Rethinking History of Subalterns in China from Late Qing to Nanjing Decade

Postcolonial Approach on Studying the Power Asymmetry between Chinese Subalterns and Western Missionaries within Christian Educational Institutions

Wenjing Guo

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Abstract

Education in China was largely dominated by Christian schools which were mostly financed by Western sponsors during late nineteenth to early twentieth century. This had positioned Chinese students, educators, Christian disciples and educators in a subordinated situation vis-à-vis Western missionaries. Through careful reexamination of historical texts by contextualizing Christian schools into China's semi-colonial history, this thesis probed into the agency of Chinese subalterns and explored the miscellaneous tactics that Chinese subalterns used to negotiate power and influence vis-à-vis their Western masters. It was evident that China's independent sovereignty, especially Nanjing government attempted to expand its authority vis-à-vis Western forces had contributed to the stronger position that Chinese subalterns stood compared to subalterns from other full-fledged colonies. It was thus the various techniques that Chinese subalterns used to maximize their benefits bear special traits which were differed from Subalterns Studies in other countries.

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Contents

1. Introduction

Subaltern Studies (SS) has produced a considerable amount of postcolonial literature. There, the historians, ethnographers, anthropologists and other scholars reconsider the history of the marginalized groups through careful reassessment of their life experience in historical archives. Scholars who are engaged in Subaltern Studies have been striving to reconstruct the agency of the subordinates and reveal masked history which is silenced in the elitist narratives (Marxist, nationalist, and colonialist) of history.[1] The concept of subalternity as a methodological approach to disclose hidden voices of the subjugated groups has already been widely used as to reinterpret histories of the colonized among South Asia, Africa and South America. In recent years, studies on Chinese subalterns in modern China with respect to gender issues, rural peasant resistance, migrant workers, and ethnic minorities have attracted attentions among Chinese and Western scholars. Yet Subaltern Studies as postcolonial criticism on the study of Chinese history has by far still largely ignored by scholars even though Chinese people's lives were tremendously influenced by Western imperialism during late 19th to early 20th century.[2]

Despite the fact that China has not been fully colonized like other countries, special privileges which were conceded to Western colonists by means of concessions and unequal treaties[3] had laid the foundation of the subordination-domination relationship between

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[1] Scholars of the Subaltern Studies Group accused mainstream historiographies present history from the perspectives of the colonizers (colonialist), the social upper classes, economic controllers (nationalist), and the capitalist mode of production(Marxist), which largely neglect the agency of the subordinates. See: Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *The American Historical Review* 99, 5 (1994): 1475-1477. Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Recovering the Subject Subaltern Studies and Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia," *Modern Asian Studies* 22, 1 (1988): 190, doi: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00009471.

[2] Postcolonialism is not popular among Chinese studies is mainly because 1. Chinese subalterns' history has been integrated into and represented by the state, any scholars who attempt to revisit subaltern experience will encounter great difficulties; 2. China was not fully colonized like other Southeast Asian countries; 3. Eurocentric historiographies still prevail in the Western academia circle; 4. Other scholar observed that postcolonial studies mostly were written in Chinese which were neither known nor recognized by Western scholars.

[3] For example, the Treaty of Nanking (南京条约) made HK a cession to the UK. The Treaty of Wanghia (望厦条约) granted extraterritoriality and other privileges to the US. The Treaty of Whampoa (黄埔条约) granted similar privileges to Kingdom of France. For detail see Quanguo Renda Changweihui bangongting yanjiushi 全国人大常委会办公厅研究室 [The research office of The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China], *Zhongguo jindai bupingdeng tiaoyue* 中国近代不平等条约汇要 [Collection of unequal treaties in modern Chinese history] (Beijing: Zhongguo minzhufazhi chubanshe, 1996). Yan, Zhongheng 阎中恒 and Zhan Kaixun 詹开逊, *Jindai Zhongguo bupingdeng tiaoyue gaishu 1840-1949* 近代中国不平等条约概述 1840-1949 [A summary of the unequal treaties in modern Chinese history 1840-1949] (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1985).

Chinese and Westerners. It is therefore necessary to investigate the agency of the Chinese subalterns which was largely ripped off in elitist historiographies so as to restore a Chinese people's history that is free from the bias of the main-stream narratives. Based on the above review, this paper attempts to revisit the history of missionary educational institutions by contextualizing Christian schools within the larger picture of the history of modern education in China. Through the reexamination of the subjectivities of the Chinese students, educators and Chinese Christians vis-à-vis their Western masters, this paper tries to explore the complicated relationship between the subalterns and their Western masters in modern Chinese history and to uncover various techniques that the subalterns used to maximize their benefits and secure their power within the quasi-colonial structure.

The thesis organized in chronological order includes three main time periods: 1. Late Qing to early Republican where two early prominent Chinese Christians, Rong Hong and Ma Xiangbo are selected. Their motivations of studying in mission schools, attitudes toward Christianity and choices of future career will be discussed in detail. 2. Warlord period where Chinese students, educators and Chinese Christian converts' strategies of negotiating power with their masters changed along with major social movements. 3. Nanjing decade witnessed the transfer of educational rights and the replacement of Chinese staff over Western missionaries among mission schools. The experience of two newly appointed Chinese principles Zhong Rongguang and Liu Zhan'en will be explored extensively as they exemplified the continuous struggle of the Chinese subalterns.

2. Theoretical Approach

The concept of subalternity, according to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's[4] interpretation in 1988, was generally referred to "the interrogation of a voice that could not be heard since it was structurally written out of the imperialist or colonial narrative".[5] The subalternity of the subaltern groups is "the consequence of their limited access to structures of authority".[6]

[4] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1942-present) was an Indian scholar whose main research interests include literary criticism, feminism, postcolonialism and Marxism. Her work "Can the Subaltern Speak" (1983) caused controversy and was widely discussed among scholars who study postcolonial histories.

[5] Muiris Ó Laoire, "Subalternity," in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Action Research,* ed. David Coghlan and Mary Brydon-Miller (London: SAGE, 2014), 738.

[6] Ilan Kapoor, "Subaltern Studies," in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Action Research* ed. David Coghlan and Mary Brydon-Miller (London: SAGE, 2014), 736-737.

Subaltern Studies explores all forms of dominant social power structures as well as their resulting subordination conditions which are experienced by people of inferior social status.[7]

The term "subaltern" first widely came into the attention of the academia was when Antonio Gramsci wrote about the struggles of the working class. During the 1970s, there came a time when scholars shifted focus on social history study. They intended to write the history from the perspective of the subordinated people who they believed to have been long neglected from mainstream historiographies.[8] In 1980s, scholars of the Subaltern Studies Group (SSG) who studied Southeast Asian history had given a new meaning to subalternity which gradually departed from Gramsci's idea. Gramsci's initial definition of subaltern refers to "subordination in terms of class, caste, gender, race, language, and culture which was used to signify the centrality of dominant/dominated relationships in history".[9] SS scholars continued their studies on dominant discourses yet claimed to revise the elitist bias on academic writings of history. They argued that history written by colonialist, nationalist and Marxist neglected the agency of ordinary people and therefore they adopted new approach to unearth history of marginalized people.[10] SS scholars sought to reconstruct history in an anti-elitist approach which was similar but also different from approaches that Christopher Hill, E.P. Thompson and E. J. Hobsbawm wrote about "history from below". [11] No matter how Scholars of SSG claimed to adopt an innovative approach to give new interpretation to history, two attributes of Subaltern Studies seemed disturbing. First, the existence of subalternity was based on the strict dichotomy between the upper and lower class. This stern theoretical boundary had separated subalternity from social history studies since SS could not deal with more social strata and "subaltern social mobility disappear along with class differentiation".[12] Second, subalternity in this case was restricted to study only the politics of the lower class and therefore it did not fit the research of popular movements in political histories.[13] Early

[7] Ibid., 736-737.

[8] David Ludden, ed., *Reading Subaltern Studies: Critical History, Contested Meaning and the Globalization of South Asia* (London: Anthem Press, 2002), 5.

[9] Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," 1477.

[10] Ibid., 1477.

[11] Dipesh Chakrabarty, "A Small History of Subaltern Studies," in *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, ed. Hengry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray (UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), 471-472.

[12] Ludden, *Reading Subaltern Studies*, 16.

[13] Ibid., 16.

volumes of Subaltern Studies focused on the study of "subaltern politics" while later contributions shifted to study "representation of subaltern subjectivity", following the path of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida.[14] Gayatri Spivak's argument on whether subaltern can speak or not had already been widely discussed in academia and therefore it is unnecessary to set more words on this issue in this paper.

After 1986, Subaltern Studies centered more on investigating the collision of cultural inequality of which the colonial modernity ruled over the Indian native culture. This has made Subaltern Studies an innovative methodological approach for revealing the oppressed people's identity and consciousness by means of critical readings of colonial texts, oral histories, fragmentary testimonies and other historical documents. As Subaltern Studies continues to develop in the global academic arena, many scholars outside the Subaltern Studies project also contribute to Subaltern Studies. For example, Frederick Cooper and Florencia Mallon contextualized Subaltern Studies in African and Latin American histories and used it as a tool to analyze the unique local characteristics which were different from the history of the original project.[15] Later publications of Subaltern Studies indicate that it has become a more hybrid research that cut across geographical and disciplinary lines.[16] Research on social power relation in regard to subalternity is not always consistent with the Subaltern Studies project and therefore scholars outside the project would apply unalike historical theory and method even on the same issues. They mainly disagree on the matter of "autonomy, consciousness and colonialism".[17] Some outsiders are more cautious with uncertain factors such as "economic, political, ecological, technological and social history".[18] They consider colonialism as "a diverse, changing bundle of historical forces rather than as a comprehensive structure". [19] To put it briefly, the study on the subject of subalternity is becoming more diverse and interdisciplinary with efforts from intellectuals of various academic backgrounds. Subaltern Studies has now become a methodological approach which is active in the fields of

[14] Ibid., 17.

[15] Ibid., 19-24.

[16] Vinayak Chaturvedi, ed., *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial* (London: Verso, 2000), 7.

[17] Ludden, *Reading Subaltern Studies*, 26.

[18] Ibid., 26.

[19] Ibid., 26.

research on comparative colonialism, cultural studies, historical anthropology and post-colonial studies. [20]

In the case of China, scholars also tempted to apply the notion of "subalternity" to appropriate experiences of the marginalized people in China. Subaltern studies in China mainly concentrate on gender issues, rural protests, migrant workers and ethnic minorities. In "The Subaltern Talks Back: Reflections on Subaltern Theory and Chinese History", Gail Hershatter gave us a clear-cut explanation on the possibility of the application of Subaltern Studies in Chinese history. She called forth a new concept as she named "nested subalterns" to analyze prostitutes in early 20th century Shanghai. Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li's "rightful resistance" reveals how villagers in rural China exploit cracks within the social structure and curb abuse of power in lower sectors of the state. Yeonk Yeong Park unearthed the voices of rural women in post-socialist China through careful examination of official documentary media. Susanne Y. P. Choi investigated male migrant workers' attitudes toward their wives moving to work in urban cities and concluded that a new discourse of subaltern manhood emerged in the course of migration. Wanning Sun revealed how rural migrant workers were being represented by various institutionalized organizations and how subalterns engaged in the mediation of their experiences.[21,22] In terms of study of minority groups, Dru C. Gladney explored the history of the Uyghur minorities, framed it into the concepts of subalternity, nationalism and internal colonialism and elaborated the subaltern status of the Uyghur along the narratives of Chinese nationalist historiographies. Peter H. Hansen confronted Tibetan Studies with Subaltern Studies and detailed how Subaltern Studies did not fit into the history of Tibet. These scholars' endeavor on the research of the subaltern groups in China undoubtedly enriches the categories of global Subaltern Studies.

Marius Meinhof, Junchen Yan and Lili Zhu also point out that there are considerable amount of Chinese articles relevant to the postcolinial concerns, but "postcolonialism and

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[20] Ibid., 26.

[21] Eric Florence, "Subaltern China: Rural Migrants, Media, and Cultural Practices, by Wanning Sun," *The China Journal*, no. 79 (2018): 134-135, https://doi.org/10.1086/694725.

[22] For detail see Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, *Rightful Resisitance in Rurual China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Yeonkyeong Park, "Voice and Silence of the Subaltern: Rural Women in the Public Culture of Post-socialist China" (master thesis, University of Toronto, 2014). Susanne Choi, "Gendered Pragmatism and Subaltern Masculinity in China: Peasant Men's Responses to Their Wives' Labor Migration," *American Behavioral Scientist* 60, no. 5-6 (2016): 565-82. doi:10.1177/0002764216632832. Wanning Sun, *Subaltern China: Rural Migrants, Media, and Cultural Practices* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014).

