

name, wife's maiden name and *shi*, which means "the person of those two families". In *kunju Macbeth*, Tie is Ma Pei's wife's maiden name and means "iron".

12 Cao Shujun and Sun Fuliang, *Shashibiya zai Zhongguo wutai shang* (Shakespeare on China's Stage), Harbin Chubanshe, 1989, p. 195.

13 There are exceptions. For instance, the Sichuan Opera or *chuanju* has the special feature of *bianlian* or changing faces, which in part is similar to the use of the mask in the West.

14 *Xiju yishu*, pp. 36-48.

15 I am indebted to Patrice Pavis for the ideas in this discussion.

16 Antonin Artaud, *Le Théâtre et Son Double* (The Theatre and Its Double), trans. by Victor Corti, London: Calder & Boyars, 1970, p. 55.

The Chinese YMCA and the Anti-Christian Movement in China in the 1920s

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Introduction

The YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) enjoyed a great popularity in China in the early 20th century. The first YMCA branch was established in Foochow in 1885 and by 1920 the Chinese YMCA had 174 student associations and 31 city branches with a total membership of 60,500. The number of YMCA staff also rose from one foreign secretary to 84 foreign and 42 Chinese secretaries during this period. No matter from which angle it is examined, the Chinese YMCA must be regarded as one of the most prosperous Christian societies in China at the time.

While the YMCA enjoyed this rapid growth in China, its environment became hostile. With the rising tide of nationalism and the growth of disgust with foreign imperialism in the late Ch'ing and early Republican periods, the Anti-Christian Movement gradually gained momentum and burst into action in the 1920s. Because of its outstanding role in society the Chinese YMCA was clearly visible and became a major anti-Christian target. The Chinese YMCA was accused of maintaining close relations with foreign countries and denationalizing Chinese youth through its programmes. The wave of attacks on the Chinese YMCA had a significant impact on YMCA members and thus promoted some action and reform within this Christian institution.

Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Movement of the 1920s forced the Chinese YMCA to redefine its role in national affairs and speak out about its political and cultural identity. This paper will take the example of the Chinese YMCA to examine the cultural and political response as well as the development of indigenization of Chinese Christians at the time of the Anti-Christian Movement. The purpose of this research is to explore how the Chinese YMCA discussed the role of the YMCA in China, how it adjusted to the changing situation in China and how it defined its relationship with

the foreign YMCA secretaries who worked in China. A careful study of the Chinese YMCA during this period will provide a basis for showing how Chinese Christians responded to these turbulent times as well as how the Chinese YMCA was accommodated in modern China.

In this paper I seek to deal with the subject in four main sections. The first summarizes the early development of the YMCA in China. The next introduces the Anti-Christian Movement. The third examines the Chinese YMCA's response to the challenge of the Anti-Christian Movement in the political aspect of indigenization. The fourth discusses the cultural response of the Chinese YMCA. In conclusion I give a general assessment of the response of the YMCA in China in the 1920s.

The early development of the YMCA in China

Forty years after the establishment of the YMCA in England in 1844, the YMCA was introduced into China by foreign missionaries. Because of the fame and programme of the YMCA in Europe and America, George Smyth, a missionary in China, founded the first experimental branch in a Christian school in Foochow in 1885.¹ From then on more and more experimental branches were founded by missionaries in their schools. Luther D. Wishard, a Secretary of the International Committee of YMCAs of North America, was invited to attend the General Missionary Conference in Shanghai in 1890 and introduce the YMCA's ideas and goals. The meeting adopted a resolution "commending the objects of the Association and appealing to the International Committee of YMCAs of North America to send representatives to China to develop activities similar to those which had proved so successful in America".² On the basis of an intensive investigation of China he carried out after the meeting, Luther D. Wishard concluded that the time was ripe for the establishment of the YMCA in China. His report received a favourable response from the International Committee and the Rev. D.W. Lyon was sent to China in 1895 to spread the ideas and programme of the YMCA.³

A year after the Rev. D.W. Lyon started work in Tientsin, Mr. John R. Mott, General Secretary of the International Committee, went to China. He visited many missionary schools and assisted in forming "The College Young Men's Christian Association of China" which eventually, after passing through various stages of evolution, became known as the National Committee of YMCAs of China. From then on the Chinese YMCA held a national meeting regularly every three years, except during war time. The city associations of the YMCA began after Mr. R.E. Lewis organized the first one for businessmen and professionals in Shanghai in 1899.⁴

The first 25 years of the development of the YMCA in China were extremely successful. After John R. Mott helped to set up the national organization of the Chinese YMCA in Shanghai in 1895 the movement soon attracted the interest of Chinese youth. More and more student associations and city associations were established. According to the YMCA's report of 1923, there were 42 city associations and 203 student associations with about half a million members.⁵

