis, and after graduating in 1908 took his university years in Washington University and the St. Louis University School of Medicine from which he graduated in 1912. Directly out of school he spent one year at the Alexian Brothers Hospital, and the St. Louis Obstetrical Dispensary and Jewish Dispensary for 10 weeks each. On February 17, 1913, he was appointed to be a foreign missionary. Although his preference for assignment was China due to its many medical and sanitation problems, on April 21, 1913, he was officially assigned to the Siam Mission. On June 2, 1913, the Foreign Board, with no explanation, changed his assignment to the Shandong Mission and he left the US on September 10, 1913, later arriving in Chefoo on October 10. During his time in Chefoo he became friendly with Louise Corbett, daughter of Hunter Corbett, and they were married on December 1, 1914. After the one-year language course in Chefoo, he began working to upgrade the Weixian Hospital facilities. His most notable contribution during this time was his fundraising work to build the Shadyside Hospital. He remained in Weixian until June 1921 and then was reassigned to the Medical College of the Shandong Christian University where he remained until his resignation on August 5, 1934. While in this latter position he wrote two editions of a book entitled *Syphilis* (1925 and 1927) and one book entitled *Diseases of the Skin* (1927), both in Chinese, and nine articles published in Chinese and English language journals.

Madge Dickson Mateer, MD

Dr. Madge Mateer was born Madge D. Dickson on April 4, 1860, in Shiremantown, Pennsylvania, to John and Mary Dickson. After high school she attended Otterbein University in Ohio, and after graduation in 1881 attended the Homeopathic Medical College in Cleveland from which she obtained a degree in medicine. After spending some years in Berlin for further study, she was appointed to the Shandong Mission on October 7, 1889, and left for China one month later arriving in Shanghai in December. After her arrival in Weixian on January 3, 1890, she struck up a relationship with Rev. Robert Mateer, with whom she had traveled from with US, and they were married on January 20, 1891, in Chefoo. Although she had been appointed to take up medical work among the women in the Weixian area, she quickly turned her attention to the educational system where she introduced classes in health and hygiene into the station high schools and taught extensively in the Nurses Training School. On March 31, 1933,

she was honorably retired from the mission, but moved and continued to work in the Qingdao area until her death on September 12, 1939.

Robert McChenye Mateer

Rev. Robert Mateer was born on February 8, 1853, near Gettysburg to John and Mary Nelson Mateer. After attending Monmouth College in Illinois, he moved to Princeton University where he graduated in 1877. He later attended Princeton Seminary and graduated with a degree in theology in 1880. While in seminary, he exhibited his missionary spirit by organizing evangelistic campaigns in New England with John Laughlin and L. D. Wishard. Immediately after graduation he was appointed to the North China Mission and departed for the field on October 25, 1881. On route to Shandong he met Sadie Archibald who was appointed to the Laos Mission. On the boat their romance blossomed and she made the decision to go with him to North China where they were married. After language study in Dengzhou and Chefoo, he opened the Weixian Station with John Laughlin in 1883. During his first years in Weixian he was instrumental in opening the medical and educational enterprises. After his wife's death in April 1886 and his return to the US he worked hard to get funding for a new hospital and the staff necessary to open a men's and women's department. In these years he was also instrumental in raising staff and funds for new stations in Jining and Yizhou. On January 20, 1891, he married Madge Dickson who had recently come to the station as one of the first female medical missionaries in Weixian. In his later years his work included the opening of the Weixian Women's Bible School, the Men's Bible School and Teacher's Institute, and the City Evangelization Movement. In much of the work of the station he did not have a direct hand in their organization or administration, but his support of the secular enterprises allowed them to flourish. He died on September 5, 1921, in Weixian, but the work he helped establish lived on.

Edna Blackburn Parks, MD

Dr. Edna Parks was born on April 8, 1874, in Edwardsville, Illinois, to a Presbyterian minister. Her college career began at Blackburn University where she received her BA in 1893. From there she moved on to study medicine at the Woman's Medical College of Northwestern University, graduating in 1898 and accepting a position at the Woman's Hospital in Chicago. Her decision to enter the foreign missionary field was when she was sixteen and on August 13, 1898, she formally submitted her application to the Foreign Board. Almost one year later her application was accepted and she was assigned to the West Shandong Mission on May 1, 1899. She arrived on the foreign field at the time of the Boxers and was unable to take up her position in Weixian

for long. After being allowed to return to the field she took up her position at Weixian and began working among the Chinese women. She was the first female doctor to return to the station after the Boxers and worked to extend it further into the country districts. Shortly after her return to the field she left the Station and moved to Jining with her husband Rev. Alexander Waite where she died in 1915.