China is still a new territory".[23] Subaltern Studies as a postcolonial critique though has its influential position in research of Southeast Asian histories yet it attracts little attention from Chinese historians. Although China has never been fully colonialized like India, its anti-imperialist struggles and the subjugation experiences of the Chinese people during late 19th and early 20th century were very clear. As a result, this research attempts to shake off the shackles of the stereotypical Marxist, nationalist, and colonialist narratives on missionary education in China and to explore agency of the subordinates who had close connection with Western missionary educators. The re-examination of voices of the Chinese students, Chinese Christians and Chinese educators vis-à-vis their Western masters concerning Western education in the postcolonial discourse will definitely shed light on Subaltern Studies regarding a Chinese context.

3. Methodology

3.1 Quantitative and Qualitative Method

My research is dealing with historical matters. The aim of my thesis is to explore how Chinese people negotiated with the controlling power in the subordination/domination relation by acting in line with their own subject agency. Based on this, qualitative research method which is for effectively obtaining "culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of particular populations"[24] is more appropriate than quantitative method in my case. Normally there are four ways to collect data in a qualitative research: "1. participating in the setting, 2. observing directly, 3. interviewing in depth, and 4. analyzing documents and material culture".[25] The collection of my data is largely based on historical texts therefore falls into categories No.4 as mentioned above. Comparing the two methods, qualitative data enables me to achieve the analytical objectives of addressing individual experiences and explaining relationships. However, qualitative and quantitative methods nowadays are used more as a combination than as two opposite research techniques.

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[23] They point out that debates on postcolonialism in China emerged from 1990s among Chinese scholars. However, their works, which usually are inter-disciplinary and written in Chinese, are not regarded as historical and sociological research. Also these works are either unknown or unrecognized by Western academia as postcolonial studies and Chinese studies. For detail see Marius Meinhof, Junchen Yan and Lili Zhu, "Postcolonialism and China: Some Introductory Remarks," *Interdisciplines* 8, no. 1 (2017): 10, doi: 10.4119/UNIBI/indi-v8-i1-166.

[24] Natasha Mack et. al., *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide* (USA: Family Health International, 2005), 1.

[25] Catherine Marshall, "Data Collection Methods," in *Designing Qualitative Research*, ed. Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman (USA: SAGE, 2006), 97.

There are also statistics such as student enrollments, numbers of graduates, and numbers of students from different social backgrounds that will be useful for my research. On that account, I would say that qualitative data is the prime source in my thesis and quantitative data as complementary. Source criticism is strongly emphasized in this thesis and thus all qualitative sources collected are cross-checked. Historical texts in this thesis are read "against the grain" since the narratives by (former) Chinese Christians published in PRC are expected to retrospectively present their past actions in more "patriotic" light compared to how they were perceived in the contemporaneous situation.

3.2 Sources and Data Collection

Historical writing largely relies on primary sources and secondary sources. Primary sources which are related to my topic include but not limit to education quarterly, periodicals, autobiographies and biographies of graduates, newspaper, travel notes, diaries and letters of missionaries, official reports on education especially about missionary schools, speeches made by students, intellectuals, officials or Christian organizations, legislations and annual reports of educational institutions, school and university archives. Secondary resources include academic articles on missionary education and activities, textbooks, books, public historical documents etc. Since my writing centers on uncovering the voices of the subordinated students, Chinese educators and Chinese Christian disciples, primary sources collection thus mainly focus on this part. Also, historical archives on mission schools in China are immense and therefore it will be impossible to exhaust most of them. I would have to cut off the *completeness* and concentrate on *a selection of* sources.[26] In this case, I begin collecting data from the most influential Western educational institutions since more extant documents are available in respect to well-known schools and universities. Furthermore, the imbalanced power relation between the Chinese and missionaries is more of a fluid status than just a fixed situation within the schools or in a certain period of time. Accordingly, my sources do not merely limit to students' campus life but also other activities or aspects of people's experience with regard to Western education. Besides, people's ideas, motivations, values and behaviors are influenced by various social factors. It is therefore necessary to specify the historical background while exploring agency of the subaltern people. Background information of this paper is mostly built upon on secondary sources.

[26] "On Sources and Method," 14, accessed May 28, 2019, https://folk.uio.no/stveb1/Chapter_1_Method.pdf.

3.3 Sources Criticism

Source criticism involves external criticism and internal criticism. External criticism is to evaluate the authenticity of the documents while internal criticism concerns the contents of the documents.[27] The difficulty in my case is not to identity the authenticity of the documents but to evaluate the credibility of contents in my sources. This means that I have to carefully examine whether the author is capable of explaining what happened in an consistent manner, how much does contemporary witness has control over the contents, and whether the contents agree with other separated sources.[28] In this case, I try to avoid misinterpretation of the subjectivities of the subordinated people by drawing on primary sources which are of direct narratives of the subaltern groups. Additionally, I also crosscheck the inconsistent information in different sources within the same time period so as to increase the chances of choosing more reliable materials.

Interpretation of the contents is another important aspect of internal sources criticism. There are many different approaches to interpret data depending on the nature of the research. Hermeneutics is one of the most commonly used methodologies that study the "problems of the interpretation of human actions"[29] in social science. It enables us to be conscious of the "preconditions [that] build into our social practice and organization"[30] and understand better about things that connect, and at the same times, obstruct each other.[31] Hermeneutic approach on historiography is that it emphasizes studying historical data closely with their historical contexts so that readers will be able to see the whole picture of the history. It requires researchers to "understand the meaning of the sources from the actors' point of view" and recreate the meaning of sources by virtue of contextualizing.[32] The hermeneutic approach to

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[27] "Historical Criticism," *The Catholic Historical Review* 3, no. 3 (1917): 369-370, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25011528.

[28] "On Sources and Method," 18.

[29] Chrysostomos Mantzavinos, "Hermeneutics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia* of Philosophy *(Winter 2016 Edition)*, ed., Edward N. Zalta, last modified June 22, 2016, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/hermeneutics.

[30] Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Hermeneutics and Social Science." *Cultural Hermeneutics* 2, no. 4 (1975): 315, doi: 10.1177/019145377500200402.

[31] Ibid., 315.

[32] Matthias Kipping, R. Daniel Wadhwani and Marcelo Bucheli, "Analyzing and Interpreting Historical Sources: A Basic Methodology," in *Organizations in Time: History, Theory, Methods*, ed. Marcelo Bucheli and

my case is that I first identify historical texts which can help to understand the power interplay between Chinese subalterns and their Western leaders. Next, I contextualize these sources to the larger picture of history of modern education in China and then focus on examining this power-imbalance on specific groups of Chinese subalterns (Chinese students, educators, Christian leaders and other Chinese staff). In the end, I reconstruct the voices and agencies of the Chinese subalterns and integrate them into Chinese history as a whole. China went through tremendous ideological changes during late 19th to early 20th century and so were Chinese people. How they perceived missionary education changed over time and their opinions would also be influenced by various social factors such as educational reforms, changes of social structure, political contexts and other social movements. It will be impossible to properly interpret the sources unless they are to be placed within the social, cultural and historical contexts which they were generated. However, studying subalternity requires more than just clarifying face value of the texts but rather revealing the silences within archives which indicate the actors' behavioral impact on transforming the power relation. It is about critically and creatively reading against the grain so as to identify the unexamined of the texts.

4. Historical Trajectories of Mission Schools in China

To analyze the complicated relations between the subalterns and their masters by contextualizing Christian schools within the modern Chinese history, the historical development of foreign missionary enterprises should be narrated briefly. Early missionary work on the Chinese soil can be dated back to Tang Dynasty.[33] The foundation of Roman Catholic mission in China was laid by the Italian Franciscan missionary John of Montecorvino, who was the first Archbishop of Khanbaliq (Beijng) during Yuan dynasty.[34] Nevertheless, education was not considered as a means to achieve evangelistic goals until 19th century. Being frustrated by the indifferent Chinese, China missionaries redirected their conventional preaching tactics and turned to engage in more educational activities despite

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R. Daniel Wadhwani (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014), 320-321, doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199646890.001.0001.

[33] It is mostly accepted by scholars that the first recorded Christian denomination entered China was Nestorianism. See: Huang Xinxian 黄新宪, *Jidujiao jiaoyu yu zhongguo shehui bianqian* 基督教教育与中国社会变迁 [Christian education and changes of the Chinese society] (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), 16.

[34] Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 334.

years of query over the legitimation of mission education. By 1877, 347 mission schools already offered primary and secondary education to Chinese pupils. Statistics in 1890 showed that numbers of students had increased from 5917 to 16836.[35]

In early history of mission schools, missionaries often had to offer free board, books, clothing, teaching and medical care so that they could attract more pupils. These pupils were mostly orphans, former slave girls or children from poor families. The gentry generally stayed untouched by Christian schools during the 1870s and the 1880s and there was rare connection between the western and Chinese educational institutions.[36] The main goals of the schools at the early stage were to train Chinese assistants for missionary work or to train Chinese Christian converts to conduct evangelical work.[37] These schools, mostly affiliated to Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist churches, normally were small-sizes and they offered basic knowledge of religion, reading and writing. Religion was the prime emphasis compared to other subjects. Pupils were not compelled to convert but the learning of the Bible and Christian doctrines was compulsory.[38] Even though the numbers of pupils were low at this time but the outcome was relatively convincing. This had encouraged more missionaries come to China and devote themselves on evangelistic work through education.

During the last decades of 19th century, China was experiencing severe social transformations. Missionaries therefore also took the challenge and chance to further develop Christian schools. The Self-Strengthening Movement[39] had provided great opportunities for missionaries to reach the ruling class since missionaries were the main sources of western

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[35] Mission schools here refer to both Protestant and Catholic schools. Wu, Zimin 吴梓明, "Yihetuan qianhou de jiaohui xuexiao" 义和团运动前后的教会学校 [Mission schools during the Boxer Rebellion], *Journal of Literature, History and Philosophy* 6 (2001): 93.

[36] Jessie Gregory Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950* (London: Cornell University Press, 1971), 42.

[37] Gao Shiliang 高时良, ed., *Zhongguo jiaohui xuexiaoshi* 中国教会学校史 [History of China mission schools] (Hunan: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1980), 219.

[38] Shi Jinghuan 史静寰 and Wang Lixin 王立新, *Jidujiao jiaoyu yu zhongguo zhishi fenzi* 基督教教育与中国知识分子 [Christian education and Chinese intellectuals] (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998), 42.

[39] Self-Strengthening Movement (1861-1895) was an institutional reform movement which was initiated by Qing officials after the Qing government suffered from severe defeats in the Opium Wars and other internal uprisings, for example, the Taiping Rebellion. For detail see Immanuel Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China, 6th edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 261- 294. Chen Jingpan 陈景磐, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi* 中国近代教育史 [History of contemporary China] (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1979), 89-102.

knowledge. Timothy Richard,[40] a prominent missionary in China, therefore suggested that Christians should put the Chinese interest in western languages, science and mathematics to good use and try to exert influence on the upper-class, for that their recognition of Christianity would take the leading role to transform other classes.[41] In 1877, on the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, Calvin Wilson Mateer[42] also urged for changes and adaptions of mission schools. He proposed that Christian schools should cooperate together as he believed that Christian missionaries, rather than heathen, should be the first to train Chinese with scientific knowledge and moral righteousness. In this case, their Chinese disciples would be able to steer the foreseeing transformation when the wind of western civilization arrived China.[43]

With the calling for the abolition of the "eight-legged essay" and further educational changes during the Hundred Days' Reform[44] and the final cessation of the civil service examination in 1905 under the Qing Reform,[45] Western education gradually gained popularity among the Chinese people. Missionaries had therefore seized this opportunity and utilized this opening to speedily develop and expand their schools. Noticeable changes include the establishment of formal school systems; remarkable increase in secular courses teaching; more balance between the teaching of Chinese literature and western subjects; more

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[40] Timothy Richard (1845-1919), known as Li Timotai (李提摩太), a Welsh missionary, educator and reformer in China. Timothy Richard helped the Qing government settle the Taiyuan Massacre caused by the Boxer Rebellion. He was also the founder of Shanxi University. Timothy Richard's publications had great influence on late Qing reformists Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao.

[41] Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, 19.