The early activities of the YMCA in China could be divided into two main areas. The first consisted of evangelism, which included Bible study classes and evangelical conventions. The YMCA co-sponsored many successful evangelical conventions. For example, in 1911, when a city association organized a series of evangelical meetings at the association building, 1,068 men expressed the wish to become Christians. All of these men were put in touch with the churches, and in addition the association held special classes for them. A pastor testified that, drawing mainly on the new believers won by the association during this series of meetings, he had secured the constituency for a new church in the city centre with a thriving membership.⁶ The YMCA invited Mr. Sherwood Eddy to hold evangelical meetings in China in 1914. The aggregate attendance of Eddy's meetings in 1914 was 117,705; following the meetings 7,960 people were enrolled in Bible classes and many united with the Church.⁷

The second area of YMCA activity was of an educational nature including further education, sport, student summer camps, public lectures, etc. One major educational activity was the social service movement. This expressed itself in such forms of service as free night schools for people from the poorer sections of cities or near-by villages, practical talks on sanitation, hygiene and disease prevention for these and other groups, and the distribution of large quantities of health literature in several Chinese cities.⁸ The Chinese YMCA also paid special attention to the development of volunteer labour. Various city associations held local athletics and sports contests which aroused great interest among Chinese students.

The most popular, or perhaps the most successful, YMCA programme at the time was the science lectures programme, which represented the Chinese YMCA's ideal of social education. When Mott visited China in 1896 he felt the need to introduce science and technology into China to educate the Chinese. Mott later persuaded Clarence H. Robertson, a professor of mechanical engineering at Purdue University, to take on this mission. Robertson's lectures, with modern scientific equipment, encouraged thousands of Chinese to attend science courses.⁹ The Chinese YMCA even established a lecture department in December 1912, to handle the numerous invitations from all over the country.¹⁰ When David Z.T. Yui became the head of the lecture department in 1913, hundreds of lectures a year were being held with several hundred thousand Chinese people attending. The

Peking government and many provincial governments welcomed this programme and even asked the YMCA to train lecturers for them.¹¹

The successful development of the YMCA in China was illustrated by the growth in membership, local financial support and equipment, attendance at religious meetings, enrolment in Bible classes, circulation of periodicals, sales of literature and extension of the church resulting from the association's work in 1900-20. Many national leaders became members or supporters of the YMCA. In 1920, on the occasion of the eighth national convention of the YMCA in Tientsin, both Dr. Sun Yat-sen and President Hsu Shih-ch'ang sent their congratulations, and ex-President Li Yuan-hung even offered his in person.¹² The YMCA was regarded by many Chinese leaders as one of the most popular movements in China.

The Anti-Christian Movement

It was against this promising background that the Anti-Christian Movement emerged. The Chinese YMCA was denounced as a running dog of the imperialists. YMCA property was destroyed or confiscated and YMCA secretaries were harassed and even murdered.¹³ However, nationalism and anti-Christian activity also stimulated various kinds of awakening movements in the YMCA itself. The Chinese secretaries of the YMCA tried to identify themselves with the wave of nationalism and paid attention to social reform and the issue of indigenization of the YMCA in China.

Many scholars of China are aware that the 1920s marked the highest stage of the Anti-Christian Movement in the Republican period.¹⁴ In fact, some scholars have even argued that the Anti-Christian Movement in the late 1920s had a much stronger and wider impact on the Chinese churches than the Boxer Rebellion. The Anti-Christian Movement of the 1920s had its origins in the New Culture and May Fourth Movements of the 1910s. Thereafter Chinese intellectuals tended to approach questions pertaining to national affairs and social reality from the viewpoints of democracy and science.¹⁵ Influenced by democratic ideas, they began to criticize the warlords' obstruction of the development of democracy and attack the foreign powers' imperialist actions in China and help for the warlords. As a result, anti-imperialist and anti-warlord sentiment became widespread in Chinese society. At the same time the spirit of scientism, together with the growing popularity of pragmatism in intellectual circles, promoted the dissemination of ideas attacking superstition and religious belief.¹⁶ Christianity, with all its baggage of Western cultural imperialism, had not yet been criticized seriously, but in these circumstances it was bound to encounter organized anti-Christian sentiment.

The rise of the Anti-Christian Movement was prompted by a meeting of the World Students' Christian Federation at Tsing-hua University in Peking in April 1922.¹⁷ Because of the publicity and wide discussion of the meeting in Christian periodicals in early 1922, some Chinese students in Shanghai were prompted to organize an Anti-Christian Student Federation.¹⁸ A public statement of their objectives was circulated in March 1922, and this encouraged similar action by students in other cities.¹⁹ Much of their criticism of Christianity was based on their perception of the wickedness of capitalism and a close relationship between Christianity and leading capitalist countries. Some critics reflected Bolshevik influence, describing Christianity as "a capitalist transformation, and churches and YMCAs as the capitalists' tools in the exploitation of the proletariat".²⁰ Some touted Marx's statement that "religion is the opium of the masses".²¹ Such verbal assaults were widespread and became typical of the first phase of the Anti-Christian Movement.