Grace May Rowley

Ms. Grace Rowley was born on May 1, 1887, in Valparaiso, Indiana, to Andrew and Mary Rowley. In 1906 she graduated from Santa Ana High School and proceeded to Occidental College from which she graduated in 1910. Unlike others Grade Rowley did not apply for a position as a foreign missionary alone. Before applying Robert Mateer wrote a letter to Stanley White of the Foreign Board on her behalf asking that she be assigned as a missionary and to send her all the application material. The push for a new missionary for the Wen Mei School forced a quick decision upon the Foreign Board. With Mateer's backing she was appointed to the West Shandong Mission on August 25, 1910, and sailed on October 6. Arriving in Shanghai on October 31 she quickly made her way to Shandong and after the completion of her language study she went on to Weixian where she began her career in education. In 1913 she took over as principal of the Wen Mei School and remained in that position until 1932 when she went to Yixian in the same capacity. She remained there until 1941 when she returned to the US during World War II and on June 30, 1952, retired from the Foreign Board.

Charles Kirkland Roys, MD

Dr. Charles Roys was born in Lyons, New York, on August 15, 1875. He first attended Princeton University, graduating in 1897, and continued on to the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University in New York City from where he graduated with his medical degree in 1902. With his medical degree he took up a position at the Presbyterian Hospital in New York City for eighteen months and moved to the New York 'Sying In Hospital' for four months. After gaining some experience in New York, he applied to the Foreign Board for a position as a medical missionary on May 4, 1903. In his application letter to A. Woodruff Halsey he stated that he shaped his college course to prepare him for the position as a medical missionary. Although he preferred to be appointed to Persia he was appointed to the West Shandong Mission on November 16, and left for China on October 1, 1904. His delay in leaving for one year owed itself to the delay in appointing his wife, Mabel Milham Roys, until December 21. Upon arrival he took up the medical work as soon as his language ability would allow. In Weixian he was an important figure in rallying support for building a new hospital, and was the first male

physician to try to establish his work in the city to reach a greater proportion of the population. In 1915 he moved to the Medical College of the Shandong Christian University in Jinan. At the College he became the head of the Anatomical Department until his death on September 23, 1920.

Ralph Crane Wells

Mr. Ralph Wells was born on May 30, 1877, in Chicago, Illinois, to the Rev. Edward and Adelaide Wells. Prior to his appointment as a missionary on February 3, 1902, he had a position in the Philippines working for the US government to set up western-style schools. In addition to his work in running and administrating the schools he helped establish the YMCA and YWCA organizations of the Presbyterian Mission there. On June 20, 1901, he received a letter from Courtney Fenn requesting him to join the missionary corps in China. He could not get released from his service to the government until March 1902 resulting in his date of appointment being recorded on February 3, 1902. His original appointment was to the Dengzhou College, soon to the Arts College in Weixian, but after arrival on the field it was thought that his services could be better used by the Point Breeze Academy so was transferred from the East Shandong Mission to the West Shandong Mission. He was given the Principalship of the Point Breeze Academy in September 1905 where he was instrumental in making many changes which widened the scope of the school and its pupils. Soon after his arrival on the field he met and was married to Harriett Grace Corbett, daughter of Hunter Corbett, on August 29, 1907. During this time he was also given responsibility for the primary school system for boys, acted as the station's treasurer, sat on the Qilu University' (Shandong Christian University) board of directors, and represented the Shandong Mission in the China Council. He remained principal of the high school until October 1925 when he was appointed as the Chairman of the China Council in Shanghai. After World War II he did not return to the field and was honorably retired on June 30, 1947. He later died at the age of 78 on July 3, 1955.

## Appendix C
## Medical Treatments in the Men's Department of the Mateer Memorial Hospital, 1893 [629]

General and Unclassified

| | |
|---|---|
| Ague | 7,439 |
| Anaemia | 44 |
| Anthrax | 3 |
| Arterio-capilary fibrosis | 1 |
| Arthritis deformans | 4 |
| Ascites | 42 |
| Cardiac disease | 101 |
| Diphtheria | 2 |
| Diseases of gall-bladder | 6 |
| Drunkenness | 1 |
| Fevers | 5 |
| Fevers, scarlet | 2 |
| Grave's disease | 1 |
| Headache | 19 |
| Hiccough | 3 |
| Kidney disease | 2 |
| Lead palsy | 2 |
| Leprosy | 56 |
| Lumbago | 25 |
| OEdemas | 14 |
| Purpura haemorrhagica | 1 |
| Parotitis | 5 |
| Rheumatism | 256 |
| Splenic enlargement | 107 |
| Syphilis | 214 |
| Syphilis congenital | 8 |
| Tetanus | 4 |
| Vertigo | 6 |
| Unknown | 2 |
| Total | 8,375 |