[42] A missionary of the American Presbyterian Mission known as Di Kaowen (狄考文, 1836-1908). Mateer was the founder of Tengchow College which later became Cheeloo University.

[43] Calvin Wilson Mateer, "The Relation of Protestant Missions to Education," in *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877*, ed. M. T. Yates, R. Nelson and E. R. Barrett (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878), 179-180.

[44] Hundred Days' Reform (June 11-September 21, 1898), a short-lived political, educational, economic and military reform movement which was supported by the Qing emperor Guangxu (光绪) and some open-minded reformists. As the movement failed, the emperor was under house arrest, six reform chiefs were executed, two important leaders Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao fled to Japan. For detail see Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 373-376. Wang Shi 王栻, *Weisinyundong* 维新运动 [The Hundred Days' Reform] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1986).

[45] Late Qing Reform, also known as New Policies (1901-1912), a series of reforms which were led by the Empress Dowager Cixi (慈禧), as a response to the invasion of the Eight-Nation Alliance which was caused by the Boxer Rebellion. For detail see Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 408- 418. Li Xizhu 李细珠, *Zhang Zhidong yu Qingmo Xinzheng yanjiu di'erban* 张之洞与清末新政研究第二版 [The study of Zhang Zhidong and the Late Qing Reform, second edition] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2009), 111-156.

specialized foreign educators joined the schools; more students were enrolled from richer families; and the Christian schools had also upgraded to middle school, college and university level.[46] The more professional and normalized the mission schools became, the further it departed from its religious purpose.

Entering 20th century China, the Qing Empire was disintegrated in the whirlwind of the Xinhai Revolution of 1911.[47] The New Culture Movement[48] also called for strengthening the nation with Western science and democracy. Sentiments of nationalism arose, antiforeignism, anti-imperialism, anti-Christian, and other patriotic movements prevailed in China. In order to combat with other ideologies and to compete with government-funded modern schools, Christian schools withstood all these outer pressure, continued to improve their teaching quality and educational level. By 1920s, 13 Christian colleges already established their own higher education system which was independent from the Chinese system. They offered four-year undergraduate programs which guaranteed their graduates a foreign bachelor diploma. Numbers of specialized teachers instead of missionary teachers continued to increase. The reorganization of the Christian institutes constantly accelerated its process of secularization. Before mid-1920s, it was the "Golden Age" of the missionary higher education in China.[49]

After the Restore Educational Rights Movement,[50] Christian colleges began to shift registration under the nationalist government. School administrative positions were gradually passed over to Chinese staff. Both Chinese and foreign educators rearranged their programs in

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[46] Shi and Wang, *Jidujiao jiaoyu,* 48-49.

[47] A revolution overthrew the Qing dynasty and established the Republic of China.

[48] The New Culture Movement (mid 1910s -1920s) was initially an anti-traditional Chinese culture movement. After May 4th, 1919, Chinese students protested against the Chinese government's weak stance on Shandong Problem (the Versalilles Treaty transferred German's rights in Shandong to Japan) and thus the movement had developed into an anti-imperialist, culturally and political movement. For detail see Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China,* 493- 510. Qin Chuan 秦川, *Wusi Xinwenhua Yundong xianquzhe: Li Dazhao* 五四新文化运动先驱: 李大钊 [The Pioneer of the May Fourth New Culture Movement: Li Dazhao] (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2015), 166-184. Hao Sicong 郝思聪, Bai Huazhao 白华召 and Kang Qiaolin 康巧琳, *Xinwenhua Yundong yu bainian jiaoyu* 新文化运动与百年教育 [The New Culture Movement and hundred years' educational reform] (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2016), 25-37.

[49] Shi and Wang, *Jidujiao jiaoyu yu,* 51-52.

[50] The Restore Educational Rights Movement rose from the anti-Christian Movement during the 1920s. It aimed to reclaim China's rights to regulate schools which were under Western administrations and to include Christian schools to the Chinese educational system. See: Jessie Gregory Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920-28, The Church and the World III, The West and the Wilder World II* (Notre Dame: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988), 91-209.

order to meet the standards set by the Ministry of Education. On the other hand, they also modified their religious activities so as to make explicit their Christian characteristic. These changes included making religion studies an optional course in colleges; encouraging Bible Study Fellowships, spiritual retreats, youth clubs and other forms of religious communities; organizing public welfare activities and most importantly, creating and preserving an atmosphere of a "big Christian family" in order to strengthen the teacher-student relationship.[51] Some of these approaches were already initiated since the beginning of 20th century. Since financial support for mission schools still largely relied on overseas trustees, replacing foreign staff with Chinese had little influence on the actual power of Westerners.[52] After having gone through the Chinese Civil War, the Great Depression, Second World War and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, mission schools in China gradually lost support from oversea mission boards. By 1952, all Christian colleges in China were disintegrated or incorporated into government universities and most missionaries were expelled by the communist regime.[53]

In the following sections, I will discuss in detail how the subordination-domination relation surrounding the quasi-colonial enterprises (namely missionary schools in this case) in urban cities in China was played out from Late Qing to Nanjing Decade. By exploring the agency of the Chinese students, Chinese educators, Chinese Christian; their relation with China missionaries and their attitudes toward Christianity and Christian education, this thesis aims to provide an innovative perspective of understanding postcolonial life in China and to examine how subalternity was constituted by dominant discourses in modern Chinese history.

5. Late Qing to Early Republican

5.1 The First Chinese Graduate from Yale College - Rong Hong

In the beginning, those who received education from missionaries were mostly pupils from poor families. Majority of them lived near port cities like Hong Kong, Macau,

[51] Gao, *Zhongguo jiaohui xuexiaoshi,* 231-233.

[52] Christian educators were mainly from the US, UK, Canada and other continental countries. For detail see Milton T. Stauffer, Tsinforn C. Wong and M. Gardner Tewksbury, *The Christian Occupation of China* (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922), 345-347. Gao, *Zhongguo jiaohui xuexiaoshi,* 27-39.

[53] Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges,* 3.

Guangzhou, Xiamen, Shanghai etc. where missionaries were allowed to stay. Rong Hong,[54] who was known to be the first Chinese studied in America, was also one of those few poor pupils once studied in the Morrison School[55] in Macau. In contrast to the gentry who generally despised the Western barbarians' unorthodox skills, local peasants, labor workers, and merchants, with their everyday interaction with missionaries, were actually those who first engaged in cultural communication and accommodated Western culture.[56] Since commercial activities became more frequent between the locals and foreign businessmen along the port cities, local Chinese started to see the benefits of sending their children to study in mission schools. Rong Hong was unsure why his father sent him to a Christian school, but he suspected that his father saw the foreseeing benefits that Western education would bring:

"It has always been a mystery to me why my parents should take it into their heads to put me into a foreign school, instead of a regular orthodox Confucian school (…) my parents, anticipate that (…) [to] put one of their son to learning English that he might become one of the advanced interpreters and have a more advantageous position from which to make his way into the business and diplomatic world."[57]

As a child born in a poor family, the only way to get into the upper class was to pass the imperial examination. Being excluded from the hegemonic power structure, Rong Hong, like most many other Chinese, was experiencing social changes brought forth by the colonial power hand in hand with its Western civilization. They sensed the advantage (a more advantageous position) that they could gain by learning from the colonial power (linguistically dominant power), hence they tried to maximize their benefits with the "help" of Western education. This conflict over the teaching of English between students and missionary boards were also amplified in the student revolts which involving one of the most important Chinese Jesuits who would be discussed later in this paper. The motivation for entering Christian schools[58] for the advantage of their languages especially English courses

[54] Rong Hong (容闳, 1828-1912), known as Yung Wing, was the first student graduated in Yale College in 1854.

[55] The Morrison School opened in 1839 in Macau, as to commemorate the prominent British missionary Robert Morrison. Its predecessor was Anglo-Chinese College which was founded by Robert Morrison and William Milne in Malacca. The Morrison School moved to Hong Kong after the First Opium War and renamed as The Morrison Education Society.

[56] Sang Bing 桑兵, *Wanqing xuetang xuesheng yu shehui bianqian* 晚清学堂学生与社会变迁 [Students of late Qing academies and social transformation] (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), 23-24.

[57] Wing Yung, *My Life in China and America* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1909), 2-3.

[58] Christian schools in this paper include both Protestant and catholic schools.

was quite common throughout the history of the mission schools in China. As one graduate who managed to get into St' John University to study English recalled,

"Every Sunday, all students in campus must attend routine church service in a church which was especially set up by the school. However, this means of induction and coercion had not made me believe in Jesus, for that I entered St' John University was totally for the sake of learning good English."[59]

Students, especially non-Christians, were more likely to drop off from schools as soon as they acquired sufficient English to obtain a job at the customs, postal and telegram service and the railways.[60] The diverging goals of students and Christian schools could be examined through the example of the Anglo-Chinese College of Shanghai[61] which was established by Young John Allen[62] who aimed to train Chinese leaders with both excellent Chinese and Western knowledge. It was believed that Allen left the college because he was frustrated with graduated students entering private sectors for lucrative jobs rather than seeking for government positions.[63] By the turn of the century, missionary societies could no longer stop the historical trend of teaching English and almost all Christian colleges adopted English as the main teaching language. Paul David Bergen,[64] the president of Cheeloo University[65] at the time, expressed his feeling of helplessness toward this inevitable force.

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[59] Xu Yihua 徐以骅, ed., *Shanghai shengyuehan daxue (1879-1952)* 上海圣约翰大学 (1879-1952) [Shanghai St' John University (1879-1952)] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2009), 211-212.

[60] Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges,* 76-77.

[61] Anglo-Chinese College of Shanghai (Zhongxi shuyuan, 中西书院), later was incorporated into Soochow University.

[62] Known as Lin Lezhi (林乐知, 1836-1907), was an American Methodist missionary in late Qing China. He worked in a Chinese government school before establishing Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai. His publications on the issues of evangelism and education, Christianity and Confucianism in newspaper and magazines had strong influence on the Chinese reformers.

[63] Gao, *Zhongguo jiaohui xuexiaoshi,* 82-83. Young John Allen left his position from Anglo-Chinese College of Shanghai in 1895 and thereafter Alvin Pierson Parker (1876-1923) took over his work. Being disappointed by students was one of the reasons that Allen left the college and of course other factors also contributed to this. For example, conservative missionaries disapproved with him that secular work such as teaching should replace traditional preaching. The American South Methodist Episcopal Mission was dissatisfied that he spent too much time on teaching and therefore offered less subsidies to the college.

[64] An American Presbyterian missionary to China in late 19th century and early 20th century.

[65] Cheeloo University was an amalgamation of various Christian institutes which was sponsored by American Presbyterian, British Baptist, Anglican, and Canadian Presbyterian mission agencies. It was also called "Shantung Union College" (1902), "Shantung Protestant University" (1904) and "Shantung Christian University" (1917).

"It is well worth our consideration whether the time has not arrived fir the introduction of English into the curriculum. As a matter of fact, both teachers and students are studying the language privately (…) We find English alphabets scribbled over blackboards and scraps of paper flying about the campus containing attempt at composition. Sonner or later we will have to make the concession to universal demand (…)"[66]

On the matter of English, Cheeloo was one of the Protestant universities which had been struggling for long time regarding English instruction since missionaries tried hard to avoid the university being secularized.[67] In this case, the intentions of the Chinese attending a Western school apparently was not to learn about religion but to exploit the colonial enterprises' superior linguistic power for the sake of securing their future careers in the slowly modernized Chinese society. "Subaltern agency can become an active and powerful social agency of change exercising power and influence imposed by organizational structures."[68] Though students did not seem to have any power to directly intervene in their masters' decision on English teaching, their desire of learning English had become an "active and powerful social agency" which steered Christian education to a more secularized direction that was originally unforeseen by missionary educators. It seemed that students and the colonizers were involved in a constant process of negotiating the meaning of education. Students' agency eventually played an important role in how the missionary education came to be defined.

Back to Rong Hong, his experience of studying abroad awakened his acknowledgement that there was a huge gap between China and foreign education. On his refusal of signing a pledge to be a missionary in China, he determined that "the rising generation of China should enjoy the same educational advantages that [he] had enjoyed."[69] He asserted that "through western education China might be regenerated, become enlightened and powerful."[70] It is evident that Rong Hong's admiration for western education explicitly reveals the truth of the subordinated status of the Chinese nation. His wish to enlighten and empower Chinese people with the advanced knowledge that he received from the western educational enterprise clearly

[66] Charles Hodge Corbett, *Shantung Christian University (Cheeloo)* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1955), 74-75.