The second phase of the Anti-Christian Movement began in 1924 in association with the Educational Rights Recovery Movement and in keeping with the general anti-imperialist sentiment of the time. Christian schools and churches enjoyed the protection of the unequal treaties and placed strong emphasis on religious instruction in the curriculum and school life generally. With the rise of the Anti-Christian Movement in 1922 Chinese educators and scholars began to criticize Christian education from the point of view of national rights and urged the government to rescind the special privileges accorded foreign missionaries and churches.

Under the strong influence of nationalism the Chinese educators were antipathetic to the expansion of Christian education which, they thought, might denationalize the Chinese people.²² Therefore they urged the "recovery" of education rights from foreign control and the Christian schools' conformity with the curriculum regulated by the Ministry of Education.²³ They submitted their proposals to educational organizations on various occasions and asked the government to enact related laws and regulations to "recover" education rights.

Besides education rights, criticism during the second phase of the Anti-Christian Movement focused on the close association between Christianity and the foreign imperialist powers. The authors of this criticism pointed out that the imperialist countries took advantage of anti-missionary riots to expand their claims for special protection under the law. They also noted that many missionaries co-operated with the imperialists so as to expand their activity.²⁴ The climax of the second phase of this movement was the outbreak in many cities of big demonstrations against the Christian churches around Christmas 1924.

The third phase of the Anti-Christian Movement may be divided into three stages. The first stage began with the May 30 incident in 1925, when a

large number of students and workers demonstrated against Japanese ill-treatment of Chinese workers and the unfair treatment of Chinese people by the British-dominated Shanghai Municipal Council. British police fired into the crowd of demonstrators causing heavy casualties, including 11 dead and several dozen wounded. The enraged students, merchants and workers immediately started a series of strikes and boycotts of Japanese and British goods. Nationalist sentiment also led the Chinese to denounce imperialism and the churches as well as their educational institutions, which in Chinese eyes were imperialist-related. The students asked the school authorities and missionaries to make plain their attitude to the matter. Although many missionaries and church associations expressed their sympathy and support for the Chinese side, many other missionaries and church schools were unwilling to become involved in politics and left the matter to the authorities.²⁵ The students did not receive a satisfactory response from the missionaries and the schools, and anti-Christian and anti-imperialist slogans appeared everywhere. Demonstrations took place in many cities throughout the country.

The Chinese Communist Party, which had been persistently anti-Christian, took the opportunity to organize eight specific measures for attacking the churches through the student bodies under its control.²⁶ The measures included declaration of an anti-Christian week, sending students to the countryside and factories to stir up anti-Christian sentiment among the workers and peasants, attacking YMCAs and YWCAs and urging students to join in the anti-Christian movement. From then until the end of 1925 there was an anti-Christian atmosphere on all the major campuses. In these seven months, according to the church statistics, there were at least 43 student riots against the missionaries, churches, church schools and church associations.²⁷ In this unfavourable situation the student numbers of Christian schools declined continuously. Besides the student movements, the Chinese Communist Party also stirred up the workers and peasants to violent action against the church.²⁸ These anti-Christian demonstrations were maintained throughout 1925.

The second stage was the Northern Expedition in 1926 led by the Kuomintang (KMT) army. Because of the spread of anti-Christian ideas in the KMT army the Northern Expedition forces attacked and occupied churches and church property along the way. A pattern of anti-Christian activity emerged in many places. When the expeditionary forces entered a city they occupied the church and were billeted in it; mobs were roused to attack the churches; anti-Christian slogans were pasted up in the city; church leaders and church people were persecuted; and when the forces left, KMT party headquarters were established to organize various kinds of unions for workers, peasants, students, women and teachers. No church people were allowed to join and they could not therefore find employment.²⁹ Many churches, YMCAs and church-sponsored schools and hospitals were forced

to close. The climax of this phase was the killing of six missionaries in Nanking in March 1927.³⁰ After protests by foreign diplomats and a Purification Operation by the KMT which drove the communists out, anti-Christian activity declined immediately.

During the third stage, which started after the Nanking Incident, there were few acts against the church but the authorities tried to place all Christian schools and universities under their control. They required the heads of all schools to be Chinese and demanded strict conformity with the curriculum standards set by the government. In other words, the nationalist government, in an age of surging nationalism, paid attention to church-sponsored schools and wanted to recover education rights which were at this time still in the hands of foreign missionaries.