Aural

| | |
|---|---|
| Eczema | 1 |
| Deaf | 40 |
| Deaf mutes | 2 |
| Inspissated cerumen | 6 |
| Inflammation middle ear | 65 |
| Pain - not diagnosed | 4 |
| Polypi | 5 |
| Tinnitus | 4 |
| Total | 127 |

Cutaneous

| | |
|---|---|
| Acne | 24 |
| Alopecia areata | 1 |
| Chapped hands | 3 |
| Chloasma | 2 |
| Cornedones | 4 |
| Corns | 2 |
| Eczema | 63 |
| Herpes labialis | 3 |
| Herpes zoster | 9 |
| Intertrigo | 3 |
| Keloid | 2 |
| Milliaria and endamia | 27 |
| Psoriasis | 40 |
| Scabies | 152 |
| Sycosis | 14 |
| Tinea | 34 |
| Varnish poisoning | 4 |
| Verucca | 2 |
| Not diagnosed | 3 |
| Total | 392 |

Digestive Tract

| | |
|---|---|
| Abscesses of gums | 3 |
| Ascaris lumbricoides | 183 |
| Colic | 100 |
| Constipation | 41 |
| Diarrhoea, acute | 38 |
| Diarrhoea, chronic | 25 |
| Dyspepsia | 297 |
| Enteritis | 6 |
| Fecal accumulations | 2 |
| Gastritis | 158 |
| Gastic haemorrhage | 3 |
| Haemorrhoids | 39 |
| Inflammation of gums from tartar | 17 |
| " ", oesophagus | 1 |
| Intestinal haemorrhage | 9 |
| Irritation of second dentition | 1 |
| Liver, carcinoma of | 1 |
| Liver, disease of | 42 |
| Oxyuris vermicularis | 31 |
| Pharyngitis | 13 |
| Prolapse of rectum | 8 |
| Ranula | 9 |
| Stricture of oesophagus | 22 |
| Thrush | 5 |
| Tonsillitis | 11 |
| Toothache | 59 |
| Total | 1,124 |

Nervous

| | |
|---|---|
| Anaestesia, local | 42 |
| Anaestesia, general | 8 |
| Apoplexy and embolism | 5 |

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[629] Annual Report of the Mateer Memorial Hospital for 1893 (American Presbyterian Mission). Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1894. pp. 4-11.

Atrophia of thigh....1
Bulbar paralysis....2
Epilepsy....45
Facial paralysis....11
Hemiplegia....21
Idiocy....3
Infantile paralysis....1
Insomnia....5
Mania....10
Melancholia....15
Neuralgia....14
Paraplegia....9
Paralysis agitans....5
Somnolency....1
Total....200

Ocular

Blepharitis marginalis....63
Blind....21
Buuphathalmus....2
Cataract....31
Chosioretinitis....1
Conjuctivitis....280
Congenital absence of inferior recti muscles of eye....1
Corneal opacities....78
Cyclitis....2
Dacryocystitis....3
Dislocation of lens....2
Entropium and trichiasis....95
Episcleritis....5
Glaucoma....4
Hypemetropia....9
Iritis....35
Keratitis nemoparalytica....1
Keratitis phlyctenular....59
Myopia....5
Posterior synechia....3
Pterygium....38
Ptosis....1
Retinitis....6
Retinitis atrophica....1
Retinitis haemorrahagica....1
Staphyloma cornea....20
Strabismus....1
Wounds, gunshots....1
Wounds, needles....1
Xerophthalmus....1
Total....772

Respiratory tract

Asthma....75
Bronchitis....236
Epistaxis....2
Laryngitis....4
Ozena....2
Pertussis....2
Pleurisy....1
Phthisis....35
Pneumonia, catarrhal....1
Polypi, nasal....9
Rhinitis....2
Total....396

Surgical

Abscesses....450
Abscesses, contagious....18
Ankylosis of jaw....7
Angioma venous....1
Bites, donkey....1
Bites, human....2
Burns and scalds....9
Carbuncles....21
Caries, various....33
Caries of jaw....30
Caries, Pott's disease....28
Contusions....26
Dislocations....5
Dislocations, vertebral....2
Fistula in ano....46
Fistula of parotid....1
Fissure in ano....2
Fractures....5
Gangrene of toes....1
Harelip....5
Hernia, inguinal....25
Hernia, femoral....1
Hipjoint disease....3
Lymphadenitis strumous....30
Perostitis....4
Phlegmon of foot....4
Odontocele....1
Rabies....6
Synovitis of knee....15
Thromobiss of internal jugular....1
Wounds....18
Wounds, gun explosion....4
Tumors, aneurism....1
Tumors, carcinoma....2
Tumors, epithelioma....3
Tumors, epulus....4
Tumors, fatty....6
Tumors fibroid....4
Tumors, ganglion....1
Tumors, malignant (sarcoma)....7
Tumors, osteoma....1
Tumors, sarcoma....2