[67] For detail see Corbett, *Shantung*, 73-83.

[68] Laoire, "Subalternity," 3.

[69] Yung, *My Life*, 41.

[70] Ibid., 41.

demonstrates the inferior position himself and his people were situated within the postcolonial discourse. During 1872-1881, The Chinese Educational Mission, which was proposed by Rong Hong, supported by some open-minded Qing officials, successfully sent 120 Chinese students to study in the US.[71] Rong Hong obviously preferred to cooperate with the Qing government rather than become a missionary and recruit members for Christian churches. By denying the authority of the representatives of the Western civilization in China, Rong's action could be understood as an attempt to undermine the power of mission schools in China.

Rong Hong's attitude toward Christianity was not as anti-foreign as most of his Chinese fellows. This might be accounted for his years' experience living in America. He praised Liang Fa[72] as a "powerful preacher" who "opened a new era in the religious life of China."[73] Rong believed that universities should be built upon the spirit of Liang Fa who dedicated his life to evangelistic work rather than to the "transient foreign merchants".[74] However, when requested to serve the church, Rong's arguments of not being missionary were: "1. it would handicap and circumscribe his usefulness and he wanted the utmost freedom of action to avail himself of every opportunity to do the greatest good in China; 2. missionary work would not be the only effort that could do good to China if one had the Christ-spirit, a forceful pledge would be invalid if one did not have such spirit; 3. Signing a pledge would prevent him from taking advantage of any circumstance to serve his country."[75] Whether or not Rong was a patriot is not the focus here. Yet his attempt of breaking free from evangelistic obligations in order to ensure him the freedom of choosing his own future career displays an act of resistance. Rong disobeyed his maters' arrangement because he knew that with education which he received in the West, he would be able to pursue better opportunities. That was why he claimed that missionary work would handicap his usefulness. Rong even went further

[71] The Chinese Educational Mission (1872-1881) was the first government-funded educational scheme in Chinese history that supported Chinese students to study Western science and technologies in the US. They were supposed to return to China after finishing their studies. The scheme was terminated in 1881 as the US government disapproved them to attend military academies and conservative Qing officials dissatisfied that they became more Americanized.

[72] Liang Fa (梁发) known as Leang Afah, was the first Protestant missionary who was ordained by Robert Mossiron. His work "*Good Words to Admonish the Age"* had great influence on Hong Xiuquan, who was the leader of the Taiping Rebellion.

[73] Yung, *My Life*, 15.

[74] Ibid., 15.

[75] Ibid., 35-36.

saying "if necessary, I might be obliged to create new conditions, if I found old ones were not favorable to any plan I might have for promoting her (China) highest welfare."[76] According to Anthony Giddens, "in and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make those activities possible".[77] Rong's statement explicitly showed that Rong inclined to use his Western knowledge to reform the social structure of China through his own actions.

5.2 The Prominent Chinese Jesuit Priest - Ma Xiangbo

By the turn of the century, revolutionary thoughts, anti-Qing and anti-imperialism sentiments were all in the air. Frustrated by the internal chaos and foreign humiliation, students vented their resentment over traditional constraint and foreign imperialism by publicly challenging school authorities. Mission schools, as a symbol of both colonial power and older generation, were especially vulnerable.[78] The following two major student revolts against school authorities happened in Shanghai, which had close relation with Ma Xiangbo,[79] a Chinese Jesuits priest who was one of the founders of Aurore University, Fudan University and Fu Jen Catholic University, well displayed this conflict.

Unlike Rong Hong, Ma Xiangbo came from a relatively well-off Catholic family. He graduated from Collège Saint Ignace in Shanghai[80] and became a Chinese Jesuits priest afterwards. He left his missionary work in 1876 and worked for the Qing government for couples of years. However, his disappointment with the Qing officials forced him to face himself. After deep self-introspection, he decided to return to Shanghai and donated all his properties to the Jesuits in support of establishing a Catholic university. The establishment of the first Catholic university - Aurora University,[81] was related to the mass withdrawal from

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[76] Ibid., 34.

[77] Chris Barker, *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice* (London: SAGE, 2000), 235.

[78] Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, 170.

[79] Joseph Ma Xiangbo (马相伯, 1840-1939) also known as Ma Liang (马良). He was born in a Catholic village in Jiangsu (江苏) province. His ancestors had already become Catholics in late Ming dynasty. Ma was one of the founders of Aurore University, Fudan University and Fe Jen Catholic University.

[80] St. Ignatius High School (Sheng Yinajue Gongxue, 圣依纳爵公学) was established in 1850 by French Jesuit missionaries. Most courses offered at St. Ignatius were instructed in French. Now it stands Xuhui High School at the same site in Shanghai.

[81] It was first called Aurora Academy and then renamed as Arora University in 1917.

Nanyang Public School,[82] due to a furious conservative Chinese teacher who felt insulted by an empty ink bottle which was mistakenly placed on his chair. Three scapegoats were expelled from the school and about 200 enraged students left school as response to the unjust oppression against their fellow students. Some of these students later were included in Aurore University which was established by Ma and other French Jesuits in 1903. Aurore University mostly inherited the teaching philosophy of training students to use Confucian classics to explain religion, which was Jesuits' time-honored preaching strategy in China, beginning with Matteo Ricci.[83,84] However, this humanistic teaching philosophy of focusing on developing students' qualities no longer suited the demands of the gradually commercializing Shanghai and it was by no mean competitive vis-à-vis Protestant schools where English was the language of instruction. In 1905, the conflict between students and the school board finally flared up. Students demanded more English-teaching subjects while the school authorities ignored their request and decided to change the atmosphere of autonomy in campus. The divergence between Ma and the school board had crippled Ma's influence in school while students felt threatened by the warning that, if they did not accept the new curricula, all foreign teachers would be withdrawn from the school. This end of the story was that students and Ma left Aurore University and founded Fudan University in the same year.

Although Nan Yang Public School was not a mission school, as a modern school, it was still an arena where the Sino-Western power contest was played out. The Chinese teacher and his supporters who represented the traditional force seemed to win the battle as they dismissed open-minded students. However, all Chinese teachers were discharged later by the school authority as announced on Shen Bao,[85] "Only Western subjects will be taught this year, all Chinese teachers shall return homes and wait for further notice."[86] There is little doubt that in

[82] Nan Yang Public School was one of the modern schools founded in 1896 and later developed into Shanghai Jiao Tong University.

[83] Matteo Ricci (Li Madou, 利玛窦, 1552-1610) was a notable pioneering Italian Jesuit priest who had significant influence in Jesuit missions in China. Ricci and Xu Guangqi (徐光启, Paul Xu, 1562-1633, a prominent scholar-official) were the first two to translate part of Chinese classics into Latin. Ricci's Chinese attainment earned him the name of "Western Confucian scholar" (Taixi rushi, 泰西儒士).

[84] Wu Ziming 吴梓明, ed., *Jidujiao daxue huaren xiaozhang yanjiu* 基督教大学华人校长研究 [A study on Chinese presidents of Christian universities] (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), 97.

[85] Shen Bao 申报, also known as Shen Pao or Shanghai News, was one of the earliest Chinese newspaper published in between 1872 to 1949.

[86] Zhang Dachun 张大椿, "Qingmo Shanghai liangda xuechao" 清末上海两大学潮 [Two main student storms in Shanghai during late Qing period], in *Shanghai Difangshi ziliao (4)* 上海地方史资料(四) [Shanghai

this case Chinese teachers failed to maintain their long-lost traditional power, and therefore Chinese tradition had lost its influence to colonialism.

As for Aurore University, Ma tried to build a self-governing school which emphasized science, literature and art but not doctrines.[87] Compared to Protestant universities, Aurore University did not offer compulsory religious lessons such as church history, theology and Bible class.[88] This was mostly because Ma had certain power over the school due to him being the main organizer and sponsor. However, Ma's democratic self-rule mode of teaching had given too much power to students and when students demanded the courses with instruction in English, the Jesuits finally decided to step in to regain control. In this incident, Ma's situation was more complicated than the students. Ma cooperated with the French Jesuits to build a university seemed to be an attempt to "misuse" the power from the Jesuits for educating Chinese people while trying to avoid religious influence. However, his involvement with the Jesuits made it almost impossible for him to disobey the church's decision. In order to get rid of his subjugated situation, Ma finally decided to team up with students, left Aurore and found Fudan University.

The relation between students and school authority was quite straightforward in this case. Students wanted to become more competitive in the market thus they tried to negotiate with their school on the matter of English or French. When the school board rejected their requests, they used the same tactic – withdrawal, hoping the school would compromise. Of course the school board would not concede and it soon posted an announcement for recruiting new students.[89]As a response, the aggrieved students struck back by claiming that they dissolved Aurore.[90] Nevertheless, missionary board continued to have control over Aurore University while the excluded Chinese group had to use a new name to form their own school. Ma

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local chronicles (4)], ed., Shanghaishi wenshiguan 上海市文史馆 [Shanghai Literature and History Museum] and Shanghaishi renmin zhengfu canshishi wenshi ziliao gongzuo weiyuanhui 上海市人民政府参事室文史资料工作委员会 [Research Committee of Literature and History of Shanghai People's Government Council] (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexue chubanshe, 1986), 120.

[87] Wang Ruilin 王瑞霖 and Wang Hongjun 王红军, ed., *Yiri yitan* 一日一谈 [One day one talk] (Guilin: Lijiang chubanshe, 2014), 76.

[88] Wu, *Jidujiao daxue huaren*, 118.

[89] "Xujiahui Zhendan Xueyuan" 徐家汇震旦学院 [Xujiahui Aurore University], *Shen Bao* 申报, June 28, 1905.

[90] Zhang, "Qingmo Shanghai", 126.

probably was the biggest beneficiary from these two student revolts since he managed to retain both universities - Aurore University represented his loyalty to the Jesuits while Fudan University demonstrated his devotion to the country. [91]

The establishment of Fun Jen Catholic University partly also accounted for Ma Xiangbo's complex relationship with the Jesuits. In 1912, Ma Xiangbo and another prominent Catholic disciple Ying Lianzhi[92] jointly submitted "A Plead to the Supreme Pontiff on Helping Chinese Education."[93] They attempted to persuade the pope to set up more Catholic universities in China with convincing grounds: 1. Notable Catholic predecessors for example Matteo Ricci, Giulio Aleni and Schall von Bell,[94] they all became well-known because they preached through academic knowledge. There was no conflict between evangelism and education thus the Jesuits should exercise its influence by virtue of scientific technologies; 2. The decay of the Jesuits in China was because it failed to provide high-level education, on one hand, to compete with other denominations; on the other hand, to train knowledgeable Chinese Catholics so as to convert other Chinese.[95] Accordingly, there was urgent need for opening more Catholic universities in China.

The plead sounded like a devout Chinese Jesuit who was disheartened by the predicament of the Catholic Church in China and therefore called for utilizing education to save the Jesuits. Whether or not education would raise the status of the Jesuits, the ultimate goal of importing Western education, for Ma and Ying, like most other Chinese intellectuals, was to improve education in China as its title said, "to help Chinese education". More missionary universities apparently would benefit the Chinese nation more than their Western nations. It was also said that Liang Qichao planned to invite Ma for helping to set up a translation school in Beijing in

[91] Wu, *Jidujiao daxue huaren*, 108.

[92] Ying Lianzhi (英敛之), also known as Ying Hua (英华), a Manchu Bannerman who found the influential newspaper Ta Kung Pao (Da Gong Bao, 大公报).

[93] Fang Hao 方豪, ed., *Ma Xiangbo xiansheng wenji* 马相伯先生文集 [Collected works of Mr. Ma Xiangbo] (Beiping: Shangzhi bianyiguan, 1947), 21-23.

[94] Giulio Aleni (Ai Rulüe, 艾儒略, 1582-1649) was one of the most influential Italian Jesuit missionaries and scholars after Matteo Ricci. He had been preaching in China for more than 35 years and also built many churches in Fujian province. His work "Life of Christ" written in Chinese was widely used by missionaries for preaching Christianity in China. Johann Adam Schall von Bell (Tang Ruowang, 汤若望, 1591-1666) was a German Jesuit and astronomer. He arrived in Macao in 1619 and since then he had never left China. Both Ming and Qing emperors appreciated Schall von Bell's knowledge in astronomy. He was once appointed as advisor of Shunzhi (顺治) Emperor.

[95] Fang, *Ma Xiangbo*, 21-24.