The political response of the Chinese YMCA

The first action that the Chinese YMCA took was to assume the leadership of the YMCA in China. It claimed that although the American secretaries had come to initiate the work, the movement was now practically controlled and directed by the Chinese leadership, lay and secretarial, and financed by the Chinese people, who indeed had a strong sense of responsibility for and proprietorship in the undertaking.³¹ The next step towards strengthening the Chinese leadership was to run the association on a self-supporting basis. It was decided that "Any city that wishes to have a YMCA earnestly enough ought to be willing adequately to support it by itself."³² Although the International Committee did make financial contributions to the work of the Chinese YMCA, the National Committee of the YMCA in China made it clear that the International Committee:

(a) claims and has no control over this money after it has been remitted to the National Committee; (b) does not desire even joint control over this fund with the National Committee; and (c) has complete confidence in the National Committee, which has as full control of this fund as of any money it receives from any source in China or elsewhere.³³

At the time of the May 30 Incident the British became the chief targets of recrimination, boycott and attacks, and British troops and warships being rushed to the scene were prepared for action. The Chinese YMCA then decided to calm the situation down and bring the two sides to a rational solution. It sent a telegram calling in the strongest possible terms for recruitment of a strong British secretary to the Chinese YMCA staff to help improve relations between the two countries. R.O. Hall accepted the call and on reaching Shanghai soon established contact with the leading Britons in the community. The Chinese YMCA worked quietly to bring the Chinese and British leaders together. The results were "substantial and far-reaching"

in promoting personal and social contact between the leaders in an emergency.³⁴

David Z.T. Yui, the General Secretary of the National Committee of the YMCA, also took this opportunity to admonish the foreign missionaries. Many a missionary life was not what it ought to be and hence hindered rather than helped to witness Christian faith and experience. Besides the ordinary weaknesses of human nature Yui asked the foreign secretaries to avoid the following: (a) a superiority complex and hence a determination to dictate and dominate; (b) a tendency to transfer to and perpetuate in China the practices and experiences of the Christian movements of the West, irrespective of China's need; (c) excessively strong nationalistic attitudes on current issues; and (d) an emphasis on external and material things rather than spiritual life.³⁵ Concerning the problem of future leadership in the Christian movement in China, Yui emphasized that "Christian missions may terminate before long. It is our sincerest hope that the presence of Christian workers from the other lands will never be discontinued in the Christian movement in China."³⁶

The YMCA also adopted a position absolutely in favour of the abolition of the so-called "unequal treaties", which granted foreigners extra-territorial rights, fixed tariffs and special church protection. All of these were now under serious attack by the nationalists. At that time there was still some disagreement over this matter because some missionaries considered that church people should not be involved in state affairs, while the Chinese Christians in the inland areas still needed them in a hostile environment.³⁷ The voices in favour of nullifying the treaties were much stronger than those urging support.³⁸ The YMCA people used various occasions to state their position in favour of the abolition of the treaties. For example, at the Mott Conference in January 1927 a missionary suggested that the Chinese Christians in inner China might need the protection of the treaties. David Z. T. Yui responded, "If Mr. Bugge's question amounts to this, namely, that Chinese Christians who live in the interior of the country do depend on the so-called extraterritorial rights for protection, we see more reason than before why extraterritoriality should be abolished."³⁹ The National Christian Council of China, of which David Z.T. Yui was serving concurrently as General Secretary, passed a resolution which advocated the abolition of the so-called "church protection clause".⁴⁰ *Ch'ing-nien chin-pu*, the official publication of the Chinese YMCA, also urged the abolition all unequal treaties between China and the foreign powers and called for new treaties based on equality and reciprocity.⁴¹

What could the YMCA, an international organization to promote co-operation, friendship and understanding among nations, do in the age of nationalism? Its international ideal was even criticized by contemporaries as "denationalization" of the Chinese. David Z.T. Yui, in a public speech, argued about the true meaning of nationalism. Nationalism, he said, "should

not mean a biased love of one's country at the expense of another country" but:

(1) should clearly and definitely point to a man's national duty to help develop to the fullest extent the special gifts with which his own people are endowed and the natural resources which they have inherited, and this not simply for their own use and enjoyment but as their national contribution to the sum total of the world's civilization. (2) It should inspire and guide each nation walk in the pathway of righteousness, justice and truth, and it should also impel her to go to the assistance of weaker and less advanced nations even though at the time it may seem to be at real sacrifice to herself... It is this type of nationalism which we should develop and spread.⁴²

Yui concluded that "it is not Nationalism versus Internationalism, but Nationalism and Internationalism in which I firmly believe and which our YMCA movement has been trying to inculcate in the minds of our young people".⁴³ Yui's promotion of the concept of a world family won popular applause, although it is not certain to what extent the reader will accept his interpretation of nationalism and internationalism.

The cultural response of the Chinese YMCA

The YMCA was a Christian institution which had tried to spread the Gospel directly or indirectly. All secretaries of the YMCA, native or foreign, were Christians. Facing the severe criticism of the Anti-Christian Movement, the Chinese secretaries had to confirm their Chinese ethnic identity while at the same time being believers in a "Western" religion which differed significantly from Chinese culture and was dominated by foreign missionaries. Besides the clarification of their political standpoint and self-administration as discussed above, they discussed the relationship between Christianity and Chinese culture.