Tumors, sebacious....7
Tumors, unknown....14
Total....857

Urogenital

Abscess of testes....2
Bubo....2
Calculus....25
Chancroid....1
Cystitis....3
Enlarged prostate....1
Gonorrhoea....32
Haemorrhagge from bladder....6
Hydrocele....5
Impotence....4
Incontience of urine....2
Orchitis....4
Phimosis....2
Retention of urine....5
Stricture of urethra....3
Unknown....2
Total....99

Suicidal Attempts By

Acid....1
Aniline dyes....2
Arsenic....14
Cutting throat....1
Kerosene....3
Lead white....8
Matches....31
Opium....35
Total....95

Operations

Abscesses incised....58
Amputation memb. viril....1
Amputation thumb....1
Ankylosed jaw resected....3
Aspiration of knee....1
Caries and necrosis removed....9
Cataract extractions....3
Circumcisions....2
Entropium....51
Fistula in ano....14
Fractures set....4
Haemorrhoids ligated....8
Harelip....5
Hernia strangulated....1
Hydrocele tapped....4
Iridectomy....3
Litholapaxy....8
Lithotomy....3
Meatomy....2
Nasal polypi snared....4
Odontocele excised....1
Pterygiums removed....15
Resection hipjoint....1
Sinus excised....1
Symblepharon....1
Teeth extracted....63
Tonsillotomy....1
Tumors removed....13
Urethratomy, external....1
Urethral calculus extract....4
Urethral calculus cut....1
Total....287

General Anaesthetics

Chloroform only....36 cases
Ether only....11 cases
Chloroform changed to ether....9 cases
Unrecorded....3 cases
Total....59 cases

## Medical Treatments in the Women's Department of the Mateer Memorial Hospital [630]

General Diseases

| | |
|---|---|
| Rheumatism | 137 |
| Abscesses | 48 |
| Syphilis | 45 |
| Leprosy | 5 |
| Gangrene | 2 |
| Enlarged glands | 51 |
| Suppurating glands | 20 |
| Headache | 9 |
| Arsenical poisoning | 17 |
| Phosphorus poisoning | 41 |
| Lead poisoning | 10 |
| Opium Poisoning | 35 |
| Kerosene poisoning | 3 |
| Dropsy | 19 |
| Malaria | 102 |
| Anaemia | 116 |
| Ague | 121 |
| Measles | 3 |
| Frost bite | 15 |
| Whitlow | 28 |
| Scarlet fever | 3 |
| Cut fingers | 3 |
| Burns | 6 |
| Sebaceous tumors | 5 |
| Fibroid tumors | 6 |
| Bursal tumors | 3 |
| Fatty turmors | 8 |
| Starvation | 3 |
| Ingrowing nails | 3 |
| Needle broken in flesh | 3 |
| Nevus | 5 |
| Enlarged spleen | 52 |
| Chilblains | 4 |
| Cancer of breast | 15 |
| Total | 946 |

Diseases of the digestive tract

| | |
|---|---|
| Dyspepsia | 290 |
| Constipation | 131 |
| Diarrhoea | 80 |
| Dysentery | 34 |
| Ascites | 15 |
| Ascarides Lumbricoides | 135 |
| Toothache | 40 |
| Haemorrhoids | 18 |
| Stomatitis | 15 |
| Cancrum oris | 10 |
| Salivation | 3 |
| Ranula | 1 |
| Enlarged liver | 4 |
| Harelip | 1 |
| Prolapse of rectum | 6 |
| Absence of anus | 2 |
| Stricture of Oesophagus | 3 |
| Ulcer of stomach | 10 |
| Total | 798 |

Diseases of the Eye and Ear

| | |
|---|---|
| Granular conjuctivitis | 266 |
| Simple conjunctivitis | 62 |
| Corneal opacity | 59 |
| Entropion | 56 |
| Corneal ulcers | 48 |
| Iritis | 28 |
| Ectropion | 3 |
| Lachrymal abscess | 5 |
| Strabismus | 1 |
| Keretitis | 57 |
| Cataract, hard | 23 |
| Cataract, soft | 3 |
| Glaucoma | 14 |
| Staphyloma | 17 |
| Purulent opthalmia | 25 |
| Pterygium | 10 |
| Epithelioma of eyelid | 2 |
| Suppurative otitis | 23 |
| Deaf | 14 |
| Mastoid abscess | 4 |
| Slit ear | 2 |
| Earache | 1 |
| Polypus in ear | 2 |
| Amaurosis | 16 |
| Total | 741 |