1898, but Ma suggested building the school in Shanghai since he could invite the French Jesuits to help with school management.[96] The premature end of Liang's reform meant that Ma lost his hope to elevate the Chinese nation through the Qing government reforms. Ma rationalized the necessity of building Catholic universities in China by expressing his sincere heartbroken bitterness of seeing the fading influence of the Roman Catholic among the gentry. Hence, Ma's petition to the pope for requesting higher education to Chinese was in fact his attempt to negotiate with his master for more power.

6. Warlord Period

6.1 Before Anti-Christian Movement

During the first two decades of 20th century, Christian schools expanded immensely in China. By 1922, there were already more than 214000 students studying in total 7382 missionary institutions (from kindergarten to college).[97] Christian higher educational institutes were especially important in this period since there were in total 16 Christian universities but only 8 government universities.[98] In early 1920s, a survey conducted in around 100 schools in China, showing that public school students believed that religions, especially Christianity was a hindrance for the development of the Chinese nation whereas most students in mission schools believed that Christianity helped improve China.[99] An article published in the Association Progress[100] in 1922 portrayed how mission school students perceived religions.

"In terms of their attitudes toward Christianity, similar like non-believers (…) they are critical to all kinds of foreign rituals, but absolute anti-Christian was almost unseen among mission schools. On the matter of religions, it seems irrelevant [to New Thoughts]. Nevertheless, one thing we must notice is that in mission schools, they

[96] Shanghai archives, 上海档案信息网, "Zhendan daxue 震旦大学" [Aurore University], last modified April 1, 2008, accessed June 10, 2019, http://www.archives.sh.cn/shjy/scbq/201203/t20120313_5991.html.

[97] Chinese Educational Commission, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Committee of Reference and Counsel and Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, *Christian education in China: the report of the China Educational Commission of 1921-1922* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, Limited, 1922), 372.

[98] Chen, *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi*, 264-265.

[99] Shi and Wang, *Jidujiao jiaoyu*, 236.

[100] 青年进步 (the Association Progress) was a special edition of YMCA's magazine in preparation to the 1922 conference. See: Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, 220.

normally set up youth centers and voluntary Bible classes. Those who joined these clubs are quite active. Most of them intended to agree with altruism and self-cultivation which are [promoted by] religions."[101]

Mission school students were generally as patriotic as other students in public schools. When student movements were against the atrocity of imperialists, mission school students were as actively involved as other students; when the movements opposed Christianity or Christian schools, the responses of mission school students were more diverse and complicated.[102] Although quite often we can see they expressed their dislike of the formalist Christian ceremonies, students from Western schools did not strongly oppose Christianity as those in government schools before 1922. Their problems were more likely related to internal school affairs than to other off-campus nationalist movements. For example, a student strike which led to the dismissal of the famous modern Chinese writer Yu Dafu[103] from Hangchow Christian University was exactly linked to some trivial school issues. Yu Dafu opted for Christian school as he believed that it would be a shortcut for him to master English. Nonetheless, he still complained the numerous prayers that he had to do every day.

"Prayer every day after [we] got up. Prayer when [we] ate. From nine to ten, it was the most important time for liturgy, and more prayer after liturgy. Bible class was an important subject that was compulsory for students of all grades. Sunday morning, except for those who were too ill to move, everyone else must do church service for half day and then prayer. After the prayer came the Bible studies."[104]

All these tedious Christian ceremonies seemed to be bearable so long as Chinese students got what they wanted form the institute. Same for Yu's other friends, one also came for English and another named Xu Donghe came for the low tuition fee and he constantly expressed his jealousy toward those clergy candidates because everything for them was free. One day, students were unhappy with the food and demanded Chef Ma to change. Chef Ma, who was disliked by students due to his bullying behavior, refused students' request and accidentally hurt one of the students during the clash. The outraged students rushed to the

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[101] Li Chucai 李楚材, ed., *Diguo zhuyi qinhua jiaoyushi ziliao*: jiaohui jiaoyu 帝国主义侵华教育史资料: 教会教育 [History of imperialists' educational aggression against China: missionary education] (Beijing: Jiaoyu kexue chubanshe, 1987), 474.

[102] Shi and Wang, *Jidujiao jiaoyu*, 237.

[103] Yu Dafu (郁达夫, 1896-1945), a modern Chinese writer and poet. It is believed that he was executed by the Japanese in Sumatra. For detail see Fang Zhong 方忠, *Yu Dafu zhuan* 郁达夫传 [Biography of Yu Dafu] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2012).

[104] Hu Congjing 胡从经, ed., *Yu Dafu Rijiji* 郁达夫日记集 [Yu Dafu Diaries] (Shanxi: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1984), 393.

principal's office and demanded for punishment to Chef Ma. In the end, Chef Ma ran away from the scene and school authorities decided to dismiss some students who were said to have intentionally caused riot inside the campus.[105]

In this episode of student life, we can see that in order to attain various benefits from the Western educational centers, the powerless students were willing to attend mandatory religious activities even though some of them knew that they would not become Christians. This behavior could be well-understood as subalterns sought to guarantee their advantages by cooperating with the power-holders. When they felt their rights (for requesting better food) were infringed, subalterns tended to unite and put pressure to their masters by going on a strike. Unfortunately, the combined force from the students was too weak. As Xu complained that other students betrayed the student strike and returned to class only after two days. The break-away students feared that their privileges would be revoked and therefore instead of joining the subordinated team and actively voiced for their right, they preferred acting submissive so as to protect their benefits.

Under the strong influence of the May Fourth Movement[106] which happened in 1919, it was undeniable that patriotic events also occasionally happened among missionary campuses. For example, a student revolt burst out at St. John University in May 1919. Students who came back from street protests decried those who were holding a musical event, of their insensibilities to Shandong Problem. Although some students left school afterwards, it was obvious that students who were exempted from tuition fees as well as Christian students did not join those radical students.[107] These "wiser" students in this case apparently realized that lining up with their masters was the best choice for them. They knew clearly that without scholarships, they would not be able to finish their studies in St' John, let alone the

[105] Li Jiaping 李家平, *Chenlun chuangzao Yu Dafu* 沉沦创造郁达夫 [Sinking made Yu Dafu] (Anhui: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2012), 112-116. This student protest was described in details in the novel "Sinking made Yu Dafu. The author Li Jiaping worked in the National Palace Museum in 1979, the National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature (NMMCL) in 1984 and he was also the deputy director of the archives center in NMMCL. I have compared this part of the novel with Yu Dafu's autobiography; it is observed that the novel is created largely based on historical texts.

[106] A large-scale student protest happened in May 4th, 1919. Chinese students voiced their anger over the Chinese government's weak stance on Shandong Problem (the Versalilles Treaty transferred German's rights in Shandong province to Japan) which later developed into a nation-wide demonstration.

[107] "Yuehan zhongxuesheng chongxing tuixue" 约翰中学生重行退学 [High school students of St' John withdraw from school again], *Shen Bao* 申报, May 22, 1919.

opportunity of studying abroad. By cooperating with school authorities, the remaining students secured their education, connections and even influence at the prestigious St' John.

Mission school authorities welcomed students' participation in patriotic activities in the beginning of the May Fourth Movement as they considered it a chance to support Chinese nationalism. However, constant student strikes and their absence from classes had significantly disturbed school management which also slowly dampened college leaders' interest in student activities. As the movement expanded, school authorities found themselves in an awkward situation since students engaged in anti-government campaign on the campuses but they were institutions enjoying extraterritorial rights in China.[108] Frederick Rogers Graves,[109] the missionary bishop of the Anglican diocese of Shanghai at the time, insisted that mission schools should maintain their stance on the "separation of religion from politics" and avoid getting involved in China's political turbulence. He defined the May Fourth Movement as a political and revolutionary movement and stated that school authorities should guarantee that no anti-government activities were happening among the campuses.[110] Meanwhile, students who were influenced by the nationalist emotions at this time could possibly venture to gain power in the name of nationalism. An incident related to students demoting the matron[111] in Ginling College during the school year of 1919-1920 caught the attention of the higher-ups. It was reported that "the student body has found itself in a very similar condition to the nation"[112] therefore they attempted to build a student government which allowed them to establish democracy around the campus. Student leaders slowly took charge of the matron's job and left her no control over community work. The conflict reaches its peak before Christmas with students appealing for the removal of the matron. Mediation was tried but little had changed. Under huge pressure from the students, the matron hence resigned.[113] The stratagem used by the students here was that they exerted power by

[108] Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, 212-213.

[109] Frederick Rogers Graves, known as Guo Feiran (郭斐然, 1858-1940), an American missionary and the longest serving bishop in China who had great influence on St' John University in Shanghai.

[110] Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之 and Zhou Wu 周武, ed., *Shengyuehan daxueshi* 圣约翰大学史 [History of St. John's University] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2007), 191.

[111] The Chinese matron was designated by the school administration as the person who held responsibility for servants and guests. See: Matilda S. Calder Thurston and Ruth Miriam Chester, *Ginling College* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1955), 31.

[112] Ibid., 31.

[113] Ibid., 31-32.

marginalizing the matron regardless of the fact that she was designated by the power-holders as the person in charge. In this scenario, the subalterns did not right away defy the dominators; instead they rationalized their need of self-governed by positioning themselves in line with the identical situation as the humiliated Chinese nation. So long as it was under the shelter of nationalism, the school leaders were pressured to handle the power-fighting issue in a relatively cautious manner. The negotiation was evident when students insisted in the dismissal of the matron whereas faculty staff endeavored to work with students on surveys. It was unsure whether students got their way to exercise their autonomy, but the departure of the matron was definitely their attempt to clear obstacles that hindered them larger participation in the decision-making on the campus.

Student movements in China were rather active since the beginning of the 20th century but student problems among mission schools before 1922 were by no means fatal to Christian schools. However, the Anti-Christian Movement was indeed a strong blow to the colonial forces, first to their evangelist work and then the consequent occurrence of Restoring Educational Right to their physical control over the institutions. The enemies of Western missionaries at this time were exactly not those who opposed Christianity but rather those who defended it.

6.2 The Anti-Christian Movement

The Anti-Christian Movement in fact was initially a movement against Confucianism which was led by the new generation of Chinese who denied their traditional Chinese heritage. After the Xinhai Revolution, traditionalists made several attempts to impose Confucianism as a state religion but then they got severe attacked by leaders of the New Cultural Movement and other religious groups. The New Culture movement upheld “Science” and “Democracy” to decry Confucianism as it was used to serve the feudal gentry. Catholics, Protestants and other religious associations opposed Confucianism and insisted on religious freedom. The criticism on Confucianism soon widened to become an attack on all kinds of religions. The Anti-Christian Movement quickly developed into a nationalist, anti-imperialist movement. In respond to the attack on Christianity as well as to prepare for the World Student Christian Federation Conference held in Beijing in 1922, Christian organizations like the Chinese YMCA[114] issued magazines such as *The Student World* and *Qingnian Jinbu (Association*

[114] The first nation-wide Christian youth organization (the National Committee of the Y. M. C. A. in China) was set up in Shanghai in 1912. It changed its name to Young Men’s Christian Association of China in 1915 which is used until now.

Progress), reporting the status quo of Christian education in China. However, a considerable numbers of these articles appeared to be critical of church work and Christian education and could be handily used by their opponents.[115]

Chinese Christian leaders in this period of time seemed to be more active than their students. For example, the noticeable Christian group called Peking Apologetic Group was established by some prominent Chinese Christian leaders as in respond to anti-Christian thought.

"Beijing is birthplace of patriotic movements among academia and the New Culture Movement. These two kinds of movements were encouraged by the new global trend and slowly spread from Beijing to all over China [.] People who joined these movements mostly hold the spirits of Populism and Scientism as [they] wants to destruct all traditional systems and culture within the society so as to create new culture[.] Hence, our most valuable belief Christianity is inevitably also attacked by them (…) we as Christians bear a huge responsibility toward these people, which is to enlighten them (证道)."[116]

Most of its members for example, Xu Baoqian, Liu Tingfang, Wu Leichuan and Zhao Zichen[117] were professors in Yenching University. The Group stated their objects and plans as such:

"Our goals, on one hand, is to prove how Christianity is compatible to the spirit of the time and [to demonstrate] how it can become the pioneer along the time of evolution; on the other hand, we need to openly discuss all sorts of problems inside the churches in preparation for the reform of churches. "[118]

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[115] Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges,* 215-220.

[116] Zhonghua xuhang weibanhui 中华续行委办会 [The China Continual Committee], *Zhonghua jidujiao nianjian diliuqi* 中华基督教年鉴第六期 [The China Christian Year Book 6th issue] (Shanghai: Zhonghua xuhang weibanhui chubanshe, 1921), 133.