Generally speaking, many YMCA members and secretaries urged the indigenization of Christianity in China and suggested various ways for integrating the two. When they offered their suggestions they seemed to consider Christianity and Western culture to be separable. For example, the writer of an article entitled "Oriental Christianity" said that "original Christianity was Eastern, but it had been tainted by Western culture through its historical development in the West".⁴⁴ Another secretary made a similar statement in which the *tao* (way) and the *chiao* (religion) of Jesus could be distinguished. The *tao* was the essence of Christianity and thus was what China needed, while the *chiao*, which consisted of church creeds and institutions, evolved in the environment of the West.⁴⁵ It must be pointed out that the political connotation of this interpretation seemed to suggest that Christianity was not equal to Western culture and hence was not related to the imperialist countries in the West.

Therefore, in order to have original Christianity, the Chinese needed to undergo a process of de-Westernization of Chinese Christianity. Some YMCA secretaries suggested that real indigenization could be attained in China by removing the Western veneer from Christianity and combining it with the essence of Chinese culture.⁴⁶ Hsieh Fu-ya, a YMCA secretary in Shanghai, suggested connecting these two through "individualization" and "rationalization".⁴⁷ Hsieh used a metaphor to explain how this integration could take place. He suggested the sowing of the seed of Western Christianity in Chinese cultural soil, where its Western modes of thought, habits, rituals and organizational structures would die out. Thereafter, absorbing its nourishment from Chinese culture, Christianity would produce its fruit, which would be the new Christianity.⁴⁸ He thought that Christianity would become truly indigenized in this way.

Most writers of the *Ch'ing-nien chin-pu* believed that there was some common ground between Christianity and Chinese culture, especially Confucianism. For example, T.C. Chao considered that the Confucian concept of *jen* (benevolence) was almost identical with the concept of "love" in Christianity. A harmonious society which could be achieved by the practice of *jen* was like the Kingdom of God which should be realized by "love". The Chinese therefore should have no difficulty in understanding and accepting the love of God.⁴⁹ Hsu Pao-ch'ien also said: "The Sung and Ming philosophers were fully convinced that benevolence [*jen*] must be at the core of the universe... This conviction will inevitably dawn upon a person when he tries to realize his kinship with the universe."⁵⁰ Both David Z.T. Yui, the General Secretary of the Chinese YMCA, and Fan Po-hui, editor of the *Ch'ing-nien chin-pu*, saw the ethical common ground between Christianity and Chinese culture as an area of mutual complementary fulfilment.⁵¹

Various proposals were put forward for integrating Christianity with Chinese culture, but no agreement could be reached among the Chinese. Although there were many articles suggesting the use of Chinese culture to expound and advocate Christianity, they offered only a vague and general direction and lacked a thorough and convincing plan. For example, Chao Tzu-ch'eng considered that Chinese culture was related to Christianity on the points of "closeness to nature", "ethics", "arts" and "mythic experience".⁵²

Wu Yao-tsung was more liberal in this application. Since "the universe is the manifestation of God", Wu suggested, man may come to know God by observing the universe.⁵³ Christianity was only the Jewish people's interpretation of the universe. Other peoples and religions also observed the universe and had their own interpretations. Therefore knowledge of God might be found in other religions.⁵⁴ From 1924 the *Ch'ing-nien chin-pu* gradually published more and more articles on Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism.

Because of the complexity and plurality of Chinese culture, even Confucian scholars could not reach agreement on many points, not to mention discussing it in relation to Christianity. Thus the suggestions and discussions concerning the integration of Christianity and Chinese culture were unable to inspire the same feelings amongst others, and sometimes even caused disputes about words and ideas.

An assessment

The 1920s marked a turning point in the history of the YMCA in China. Under the impact of the Anti-Christian Movement, Chinese Christians became more nationalistic in outlook and began to re-examine their religion and the issue of indigenization. The example of the Chinese YMCA shows how a Christian organization dealt with the questions of nationalism and indigenization in China.

Generally speaking, the political aspect of indigenization of the Chinese YMCA was successful. The troubled period of the 1920s served as a good opportunity for Chinese Christian leaders to assume the leadership of the association and take responsibility for running it. This peaceful evolution, although it received some complaints from the foreign secretaries, did end the criticism from anti-Christian activists.⁵⁵ In fact only an indigenized Christian institution was able to gain support and acceptance from the Chinese people. The best proof of this is that the membership of the YMCA and the YWCA, criticized in the past as the tools or running dogs of imperialist countries, increased again at the end of the 1920s.⁵⁶

The success or failure of the YMCA's efforts at cultural indigenization may be evaluated from two perspectives. First, from the perspective of failure, the YMCA leaders and publications failed to show a clear way to achieve indigenization and thus failed to gather sufficient support amongst Chinese Christians. Their theories and arguments concerning indigenization of Christianity were not well thought out and they failed to offer indigenous alternatives for Christians to adopt. The articles written by YMCA secretaries and members contained a mix of different suggestions, sometimes contradictory. In this respect we can see they had no chance of winning the war of indigenization and their failure was a foregone conclusion.

However, seen from the other perspective, the YMCA Christians who were able to foresee the future needs of Christianity stepped forward bravely to awaken their fellow Christians and indicate the direction of indigenization. They kept an open mind in suggesting and discussing different methods of indigenization of Christianity in China. While they identified with their fellow countrymen they did not surrender their Christian

position but tried to integrate Chinese culture and Christianity. The perspectives of the indigenization of Christianity in China and the vigorous efforts to reform were unique, so that no scholar studying indigenization in modern Chinese church history can ignore the example of the YMCA.