Diseases of the Bones and Joints

| | |
|---|---|
| Spinal curvature | 7 |
| Sprains | 7 |
| Periostitis | 5 |
| Necrosis | 15 |
| Hipjoint disease | 6 |
| Synovitis | 8 |
| Dislocations | 3 |
| Ankylosis of jaw | 3 |
| Total | 54 |

Diseases of the Nervous System

| | |
|---|---|
| Paraplegia | 9 |
| Hemiplegia | 10 |

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Eplepsy....10
Insomnia....14
Facial paralysis....3
Infantile convulsions....1
Hysteria....4
Insanity....4
Meningitis....2
Tetanus....1
Sciatica....8
Nervousness....10
Neuralgia....40
Total....116

Diseases of the Genito-Urinary Tract

Amenorrhoea....55
Menorrhagia....19
Dysmenorrhoea....23
Metritis....11
Irregular menstruation....69
Uterine prolapse....8
Uterine polypus....2
Uterine fibroid....2
Lacerated cervix....2
Lacerated perineum....2
Ovarian tumor....6
Urethral caruncle....1
Vesico vaginal fistula....1
Enuresis....2
Pruritis....8
Atresia of vagina....1
Cystitis....14
Obstetrical....20
Total....246

Diseases of the circulatory and respiratory tract

Chronic bronchitis....105
Asthma....49
Phthysis....13
Tonsilitis....15
Aphasia....2
Haemoptysis....1
Catarrh....32
Nasal polypus....2
Enlarged heart....1
Palpitation....6
Total....226

Diseases of the skin

Eczema....77
Eczema capitis....58
Scabies....49
Keloid....1
Ulcers....62
Anaesthesia of skin....13
Boils....32
Ringworm....6
Psoarisis....5
Rodent ulcer....1
Total....304

Operations

Cataract, hard....6
" " soft, needle operation....1
Paracentesis....1
Pterygium....2
Entropion....47
Nasal polypi....1
Epithelioma of eyelid....1
Cancer of breast....4
Harelip....1
Tumors, sebaceous....3
Tumors, fibrous....3
Tumors, fatty....2
Haemorrhoids excised....2
Superfluous finger excised....1
Extraction of broken needle....3
Extraction of dead bone....3
Extraction of teeth....87
Abscesses lanced....30
Whitlows lanced....18
Laceration of perineum....2
Total....218

Appendix D [631]

Surgical Operations, In-Patient Department
The American Presbyterian Hospital, 1919

Operations on lymphatic system
- On cervical lymph nodes
  - Enucleation for tuberculosis ..... 10
  - Incision and curettement ..... 2
- On axillary glands
  - Enucleation for tuberculosis ..... 3
  - Excision for lymphosarcoma ..... 1
- On inguinal glands
  - Inicision and drainage for abscess .... 1
  - Excision for lymphosarcoma ..... 2

Operations on glands
- Mammary
  - Incision and drainage for abscess ..... 3
  - Excision of fibroma ..... 2
  - Excision of adenoma ..... 1
  - Radical operation for carcinoma (Halstead's) ..... 5
  - Excision of painful keloid ..... 1
- Thyroid
  - Partial thyroidectomy ..... 2
- Cowper's gland
  - Incision and drainage for abscess ..... 1

Operations on the head and face
- Excision on cyst of scalp ..... 1
- Excision of fibroma of scalp ..... 4
- Excision of lipoma of scalp ..... 1
- Incision and drainage of abscess of scalp ..... 1
- Decompression operation ..... 1
- Excision of half of lower jaw ..... 3
- Excision of half of upper jaw ..... 2
- Removal of sequestrum for necrosis of jaw ..... 10
- Excision of cyst of cheek ..... 1
- Plastic operation on face ..... 1
- Removal of odontoma ..... 2

Operation on the eye
- Iridectomy ..... 6
- Enucleation of cataract ..... 11
- Plastic for pterygium ..... 4
- Enucleation ..... 3
- Plastic operation on upper lid ..... 1
- Removal of lacrimal sac ..... 4

Operations on the nose and throat
- Rhinoplasty ..... 1
- Ollier's operatin for malignant neoplasm ..... 1
- Tonsillectomy ..... 4

Operations on the mouth and lips
- Repair of hare lip ..... 13

Operations on the neck
- Incision and drainage for deep abscesses ..... 4
- Excision of fibroma ..... 2
- Excision of epithelioma ..... 1
- Excision of lipoma ..... 1
- Enucleation of cyst ..... 1
- Plastic operation for contracting scars .... 1

Operations on thorax and thoracic wall
- Excision of large lipoma ..... 2
- Incision and drainage of abscess ..... 1