[117] Xu Baoqian (徐宝谦 1892-1944) was a prominent Christian professor, writer, social worker during the Republic of China era. He worked as a secretary at the Young Men's Christian Association of Beijing from 1915-1920 and in Yenching University for 11 years; Timothy Ting-Fang Liu (刘廷芳, 1892-1947) was a well-known educator, theologian, psychologist and Christian leader. He graduated from Columbia University with doctorate degrees in education and psychology. He was assistant to John Leighton Stuart and dean of the School of Religion at Yenching University during 1921-1926. Liu was invited to preside over Sun Yat-sen's funeral; Wu Leichuan (吴雷川, 1870-1944) also knows as Wu Zhenchun (吴震春), he became the director of Hanlin Academy (翰林院) in 1910 but his official career was not smooth due to the political turbulence in early 20th century. In 1922, Wu started working as a professor at Yenching University where later he became vice-president in 1926 and chancellor in 1929; Zhao Zichen (T.C. Zhao, 赵紫宸, 1888-1979) was one of the most influential Chinese theologians in 20th century. He was once professor and dean of Theological Seminary at Yenching Universiy. Zhao was an active member in the Three-Self Patriotic Movement. He was elected as one of the presidents of the WWC (World Council of Churches) in 1948 but resigned in 1950. Zhao was forced to resign from Yenching in 1956 due to accusation from the communist government and his reputation was restored in 1979.

Instead of directly fighting back their opponents, the Chinese Christian disciples invited non-believers such as Cai Yuanpei (蔡元培, 1868-1940), Hu Shi (胡适, 1891-1962), Jiang Menglin (蒋梦麟, 1886-1964), Li Dazhao (李大钊, 1889-1927) and Western missionaries John Leighton Stuart (司徒雷登, 1876-1962), Lucius C. Porter (博晨光, 1880-1958), John S. Burgess (步济时, 1883-1949) and Howard S. Galt (高厚德, 1872-1948) etc. to publicly discuss the relevance of Christianity to the Chinese nation.[119] It might be true that one of the purposes of the Group was to clear misunderstanding on Christianity in the air but their attempt to use the anti-Christian sentiment to seek for reforming Chinese churches was also obvious. While the YMCA was preparing for the student conference, the China Continual Committee[120] was also busy getting ready for the National Christian Conference (NCC) which was to be held in Shanghai in May, 1922. Before the NCC, like other Christian publications, the Group's periodical *Life* already widely discussed the necessity of indigenizing Christianity.[121] The indigenization idea was originated from the "three-self" principle which was first proposed by Henry Venn[122] in 1851. Christian followers in other East Asian countries for example the famous Japanese Christian writer Uchimura Kanzō[123] had also launched the non-church movement (Mukyōkai) in 1901, as he advocated a form of Christianity which was not bound by belonging to missionary churches. In order to echo with the countless patriotic movements happened around them, the long-neglected idea of indigenizing Christian church was again raised on the agenda by the Chinese Christian leaders. Members of the Group, who were also leading organizers of the NCC, were also proud to

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[118] Zhonghua xuhang weibanhui, *Zhonghua jidujiao nianjian diliuqi*, 133.

[119] Shih-chieh Cha, "A Preliminary Investigation of the Protestant 'Life Fellow' in the Early Republic Period," *Historical Inquiry*, 16 (1991): 183.

[120] The China Continual Committee was formed under the influence of the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference. It was an interim organization as Chinese Christians and Western missionaries wished to establish a national organization which could unite missionary societies and facilitate missionary work in China. The China Continual Committee was reorganized as the National Christian Council of China in 1922.

[121] Duan Qi 段琦, *Fenjin de licheng* 奋进的历程: 中国基督教的本色化 [The journey of progression: the indigenization of Christianity in China] (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2017), 215-216.

[122] Henry Venn (1796-1873) was the General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society from 1841 to 1873.

[123] Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930) was the most important Christian evangelist who had huge influence on the history of Protestantism in Japan. His non-church movement generated some significant scholars such as Tadao Yanaihara and Nambara Shigeru.

introduce their full Chinese members who show capability to arrange the third section of the conference.

"The specialty about the third section is that its organizers were all Chinese. The reason, based on a common opinion, is that now has comes the time for Chinese church to express its own opinion (…) the theme of Conference is 'The Chinese Church', it is therefore the manifesto of the church should displays its Chineseness and this all makes it reasonable to have all Chinese members in section three (…) after detailed discussion, we decided the following two objects: 1. The third section should be fully organized by Chinese; 2. Western missionaries should assist Chinese members when necessary."[124]

By far, the subalterns were shrewd enough to accommodate themselves in the fledging anti-Christian situation. By bringing the two parties into the debating on the usefulness of Christianity, in one way they managed to expose more non-believers to Christian doctrines, in another way they seized this opportunity to challenge the power of their Western masters by agitating for reform of churches in China. On the declaration of Chinese Christians' full responsibility to the discussion of part three section, they explicitly sent their Western fellows a message indicating that Chinese leaders should hold responsibility over Chinese churches and Western preachers could now step aside as assistants.

Before the NCC, Liu Tingfang, one of important figure in the Peking Apologetic Group as well as dean of theology department of Yenching University, already "warned" Western missionaries to be cautious about international and racial issues when they executed administration work.[125]

"The New Culture Movement is admirable because on one hand, it awakens our nation [,] eradicates superstitions, [and] reforms society in order to save the dying situation in China. On the other hand, it persistently advocates cosmopolitanism which against warlords, against invasion, [and] against war. It believes in human around the world should love and help each other. No encroachment and killing. This doctrine is the true face of Christianity. Why you Western missionaries forget about this? Why don't you preach such adorable doctrine? Why do you still agree with your countries' narrow-minded doctrines? Why do you keep silent and not oppose to your countries' jingoism toward China? Also, have you already eliminated the attitude of 'you are white, they are yellow, you are superior and they are inferior' when doing missionary work? Do you still believe

[124] Quan Shaowu 全绍武, ed., *Jidujiao quanguo dahui baogaoshu* 基督教全国大会报告书 [Report of the National Christian Conference] (Shanghai: Xiehe shuju, 1923), 174.

[125] The disparity between Chinese converts and Western missionaries was large in respect of living standard, salary and other material supports. Most missionaries took pride of Western values, technology and their social institutional structures that they considered Chinese literature, religion, medicine, technology and even Chinese people were inferior to those of the West. For detail see Oi Ki Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (London: Associated University Press, 1999), 191-203.

that Chinese are helpful but they can only be assistants to Westerners [;] Chinese can be leaders to Chinese but not leaders to Westerners [;] Chinese should be responsible for evangelist work yet they must first seek guidance from Westerner? When [Chinese] church was on a burgeoning stage lacking of talents, you [Westerners] of course were leaders [because] Chinese were not better than you, but now that Chinese experts are growing, should you still be holding this attitude [of bullying Chinese]?" [126]

It might well be another anti-imperialist patriotic speech but Liu also plainly spoke out the subjugated situation of Chinese Christians as they were clearly trained to be helpers or assistants to Westerners. However, Liu and other Chinese followers would not just accept staying in inferior positions. By skillfully emphasizing the inner connection between the New Thought and Christianity, Liu used Christian doctrines to censure their Western fellows for their non-Christian behavior in China. By pointing out the growing force of the Chinese staff, Liu implicitly expressed their intention of overriding the authority of his Western rulers.

During the conference, they actively advocated Sinification of Christianity.

"Chinese church now has been awakened and become aware of its missions and duties; this is what we need to solemnly declare. The history of China, the characters of the Chinse people, the attribution of education, the indication from experience together with all kinds of transformation in China, [they] all calls for Chinese Christian Church and we have to promote Christianity with Chinese characteristics. What we called Chinese Christian Church; on one hand, should continuously keep contact with churches of all denominations around the world. On the other hand, [it] needs to truly adapt to Chinese indigenous culture and its spiritual experience (…) Therefore we plead with the disciples of Jesus to collaborate and reach the goal of self-support by means of systematic donations. To reach the target of self-governed with persistent practice, no fear of being tested no fear of failure. To achieve the goal of self-propagation by [providing] sufficient Christian education, leader training and truehearted personal preaching (…) We request Western missionary leaders who are under the service of Chinese churches, with your cogent guidance, assist Chinese followers to take on this responsibility and assure them not to be restrained when they exercise such experiment. "[127]

Ding Limei, who later became a key leader of the Christian revival movement, also expressed his robust support on making Christianity Chinese.

"'Ben se (本色, Indengenization)' should be called 'women ziji de (我们自己的, our own selves')'. It is like us as an individual that is small self; when see it as collective that becomes the big self. [We should] emphasize

[126] Liu Tingfang 刘廷芳, "Xinwenhua yundong zhong jidujiao xuanjiaoshi de zeren" 新文化运动中基督教宣教师的责任 [The responsibilities of Christian missionaries in the course of the New Culture Movement], in *Bense zhi tan: 20shiji zhongguo jidujiao wenhua xueshu lunwenji* 本色之探: 20 世纪中国基督教文化学术论集 [Investigation of indigenization: collected works of Christian culture in 20 century China], ed. Zhang Xiping 张西平 and Zhuo Xinping 卓新平 (Beijing: Zhongguo guanbo dianshi chubanshe, 1999), 166-167.

[127] Quan, *Jidujiao quanguo dahui*, 177.

issues such as ‘our own assets’ ‘our own opinions’ ‘our own compatriots’. [That is why] it is naturally for Chinese to enjoy their own way to preach, their own policies and procedures.”[128]

Rather than a place to discuss evangelistic work in China, the NCC seemed more likely to be an occasion for Chinese Christian leaders to make everything Christian (Christian doctrines, education, leadership, social service etc.) Chinese. It should also be noted that disciples who advocated indigenization were not identical to those who were in favor of Chinese independent churches. The pro-independent representatives proposed to the Chinese believers to become independent from foreign support and funds while the other claimed that they were against foreigners. Rather, they accepted foreign aid and preferred collaborating with foreign missionary organizations.[129] Lian Xi also argued that Chinese Protestants, inside and outside the missionary enterprises, worked in dual ways to indigenize Christianity. Their efforts succeeded in promoting some Chinese Christian leaders but institutional Christianity was still controlled by Western missionaries.[130] Apparently, subalterns who enjoyed certain power did not draw a clear line between them and Westerners, nor did they wish to completely destroy foreign institutions. Instead, they dreamed of gaining power and influence by means of pushing forward the idea of indigenization. These Chinese Christian leaders apparently were plotting a coup within the Christian circles under the shelter of the Anti-Christian Movement. However, as the student conference came to an end and therefore the Anti-Christian Student Federation also lost its target to continue its movement. All the discussions and arguments on the issue of Sinification of Christianity at NCC seemed also gradually fade away from the public’s sight and Chinese Christian leaders did not further push forward the issue of “shifting church rights” to Chinese. Though some of them continued to criticize Western preachers but their situation did not significantly change until the Chinese sovereignty consciousness clashed with the colonial structure in later years.[131]

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[128] Quan, *Jidujiao quanguo dahui,* 188.

[129] *Zhongguo da baike quanshu xuanbian: jidujiao* 中国大百科全书选篇: 基督教 [Chinese encyclopaedia selections: Christianity] (Beijing, Beijing da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1990), 55.

[130] Xi Lian, “The Search for Chinese Christianity in the Republican Period (1912-1949)” *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 4 (2004): 852-853, doi: 10.1017/S0026749X04001283.

[131] Wu Guo’an 吴国安, *Zhongguo jidutu dui shidai de xiangying* (1919~*1926*) 中国基督徒对时代的响应 [The Contextual Responses of Chinese Christians as Revealed in Life Journal and Truth Weekly (1919~1926)] (Hong Kong: Christianity & Chinese Culture Research Centre Alliance Bible Seminary, 2000), 76.