Notes

- 1 Garrett, Shirley S., *Social Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese YMCA 1895-1926*, Cambridge, 1970, pp. 25-27.
- 2 Yui, David Z.T., *The Indigenization of the YMCA in China*, Shanghai, 1926, p.1.
- 3 Lai Hui-li [D.W. Lyon], *Chung-hua Chi-tu-chiao erh-shih-wu nien hsiao-shih* (An Outline History of the Chinese YMCA in the Past 25 Years), Shanghai, 1920, p.3.
- 4 As for the early development of the Chinese YMCA, see Wang Chih-hsin, *Chung-kuo Chi-tu-chiao shih-k'ang* (History of Christianity in China), Hong Kong, reprint edition, 1979, pp. 4-13.
- 5 Yui, David A.T., "The indigenization of the YMCA in China" in *China Christian Year Book 1925*, Shanghai, 1925, p. 155.
- 6 "The Young Men's Christian Association" in *China Mission Year Book 1912*, Shanghai, 1912, p. 337.
- 7 Wilbur, H. A., "The Young Men's Christian Association" in *China Mission Year Book 1915*, Shanghai, 1915, pp. 337-338.
- 8 *ibid.*, pp. 338-9.
- 9 Garrett, pp. 91-92.
- 10 Lai, p. 11.
- 11 Yüan Fang-lai, *Yü Jih-chang chuan* (Biography of Yü Jih-chang), Hong Kong, reprinted edition, 1970, pp. 34-40, and Garrett, pp. 152-153.
- 12 Kung Ta, "Chung-hua Ch'ing-nien-hui erh-shih-wu nien chi-nien chu-tian ti-pa-ts'u ch'üan-kuo ta-hui chih ching-kuo" (The record of the Eighth Convention of the Chinese YMCA), *Ch'ing-nien chin-pu*, 33, May 1920, pp. 78-100.
- 13 "I-nien nei ch'üan-kuo Ch'ing-nien-hui chuan-k'uan" (The situation of the YMCA in the Past Year), *Chung-hua chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien*, 10, 1928, 4, pp. 25-28.
- 14 For a discussion of the Anti-Christian Movement of the 1920s see Lutz, Jessie G., *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920-1928*, Notre Dame, 1988; Yamamoto Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China", *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 12.2 (1953), pp. 133-147; Yip Ka-che, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927*, Bellingham, 1980.
- 15 For studies of the May Fourth Movement see Chow, Tse-tzung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*, Cambridge, 1960; Grieder, Jerome B., *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance: Liberalism in the Chinese Revolution 1917-1937*, Cambridge, 1972; and Schwartz, Benjamin I. (ed.) *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: A Symposium*, Cambridge, 1972.

16 Chow, pp. 320-327.

17 For the background and organizational process of the World Students' Christian Federation in China see Cha, Shih-chieh, "Min-kuo Chi-tu chiao-hui shih (3)" (History of Protestant Churches in Republican China, part 3), *Kuo-li T'ai-wan ta-hsieh li-shih hsieh-hsi hsueh-pao*, Vol. 16, pp. 379-387; and Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Mission*, pp. 47-54.

18 A few scholars in this field have already discussed the Chinese Communist involvement in the Anti-Christian Student Federation. For example, Professor Jessie G. Lutz has said: "The Shanghai branch of the Socialist Youth Corps apparently was a participant and may well have taken the initiative." (Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Mission*, p. 55.) For similar discussion on this issue see Cha, Shih-chieh, "Min-kuo Chi-tu chiao-hui shih (3)," pp. 387-394; Chao, Jonathan T'ien-en, "The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement 1919-1927: A Protestant Response to the Anti-Christian Movements in Modern China", Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1986, pp. 136-138; and Yip, Ka-che, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students*, pp. 22-25.

19 For the complete text of this statement see Chang Chin-shih (comp.), *Kuo-nei chin-shih-nien-lai chih tsung-chiao ssu-ch'ao* (The Tide of Religious Thought in China During the Last Decade), Peking, 1927, pp. 187-189.

20 Chang I-ching (ed.), *P'i-p'ing fei Chi-tu-chiao yen-lun hui-k'an* (Complete Edition of the Rebuttal to the Critique of the Anti-Christian Movement), Shanghai, 1927, p. 67.

21 *ibid.*, p. 75.

22 Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*, p. 159.

23 For the most typical and representative essay in this aspect see Yu Chia-chü, "Chiao-hui chiao-yü wen-t'i" (The issue of church education), in Chang Ch'in-shih, pp. 305-309.

24 As for the related activities in this aspect see, Wang Chen-main, "Seeking balance between the Church and the State: A review of Christian higher education in China in the 1920s", *Intercultural Communication Studies*, IV:1, Summer 1994, pp. 88-92.