Operations on the back and buttocks
- Excision of fibroma on back ..... 1
- Incision and drainage of abscess ..... 2
- Incision of carbuncle ..... 1
- Excision of sarcoma ..... 4
- Excision of epithelioma ..... 1
- Excision of coccyx ..... 1
- Extraction of shot from back & buttocks ..... 1
- Excision of large sebaceous cyst on back ..... 1

Operations on the abdomen
- Suture of stab wounds ..... 1

Enterorrhaphy and resection
- For intestinal obstruction ..... 1

Radical cure of hernia
- Inguinal ..... 5

Operations on the rectum and anus
- Incision and curettement for fistula ..... 43
- Clamp and cautery for hemorrhoids ..... 28
- Excision of tumour of anus ..... 3
- Prolapse of rectum ..... 1
- Stricture of rectum ..... 1

Operations on the bladder
- Suprapubic lithotomy ..... 18
- Enlarged prostate ..... 1

Operations on the penis and urethra
- Total excision for sarcoma ..... 2
- Internal urethrotomy ..... 1
- External urethrotomy ..... 1
- Dilitation for stricture ..... 4
- For urethral fistulae ..... 5
- Removal of urethral stones ..... 2

Operations on the scrotum
- Radical cure for hydrocele ..... 1

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Gynecological operations
On vulva
Enucleation of cyst ..... 1
Excision for epithelioma..... 1
On vagina
Colporrhaphy and perineorrhaphy..2
On uterus
Dilitation and curettage.....2
Operations on the extremities
Upper
Removal of sequestrum of humerus .....2
Extraction of bullet from arm..... 1
Excision of the elbow joint.....4
Ankylosis of elbow joint ..... 1
Plastic operation for contracting scar at elbow..... 1
Incision and curettement for osteomyclitis of carpal..... 1
" " " " of metacarpal..... 1
" " " " of phalanges.....4
Amputation of fingers.....8
Extraction of shot from hands..... 1
Excision of fibroma from palm of hand.....1
Lower
Currettement for osteomyelitis of femur.....5
" " " " of tibia.....4
" " " " of tarsals .....4
" " " " of calcis.....1
Amputation above the knee .....1
Amputation below the knee.....5
" " of foot .....1
" " of toes .....3
" " of supernumerary toe.....1
Excision of varicos veins (Mayo's Operation).....4
Excision of tumors of foot.....7
Excision of osteoma of tibia .....1
Excision of fibroma of the capsule of acetabulum.....1
Incision and drainage of deep abscess of thigh .....2
Excision of clavus on sole of foot.....1

## Appendix E

## Suggestions of the Medical Committee of the Eastern Asia Conference for Rating and Standardizing Mission Hospitals[632]

I. Staff

A. 1 Foreign physician for every 60 patients

B. 1 Foreign nurse for every 60 patients

C. 1 Native graduate physician for every 60 patients

D. 1 Native graduate nurse for every 60 patients

E. 8 Student nurses, 4 orderlies, and sufficient servants

F. Adequate provision for furlough and superintendence during summer months

II. Physical Equipment

A. 500 cubic feet of air space for each patient. Ceiling not less than 11 ft. high. Windows now less than 3' 6" by 6' and found on at least one side of all rooms larger than 200 square feet. Openings for ventilation on one other side.

B. Floors polished or so finished as to be readily cleaned and giving no cracks or corners for lodgment of dust. Walls and finishing wood devoid of ledges and other places for lodgment of dust.

C. Iron beds for patients. Bedding furnished for each patient, adequate and cleanly. Hospital clothes for patients, adequate and cleanly.

D. Hospital building, kitchen, latrine, etc. adequately screened.

E. Miscellaneous furniture - chairs, medicine closets, bedside tables, reclining chairs, etc., adequate and sanitary.

F. Lighting both natural and artificial should be suitable, adequate and cleanly. Heating facilities should be sufficient.

G. Auxiliary rooms. Each ward of eight or more beds should have its own bath, nurses utility rooms, and water closet or commode facilities, which should be adequately furnished, light, and sanitary. Linen rooms, store rooms, janitors' closets, should be suitable for uses designated.

H. Adequate stairways, hallways, and verandas, suitable fire protection and means of escape.

I. Operating room. The lighting should be adequate and the floor and walls free from crevices, and the rooms should be furnished with aseptic operating and instrument tables. Suitable instrument, dressing, and medicine cabinets. Suitable

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[632] 'Attachment of a letter from Dr. Heimburger to A. J. Brown.' *PHS*. RG82/15/22/35

scrub-up arrangements for the surgeon. Sterilizing room should be separate and equipped with adequate sterilizers for water, instruments and dressings.

J. Laboratory. Should be light, clean, and adequately equipped with microscope, centrifuge, chemicals, glassware, alcohol stoves, etc.