6.3 Restore Education Rights

After almost two years of seemly less disturbing life for missionary schools, the anti-Christian campaign returned with an even stronger sense of hostility towards Christian institutions. This sense eventually led to the Restore Educational Right Movement. In 1922, Cai Yuanpei's suggestion on separating educational and religious teachings had already gained extensive support from most Chinese. In October, 1923, the Young China Association held a meeting and passed a resolution on promoting nationalistic education while disapproved of religious groups held responsibility for educational institutions. Yu Jiaju, one of the leaders of the Association was believed to be the first Chinese who propounded the idea of regaining education rights.[132] Some Chinese educators already decried Christian education as an aggression to national sovereignty and religious freedom during the long debate among Chinese intellectuals on the matter of Christianity around 1922.[133] Other factors including labor strikes, calling for regaining tariff autonomy and cancelation of unequal treaties, and most importantly, the support from Guomindang and the formation of the United Front had all fostered the anti-imperialist sentiment and raised people's consciousness on national sovereignty. Christian institutions which enjoyed autonomous administration, imposed compulsory Bible study on Chinese students and produced Christian leaders who lacked the knowledge of their own country were therefore inevitably reproved by most Chinese.[134]

Since the recovery of educational rights was closely related to the future of mission school students and Chinese educators, as they continued to engage in battling school authorities, it was also evident to identify that common student conflicts happened during this period could easily be raised to national level of anti-imperialism. For instance, the sparkle of the nation-wide Restore Education Rights Movement was exactly just another seemingly normal student resistance but when students decried their slave-like treatment by what they called the "imperialist invaders", their appeals soon gained substantial responses from other parochial schools and supports from other social organizations.[135] As one of the participants recalled, several students at Holy Trinity College in Guangdong Province intended to organize a student union but were soon dismissed by the school principal as he allegedly proclaimed,

[132] Shi and Wang, *Jidujiao jiaoyu*, 233.

[133] Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges,* 232.

[134] Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges,* 232-233.

[135] Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges, 240.*

"This is an English School under the management of the British. Without permission from the British Consul in Canton, we cannot let you do what you want."[136] Infuriated by this colonial-like statement, student leaders soon conducted a student strike and pressed on their right to form student associations. As negotiation between the two parties failed, the school decided to expel student leaders and temporary closed school for holiday. However, students did not seem to be easily discouraged and continued to fight for their rights. They advocated for regaining educational right and published two declarations in April and May (1924).[137] In support to students of Holy Trinity College, strikes also started in other parochial schools across the country.

In the first manifesto, students wrote:

"We as students who receive slave-like education have always been desensitized and rarely or never said anything that displeases Western masters (…) We Chinese are always looked down by Western masters therefore [you can] imagine insults and torment that our fellows suffer. Since we entered this school, we had never been treated as 'independent citizens' (…) "[This is] an English school, there is British Consul in Canton, cannot accede to your desire, let you do what you wish for." Alas! Has China died yet? Not yet – but we completely are treated like colonial people (…) Now in the Chinese soil [mission] schools are not under control nor regulated by the Chinese governments; the ambition of imperialists is obvious (…) Now we firmly declare: fight for the freedom for assembly and association at schools; oppose slave-like education and recover education right; against imperialist aggression."[138]

In the second manifesto, they restated the same demands but also added three other concrete requests: 1.readmit the students who were dismissed; 2.the principal insulted China, should apologize to students; 3. [school] must not intervene with student assemblies and associations.[139]

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[136] *Guangzhou wenshi ziliao di shiliu ji* 广州文史资料第 16 辑 [Guangzhou cultural and historical literatures Volume 16] (Guangzhou: Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Guangdongsheng Guangzhoushi weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui, 1965), 175.

[137] Ibid., 173-179.

[138] "Guangzhou shengsanyi xuexiao xuesheng fankang nuli jiaoyu zhi xuanyan ji qita tuanti zhi yuanzhusheng"广州圣三一学校学生反抗奴隶教育之宣言及其他团体之援助声 [Manifestos of anti-slave-like education from Guangzhou Holy Trinity College students and support from other organizations], *Jiaoyu zazhi* 教育杂志 16, 6 (1924): 6-7.

[139] Zhu Youhuan 朱有瓛 and Gao Shiliang 高时良, ed., *Zhongguo jindai xuezhi shiliao disi ji* 中国近代学制史料第四辑 [History of school system in modern China volume 4] (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1993), 741.

It is difficult to tell whether or not the manifestos were actually composed by students since both were published in a weekly which was owned by the Communists.[140] However, it is evident to see from the first manifesto that students explicitly chose words such as "slave-like education", "imperialist invaders", "against oppression and invasion from imperialists", "Western masters", "independent citizen", "colonial-like treatment", "Western slaves" which with strong communist undertones narrated their distressing student life. Feeling resentful to repression from the top, students deliberately stirred up the anti-imperialist emotions in order to provoke any revolutionary actions. Apart from the declarations, from time to time, they also sought help and guidance from governmental organizations hoping they would take action to recapture educational right. They petitioned to the provincial governor and Sun Yat-Sen,[141] requesting them to outlaw Western educational institutions. Interestingly, it was exactly Sun Yat-sen's response that manifested the helpless subjugated situation of the students, the Chinese governments and the whole Chinese nation. As Sun wrote:

"There is no freedom in China right now, you should sacrifice your own freedom for the sake of obtaining foreigners' knowledge. Your behaviors seem childish but [your] aspiration deserves encouragement [.] Now that you are discharged, [you can] only study in other schools; let Zhou Haibin arrange for you."[142]

Sun advised students not to battle against the colonialists but to cooperate with Westerners and to make use of their resources. His suggestion to students partly was influenced by his experience studying in Hawaii. The Guangdong government showed no capability to help students return to the school, let alone restoring education rights. As the strategy of teaming up with officials failed, students continued to pressure the school authority by publishing a second manifesto and kept instigating the anti-imperialist atmosphere. As Luts correctly pointed out, though little coordination, "educators and political activists tried to benefit from each other's exertions".[143] It is evident that students from Holy Trinity College purposefully stirred up the growing nationalistic sovereignty consciousness in order to gain support from

[140] As one of the student leaders Liang Fuwen (梁福文) recalled, both manifestos were published on The Guide Weekly (Xiangdao zhoubao, 向导周报). The Guide Weekly first issued on September 13, 1922 in Shanghai. It was the first public political newspaper of the Chinese communist party which was sponsored by the Communist International.

[141] Sun Yat-sen was the Extraordinary President of Nationalist China and Premier of the Guomindang at that time.

[142] *Guangzhou wenshi*, 177.

[143] Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*, 130.

outside for achieving their goal of self-governance. This student storm hence became the trigger of the nation-wide Restore Education Rights Movement.

Before the May Thirtieth Incident,[144] anti-Christian campaign leaders did not consider mission school students as associates but rather as individuals who needed to be awakened.[145] However, the Holy Trinity College incident and mission school students participating in the Restore Education Rights Committee in Guangdong province[146] showed that student body in Christian schools also self-mobilized and actively got involved in nationalist activities when their advantages, which their education was to bring to them, were threatened. The May Thirtieth Incident happened in 1925 was another turning point which not only united all Chinese to rise up resist imperialist invaders but also a remarkable chance for Chinese educators to take over educational power. Liu Zhan'en,[147] who later became the president of University of Shanghai, first defended mission school students' patriotic engagement in the event.

"Do you see how actively students in parochial schools engaged in this incident? They generally become leaders of these movements. Are they surrenders to foreigners? Do they lack patriotism? They do not lack it and their patriotic spirit might even be higher than those in other schools [.] I am not defending [because] that is what people can see."[148]

Next, he explained how Chinese staff reacted more appropriately than Western staff in events like such.

"Apart from small numbers of schools, Western staff generally will follow Chinese staff's suggestions in critical period like this and therefore schools can be operated smoothly. As for the extremely small amounts of exceptional schools, [Western staff] insisted on their prejudice and do not listen to advice of Chinese staff, that is why it turned out to be regrettable storm. How is the ability and opinions of Chinese staff? Has the misunderstandings from foreigners not been tested out yet? "[149]

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[144] British police opened fire and killed several labor protesters in Shanghai International Settlement on My 30, 1925 which triggered another wave of anti-imperialist movement.

[145] Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*, 130-135.

[146] Huang, *Jidujiao jiaoyu yu zhongguo shehui bianqian*, 249.

[147] Herman Liu (刘湛恩, 1886-1938) was the first Chinese president of University of Shanghai. He was an active advocator of vocational and civic education.

[148] Zhang Huaming 章华明, ed., *Liu Zhan'en wenji* 刘湛恩文集 [Collected works of Herman Liu] (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong Daxue chubanshe, 2011), 138.

[149] Ibid., 138.

He then continued to condemn Westerners' indifferent attitudes toward the incident and outlined several aspects that Christian schools needed to improve.

"1. Presidents and trustees [should] employ more Chinese (…) 2. Focus more on [teaching] Chinese culture, should not care only about English (…) 3. Abolish compulsory religious education and shift focus onto cultivating Christian personalities (…) 4. Register with Chinese governments (…)"[150]

In the end, he advised Chinese educators in parochial schools to take full responsibility for the abov- mentioned reforms.

"Recently, some friends were not satisfied with mission schools so they advocated non-cooperation. Their reason is: mission schools are built upon Western donations and controlled by Westerners[.] We Chinese 'OK then stay, not Ok then leave'. I do not believe this is correct[.] It is true that parochial schools used Westerners' money, but it definitely is not Western staff's private properties! Westerners donated money to Jesus for developing Chinese churches [.] Therefore parochial schools are collective properties of Christian disciples [;] they belong to Chinese believers."[151]

After the May Thirtieth Incident, missionary school students across the country actively engaged in the nation-wide patriotic protests.[152] Chinese members in other Christian organization also participated in anti-imperialism and recovering rights movements.[153] Liu Zhan'en, similar like the students from Holy Trinity College already sensed the powerful irreversible historical force of the rising Chinese nationalism. At this very moment, he spoke highly of students' patriotic involvement and compared Chinese staff's extraordinary public crisis handling skills to the disastrous wrongdoings of some stubborn Westerners as to highlight the importance of Chinese leaders in dealing with Sino-Western conflicts. In the era of changes, he generously offered tips for reforming Christian institutions to Western rulers-to employ more Chinese personnel, emphasize on the teachings of Chinese subjects, less Christian influence and most importantly, to register with Chinese authorities. All these proposals of enhancing Chinese power and reducing Westerners' influence also signified Liu's attempt to relate the miniature subordinated situation of the Chinese teachers to the larger national narratives of the anti-imperialist and regain education right movement. In this

[150] Ibid., 139.

[151] Ibid., 139-140.

[152] Shi and Wang, *Jidujiao jiaoyu*, 241-242.

[153] Tatsuro Yamamoto and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China, 1922-1927," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 12, 2 (1953): 143, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2941975.

way, he justified the necessity of regenerating Christian educational institutions and also proclaimed that Jesus's properties in China did not belong to Western missionaries but Chinese Christians.

7. Nanjing Decade

7.1 Registration of Mission Schools

On the matter of registration, the Qing government issued a decree in 1906 leaving Western institutions out of the Chinese educational system.[154] After the 1911 Revolution, the republican government published several regulations trying to supervise and manage parochial schools but the Ministry of Education did not strictly impose them, and therefore graduates of Christian schools shared similar citizenship rights[155] like students in public schools. Some missionaries once requested the US ambassador to negotiate with the Chinese government concerning their graduates' citizenship rights but the Chinese government refused to include Western institutions to its system since they were protected by unequal treaties.[156]

Ever since the Restore Education Rights Movement, the calling for the registration of Christian schools became even higher. On November 16, 1925, the Beiyang government issued a set of revised regulations related to the recognition of foreign educational institutions. Hereafter, other provincial governments also published similar regulations. The conditions for foreign schools to be registered briefly were: 1. the principal should be Chinese, if president or principal has been a foreigner, the vice-president must be Chinese; 2. if there is a managing board, half of the members should be Chinese; 3. schools should not propagate religions, the curricula should conform to standard set by the Ministry of Education, religious course should be made voluntary.[157] Missionaries mostly were not content with the restriction on religious teachings. Some schools refused to register while others already started to look for Chinese Christian representatives and sought for registration. By 1930s, most Western higher education institutions such as Ginling College, Lingnan University, Yenching University,

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[154] Shi and Wang, *Jidujiao jiaoyu*, 232.

[155] Only students graduated from a registered school have the right to vote, be nominated in election, access government scholarships and take exams for entering government positions. See: Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*, 120.

[156] Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions*, 120.

[157] Gao, *Zhongguo jiaohui xuexiaoshi*, 277.

Fukien Christian College and University of Shanghai already registered in China.[158] Even though parochial schools were registered under the Chinese national government, administrative work, allocation of personnel, school facilities and finance were still all controlled by missionary boards.[159] Chinese principals just served as puppets and they could not exert any influence within the colonial regimes. Chinese employees therefore would have to find their own ways to access power.