25 There are many reports on missionary response, such as Hsu Pao-ch'ien, "Pei-ching hsi-chiao-shih lien-ho-hui tui-yü pu-p'ing-teng t'iao-yüeh chih hsüan-yen" (The Announcement of Western Missionaries in Peking on the Unequal Treaties), *Chen-li Chou-k'an*, 6 December, 1925; (Wang) Chih-hsin, "Pei-ching Chung-hsi hsin-t'u i-chih hsiang-yin Hu-an" (Chinese and Western Christians in Peking all give their support to the fight in the May 30 Incident), *Chen-li Chou-k'an*, 14 June, 1925; Chu Yüan-sheng, "Hsi hsüan-chiao-shih ti shih-chin-shih-hu-an" (The touchstone for the Western missionaries - the May 30 Incident), *Chen-li Chou-k'an*, 14 June, 1925; (Wang) Chih-hsin, "I-chou chien Pei-ching chiao-hui kuan-yü hu-an ti wen-chien lü" (What I have seen in the past week about the attitude of Peking people towards the May 30 Incident), *Chen-li Chou-k'an*, 21 June, 1925; Chih-chung, "Ch'uan-chiao-shih tui-yü hu-an chih ching-mo t'an" (Missionary silence on the May 30 Incident), *Chen-li Chou-k'an*, 28 June, 1925; Liu T'ing-fang, "Chi-t'u-chiao yü Chung-kuo min-tsu hsin" (Christianity and the Chinese character), *Sheng-ming yueh-k'an*, Vol. 5, No. 9, pp. 4-23; "Chi-tu-chiao ko t'uan-t'i tui-yü hu-an chih hsüan-yen" (Announcement of various Christian groups on the May 30 Incident), *Sheng-ming yueh-k'an*, Vol. 5, No. 9, pp. 33-35; Ho Ai-hua, "Ai ho hsi-sheng tsai na-li" (Where are the love and sacrifice?), *Chung-hua chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien*, Vol. 9, p. 26; Latourette, Kenneth Scott., *A History of Christian Missions in China*, New York, 1929, p. 812. For recent studies of missionary attitudes of the period see Varg, Paul A., "The missionary response to the nationalist revolution", in John K Fairbank (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, Cambridge, 1974, pp. 311-335; Lutz,

Jessie G., *China and Christian Colleges 1850-1950*, Ithaca, 1971, pp. 246-254; and Yip Ka-che, pp. 47-53.

26 For the full text of these measures see Chang Ch'in-shih, pp. 395-400. For an analysis of CCP policy see Chao T'ien-en, *Chung-kung tui Chi-tu-chiao ti cheng-ts'e* (Chinese Communist Policy Towards Christianity), Hong Kong, 1983, pp. 39-60; see also Yip Ka-che, pp. 62-64.

27 Cha Shih-chieh, "Min-kuo Chi-tu-chiao-hui shih (3)", p. 426.

28 Chao, T'ien-an, pp. 61-62.

29 Ni Liang-p'in, "Che-chiang chiao-hui hsien-k'uang: 1927" (The contemporary situation of Chekiang churches, 1927), *Chung-hua chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien*, Vol. 10, p. 3, 21; Liang Hsi-kao, "Kuang-hsi chiao-hui chuang-k'uang" (The situation of Kwangsi churches), *Chung-hua chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien*, Vol. 10, p. 2-35; Ch'eng Ching-i, "Ch'uan-kuo chiao-hui kai-kuan" (A general survey of the churches in China), *Chung-hua chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien*, Vol. 10, p. 1-2; Chang Chun-chun, "Pao-feng chi-yü i-hou ti Hu-nan chiao-hui" (Hunan churches after the storms), *Chung-hua chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien*, Vol. 10, p. 2; Wu Chi-mu, "Chiang-hsi chiao-hui hsien-k'uang" (The contemporary situation of Kiangsi churches), *Chung-hua chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien*, Vol. 10, p. 2-36; also see, Chao T'ien-an, p. 61 and Latourette, pp. 819-821.

30 The dead included John E. Williams, the Vice-President of the University of Nanking.

31 Yui, *Indigenization of the YMCA in China*, p. 2.

32 *ibid.*, p. 4.

33 *ibid.*

34 Lutz, Jessie G. (ed), *My Life in China 1910-1936* by Eugene E. Barnett, East Lansing, 1990, p. 185.

35 Yui, David Z. T., *Some Problems Confronting the Christian Movement in China*, Shanghai, 1926, pp. 6-7.

36 *ibid.*, p. 7.