K. Accomodation for kitchen, laundry, storehouse and servants.

L. Adequate provision for contagious cases, also morgue.

M. Suitable residences for doctors, nurses, and native assistants.

III. House Management.

A. Nursing system. competence and discipline of nursing staff and comfort and wellbeing of patients.

B. House service system. competence and discipline of servants and orderlies and cleanliness of buildings.

C. Food system. competence of cooking and serving and complete arrangements for special diet.

D. Laundry system.

IV. Evangelistic Efficiency

A. Pleasant and convenient chapel; sufficient and suitable literature for distribution.

B. Sufficient competent evangelistic workers.

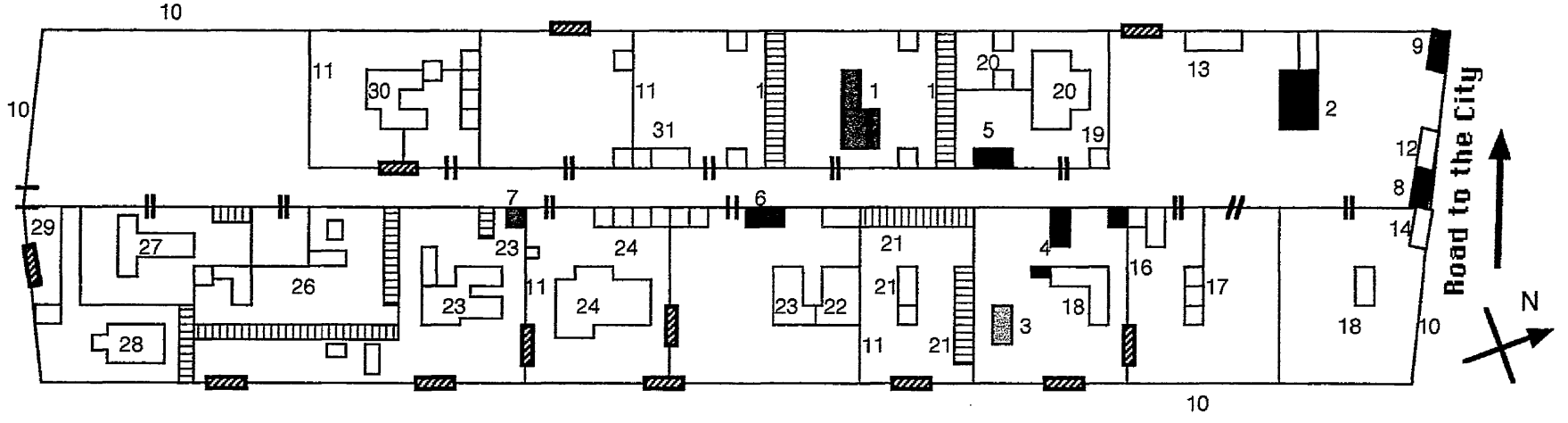
C. Co-operative and direct work of foreign physicians and nurses in preaching to patients and evangelistic teachings of nurses and staff.

D. Bible teaching and preaching by native assistants and nurses.

Appendix F [633]