37 (Chang) I-ching, "Chin-jih chiao-hui ssu-ch'ao chih chü-shih", *Chung-hua chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien*, Vol. 9, pp. 19-25; Lo Yün-yen, "Ch'uan-chiao t'iao-yüeh yü chiao-hui chih kuan-hsi", *Chung-hua chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien*, Vol. 9, pp. 28-33; Hung Wei-lien, "T'iao-yüeh hsiu-kai yü ch'uan-chiao pao-hui chih wen-t'i", *Sheng-ming yüeh-k'an*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 1-10; Pao Te-hao, "Ch'uan-chiao wei shen mo yao lieh-ju t'iao-yüeh", *Chen-li Chou-k'an*, 21 June 1925. For missionary viewpoints see Latourette, p. 811; *Chinese Recorder*, Vol. 56, pp. 507-517, Vol. 57, pp. 322-328.

38 The great majority of the articles published in Christian papers and magazines opposed the special privileges for the church listed in the unequal treaties. According to opinion polls by the National Christian Council of China in 1926, 150 of 223 respondents favoured annulment of the unequal treaties. Tung Chien-wu, "Chung-hsi chu-mu ti mu-te hui-i" (The Mott conference attracts attention from both Chinese and Westerners), *Chung-hua chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien*, Vol. 9, p. 155.

39 The Mott Conference was held 3-5 January 1927 in Shanghai to discuss various current problems in Christianity and to decide the future development of the church in China. The conference was named after Dr John R. Mott, Director of the Association of International Missions, who was visiting China at that time. Tung Chien-wu, "Chung-hsi chu-mu ti mu-te hui-i", p. 155. For David Z. T. Yui's response see *Report of Conference on the Church in China Today*, Shanghai, 1926, p. 99.

40 Chen Yun, "Chi-tu-chiao tui-yü tsui-chin shih-chu tang-yü ti t'ai-tu ho ts'o-shih" (The policies and measures churches should have on current affairs), *Wen-she yüeh-k'an*, Vol. 3, No. 3, January 1928, p. 9.

41 Jen Fu, "Shih-nien lai wu-kuo ch'ing-nien-hui chih chung-ta pien-hua" (The major changes in the Chinese YMCA over the past decade), *Ch'ing-nien chin-pu*, 100, February 1927, p. 242.

42 Yui, David Z.T., "Nationalism and Internationalism", address before the Rotary Club of Shanghai, 26 November 1926, Shanghai, 1926, p. 5. The speech was published in *Ch'ing-nien chin-pu* issue 99, January 1927.

43 *ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

44 Fan Po-hui, "Tung-fang ti Chi-tu-chiao" (Oriental Christianity), *Ch'ing-nien chin-pu*, 79, January 1925, pp. 7-8. Here I use the translation in Chao, Jonathan T'ien-en, *The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement 1919-1927*, p. 232.

45 Hsieh Fu-ya, "Chi-tu-chiao hsin-ssu-ch'ao yü Chung-kuo min-tsu ken-pen ssu-hsiang" (New Christian thought and basic Chinese ethnic thought), *Ch'ing-nien chin-pu*, 82, April 1925, pp. 10-11.

46 Chao Tsu-ch'eng, "Chi-tu-chiao tsai chung-kuo ti ch'ien-t'u" (The future of Christianity in China), *CLYSM*, 1.12, November 1926, pp. 340-341.

47 Hsieh Fu-ya, "Chi-tu-chiao ying ju-ho tze yü chung-kuo wen-hua chieh-ho" (How does Christianity integrate with Chinese culture?), *CLYSM*, 2.9, pp. 244-247.

48 Hsieh Fu-ya, "Pen-she chiao-hui wen-ti yü Chi-tu-chiao tsai Chung-kuo chih ch'ien-tu" (Indigenous Church and the future of Christianity in China), *Wen-she yüeh-k'an*, 1.6, May 1926, p. 3.

49 Ng Lee-ming, "An evaluation of T.C. Chao's Thought", *Ching Feng*, 14.1-2, 1971, p. 32.

50 Ng Lee-ming, "Hsu Po Ch'ien - A Christian model of unification of knowledge and practice", *Ching Feng*, 14.1, 1972, p. 9.

51 Chao, Jonathan T'ien-en, "The Chinese Indigenous Church Movement 1919-1927", pp. 236 and 238.

52 Chao Tsu-ch'eng, "Chi-tu-chiao tsai chung-kuo ti ch'ien-t'u", pp. 340-341.

53 Ng Lee-ming, "A Study of Y. T. Wu", *Ching Feng*, 14.1, 1972, p. 10.

54 *ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

55 Some American secretaries did complain about the leadership of the Chinese YMCA, see Xing, Jun, "Baptized in the Fire Revolution: The American Social Gospel and the YMCA in China 1919-1937", Ph. D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1993, pp. 104-109.

56 Before the Northern Expedition the YMCA and YWCA had some 40-50,000 members. During the Northern Expedition the number dropped to about 20,000. However, it rose to 30,000 at the end of the Anti-Christian Movement. At the same time the social volunteers also increased, from 5,100 to 9,400. Yu Jih-chang, "Liang-nien lai chih Chi-tu-chiao Ch'ing-nien-hui shih-yueh" (The Chinese YMCA in the past two years), *Chung-hua chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien*, Vol. 11(A), pp. 82-86.