Weixian Mission Station, Pre-1900

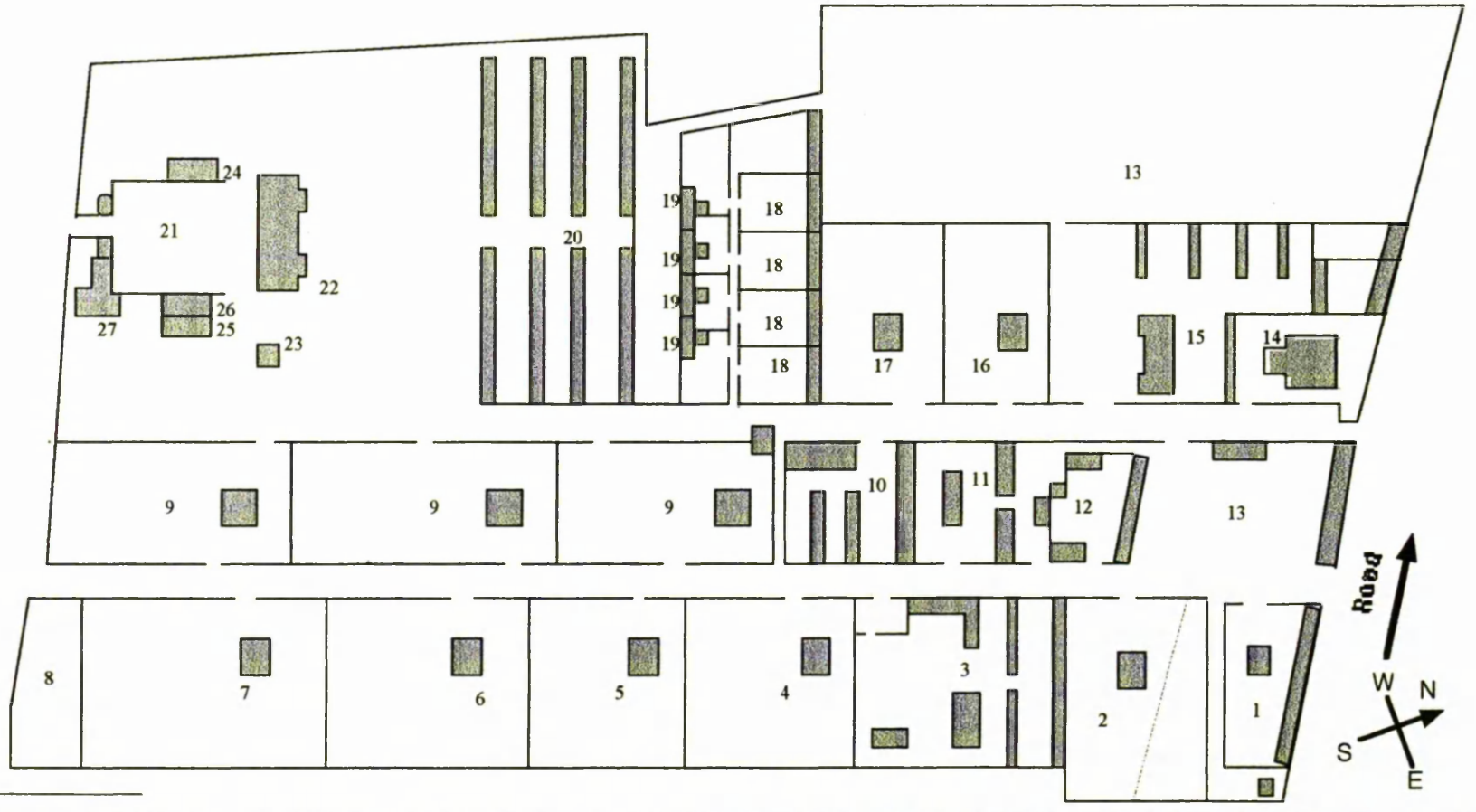
Showing Breaches in the Station Walls during the Destruction of the Station




633 1. Hosptial Wards - some twenty rooms, including small womens-chapel, 2. Chinese Dormitory near main entrance, 3. Dr. Faries' Chinese guestroom, 4. Dr. Faries' storeroom and three servants' rooms, 5. One detached room at Men's Hospital, 6. One servants' room of Miss Boughton's (new), 7. One servants' room of F. H. Chalfant's (roof wrecked in part), 8. Main entrance to compound, 9. Horse-shed at N.W. corner of compound, 10. Seven foot outside wall-except many breaches & tile coping, 11. Most inside garden walls - with many breaches, 12. Food shop at gate, 13. Chinese Guestrooms (Men's), 14. Opium Ward, 15. Helper's House, 16. Dr. Faries' Cowhouse, 17. Women's Guest Room, 18. Dr. Faries' residence, 19. Helper's Room, 20. Dispensary, 21. Girls' High School, 22. Miss Boughton's residence, 23. Miss Hawes' residence, 24. Ladies' HOme (Miss. Crossette & Dr. Parks), 25. Mr. Chalfant's residence, 26. Boys' High School, 27. Mr. Mateer's residence, 28. Church, 29. Cemetary (two stones down - graves untouched, 30. Mr. Fitch's Residence, 31. Book-room, 32. Helper's house. 'F. H. Chalfant to the Secretary for Shantung, Board of Foreign Missions.' April 5, 1901, Weixian. *PHS.* MF10.F761a.r256.

Appendix G [634]

Weixian Mission Station, 1904




[634] 1. Men's Dispensary, 2. Dr. Faries House, 3. Girls School, 4. Lady Teachers House, 5. Mr. Chalfant's House, 6. Mr. Fitch's House, 7. Mr. Mateer's House, 8. Cemetary, 9. Professor's House, 10. Men's Bible Institute, 11. Women's Dispensary, 12. Women's Bible Institute, 13. Yard/Playground, 14. Church, 15. Boy's School, 16. Principal's House, 17. Miscellaneous House, 18. Native Teacher's Houses, 19. Dining Rooms, 20. College, Dormitories, 21. College Quadrangle, 22. College, Main Building, 23. College, Office, 24. College, Science Building, 25. College, Gymnasium, 26. College, Chapel, 27. College, Museum. 'Shantung College: Building and General Outfit.' *PHS.* RG82/10/8/248

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