A conspiracy for taking over Fukien Christian College was reported in spring 1927. It was said that a senior Chinese graduate, who shouted out the slogan of "taking back out cultural rights" , assembled some of his loyal students and planned months ahead for a student strike when Jiang Jieshi's new government sought consolidation in Fujian province. The student insurgents soon spread to the city and was largely reported on newspapers and posted on bulletins. In this way, they wished to catch attention from the new local government, hoping that they would violently occupy the college. Unfortunately, the plotters did not get their way. As the report clearly pointed out that the new Jiang Jieshi government wanted to reform missionary institutions but not took over Western colleges with violent confrontation. The main organizer thus was relocated to another town while students felt too ashamed to return to the college.[160]

In this episode of subaltern insurgency, the Chinese leader, who was identified as the "first modern trained teacher of Chinese"[161] could possibly be Chen Xixiang who had been passionately organized anti-imperialist activities in Fujian province since 1925.[162] Having been waiting for six years after graduation, he finally saw his chance coming. Amidst the national demand for the Sinification of the Christian institutes, the public wanted to increase

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[158] Liu Jiafeng 刘家峰 and Liu Tianlu 刘天路, *Kangri zhanzheng shiqi de jidujiao daxue* 抗日战争时期的基督教大学 [Christian universities during the Anti-Japanese War] (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003), 40.

[159] Gao, *Zhongguo jiaohui xuexiaoshi*, 284.

[160] Roderick Scott, *Fukien Christian University: a Historical Sketch* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1954), 36-37.

[161] Ibid., 36.

[162] Fuzhou dangshi wang 福州党史网 [Fuzhou Local Party Branch's history], "Dashi jiyao 1925-1927 大事纪要 1925-1927" [Historical Events 1925-1927]. Last modified December 30, 2014, accessed June 10, 2019.

http://fz.zgfjlsw.org.cn/contents/11021/34690.html.

the teaching of Chinese, replace foreigners with Chinese in management positions and most importantly, appointed a Chinese president. However, it would not guarantee Chen the position of president if he awaited the decision from his Western masters. Similar like his Chinese fellows, Chen strategically utilized the nationalist sentiment and gather students to initiate an anti-cultural aggression strike. He first created chaos within the campus, through which he attempted to gain more support from the larger mass so that he would be able to take advantage of the louder voices. Chen's ultimate goal was to attract Jiang Jieshi's military to get involved in the issue, hoping that they would occupy the college. It is possible that Jiang did not expect to violently take over Western schools as the report says. Or it also could be the Nanking Incident of 1927 which happened at the same time overshadowed minor student protest like such. In any case, this plot of forcefully over-taking the university was another vivid example on exhibiting how the subjugated Chinese educator merged his master plan into the nationalist movement to reach his purpose of taking control over the Western institute.

In contrast to public resistance to their masters, some subalterns resorted to milder approaches. For example, when some anti-foreign thugs broke into Ding Nguong Lung's[163] house and threatened his life, he decided to flee to countryside and hide with his families. He was said to be a marked man, a marked target to anti-Christian mobsters; and also a marked leader of the future Chinese church, if ever he survived the turbulent days in China.[164] Same goal to authority, some chose to revolt, others preferred to be patient and submissive. The school authorities were nevertheless unable to protect him since they were also in a difficult situation which was far more complicated than merely registration. As Ralph Eugene Diffendorfer, an American clergyman visited Foochow in 1927 wrote in his report to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he agreed that mission schools should register but missionaries in China needed to ensure that "the right of private education was maintained, religious liberty was guaranteed, academic freedom was not denied and the government was actually the representative of the people."[165]

[163] Ding Nguong Lung was a teacher in Fukien Christian College and a pastor in the Christian community in Fujian province.

[164] Ralph Eugene Diffendorfer, *The Situation in China* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1927), 8-9.

[165] Ibid., 8-9.

The registration of Christian universities had put their theological schools in an embarrassing situation since they were not lawfully recognized by the Chinese governments. Chinese teachers in the theological seminary of Yenching University hence requested President John Leighton Stuart[166] several times to make theological department an independent school and to move it out of Yenching campus. One letter Zhao Zichen wrote to Stuart said,

"All Chinese staff in the theological department support [the idea of] separating the seminary from university, I believed their opinions should be seriously considered (…) In regard of our work at university and the seminary, if possible, the seminary should move to Qing Wang garden. We need a graceful environment, some sort of half monastic-like life and a kind of religion which is innovative, open but not unenlightened. I do not wish to see all religious activities disappear from university because religions cannot be divorced from life, but I truly wish to see the establishment of a holy religious center where people will be able to communicate with God (…) For the sake of the seminary, I am eager to see teachers and students become neighbors: students have their own dormitory, even simpler than house in university; teaching staff have their own living room, even though it is not as elegant and artistic yet still comfortable. When pastors and religious workers stop to do research or relax, the theological seminary should become their home. It should be a theological school and a research center; both a teaching school and a religious lab. Meanwhile, it is also a conference center where Retreat and all kinds of different meetings can be held."[167]

The intention of the Chinese theological professors was obvious, that is to dissociate the theological school from the main body of the Yenching University so that the Chinese staff would be able to take full control over the theological education. In "Memorandum Regarding the School of Religion", Zhao Zichen explained the necessity of the separating the theological seminary: 1.Yenching should take the initiative of separating the theological seminary otherwise it would only seem to be yielding to government pressure when separation becomes unavoidable. 2. It was difficult for teaching staff to organize fellowship activities when teachers and students are scattered over the campus. 3. Being restricted in limited area, theological school could only contribute to academic research and teachings but not to missionary activities in the larger society.[168] Since Chinese personnel did not have actual authority to make any decisions for schools, the subalterns in this case concealed their attempt

[166] Known as Situ Leideng (司徒雷登, 1876-1962), he was the first president of Yenching University and also the US ambassador in China from 1946-1949.

[167] Xu Yihua 徐以骅, *Jiaohui daxue yu shenxue jiaoyu* 教会大学与神学教育 [Christian universities and theological education] (Fujian: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), 115.

[168] Ibid., 113-114.

to seize power over the theological school by rationalizing the need of setting up a separated school. On one hand, they displayed their loyalty to their masters by stressing their desire to adopt changes for the sake of conducting better evangelic work. On the other hand, they also sought to lift their positions and to obtain the privilege of owning their independent religious center which was far away from the influence of their Western rulers. Once the theological seminary was physically detached from the main body of the University, it could also facilitate the possibility of an independent administration. In 1930, the school board, (which was assumed to have the majority of the Chinese members since Yenching gained official recognition in 1929) [169] attempted to exercise their power and passed the resolution on relocating the theological seminary.[170] President Stuart seemed to support the idea but the board of trustees in America vetoed the decision and therefore the master plan of the subalterns slowly faded away from the agenda.

7.2 Adjustment after Registration

In order to survive in the waves of anti-Christian movements, Christian institutions had made several changes to adapt to new challenges in China. In terms of religious teachings, Yenching University was the first to replace religious ceremonies and compulsory religious courses with Christian Fellowships. In 1926, Soochow University also made religion studies optional and by 1929, most Western higher educational institutions had already made similar adjustment. Meanwhile, the proportion of Chinese studies had also been steadily increased. Students in Yenching University must accomplish 12 credits in Chinese literature and 4 in Chinese culture out of total 60 credits. Budgets for Chinese studies in Ginling College had doubled by the end of 1925. Courses for Chinese studies in Christian universities had almost reached the same level as government universities by 1926. By the 1930s, it had become a fashionable trend to study ancient Chinese culture. Therefore, many research institutes on Chinese studies were set up among Christian universities.[171] With regard to school management, in 1926, all foreign administrative staff in Ginling College resigned and thus

[169] Qu Shipei 曲士培 and Li Qiong 李瓊, "A Brief Introduction to Yenching University: Distribution of Its Historical Data and Characteristics of Its Operation (Abstract)," in *Essays on Historical Archives of Christian higher Education in China*, ed. Peter Tze-ming Ng (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1995), 24.

[170] Xu, *Jiaohui daxue yu shenxue jiaoyu*, 117.

[171] Liu and Liu., *Kangri zhanzheng shiqi*, 25-30.

positions were left to Chinese teachers.[172] By the end of 1920s, 21 out of 34 members of the school board in Yenching University were Chinese.[173] All these measures for enhancing Chineseness in Western universities were supposed to demonstrate that Chinese have finally won back their educational rights. However, overseas board of trustees still remained the top decision-making bodies since they were the major income sources for most Christian schools. For instance, the American Foundation overtook 65% of school expenditure for Ginling College while the Chinese Board of Directors was responsible for only 35%.[174] Similarly, the fiscal report of Yenching University of year 1929-1930 showed that subsidies received from Board of Trustees in America and other foreign organizations exceeded 70% of the total income.[175] Consequently, the struggling life of the subalterns thus had not come to an end yet.

7.2.1 The Father of Lingnan University - Zhong Ronguang

Zhong Rongguang,[176] who had always been the director of the Chinese department in Lingnan University,[177] was finally elected its first Chinese president in 1927. Although he was the president, Zhong's power was significantly limited by James M. Henry, who was a provost then school counselor of Lingnan University. In his early years teaching in Lingnan, Zhong already realized that self-sufficient finance means independent sovereignty.

"Education in China has not yet well-developed, that is why [we] still need to rely on missionaries and their financial help. [Nevertheless,] if everything is dependent on them, not only we should feel ashamed of not taking

[172] Jiang Baolin 蒋宝麟, "20 shiji 20 niandai jinling daxue de li'an yu gaizu" 20 世纪 20 年代金陵大学的立案与改组, [Registration and reorganization of Jinling University during 1920s], *Jindaishi yanjiu 近代史研究* 4 (2016) : 4.

[173] Cao Jinxiang, 曹金祥 and Feng Chunying 冯春英, "Zhongguohua, shisuhua yu shijiehua: Si'tu Leideng de daxue jiaoyuguan" 中国化、世俗化与世界化: 司徒雷登的大学教育观 [Sinicization, Secularization and Cosmopolitanization: Leighton Stuart's University Education Thoughts], *Daxue jiaoyu kexue* 大学教育科学 1 (2018): 100.

[174] "*Jinling daxue sihliaoji*" 金陵大学史料集 [Collection of Jinling University history], (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1989), 237.

[175] *"Sili Yanjing daxue yilan: minguo shijiu nian zhi ershi niandu"* 私立燕京大学一览: 民国十九年至二十年度 [Overview of Yanjing University: 1930-1931], (Beiping: Yenching University, 1931), 334.

[176] Zhong Rongguang (Chung Wing Kwong, 钟荣光, 1886-1942) achieved juren (举人) degree (provincial level of the imperial examination), he became an active revolutionist and a member of the Revive China Society (xingzhonghui, 兴中会) which was founded by Sun Yat-sen. Zhong became the first Chinese president of Lingnan University.

[177] Lingnan University was a non-denominational private university which was founded under the support of the American Presbyterian Mission in Canton in 1888. Lingnan Foundation (former known as Trustees of Lingnan University) was the main sponsor of the university.

our own responsibility but also [we should know that] this will not be a long-term policy [and we should] seize any opportunities and move forward, so that in the future [we will be ready to] take [our schools] back for self-support. Such work can be divided into three stages: First, Chinese should participate in administrative affairs (…) so that they become aware of the importance of education; second, Chinese should take partial responsibility for education expenditures; third, [we] should manage to be self-dependent and make sovereignty ourselves."[178]

As early as in 1908, Zhong already intended to dispense with financial aid from Western trustees by going on fund-raising tours around the world. With Zhong's endeavor in raising money from overseas Chinese, faculties in Lingnan expanded from liberal arts, science to business, engineering and agriculture. Zhong's attitude on school affairs was basically like "I am the president, I should be in charge".[179] However, many times he also admitted that he was only the rubber-stamp president and did not enjoy much power.[180] On the matter of promoting agriculture, Trustees of Lingnan University in New York showed little interest in such a faculty hence Zhong managed to maintain agricultural study only with funds that he himself raised and aid provided by the Guangdong Government. Even though school board agreed to enlarge the agricultural faculty, school counselor Henry refused to allocate any budgets as he insisted that Lingnan lacked expenditures. Zhong also tried to invite several foreign deans to private conversations, hoping that they would support his plans yet all his efforts proved to be in vain.[181] It was said that Zhong also intended to get rid of economic control by Westerners as he proposed to establish more Lingnan branches (primary and middle schools) in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Macao, Vietnam, Singapore and other countries, hoping that the financial surplus from branch campuses could cover the expenditures of Lingnan University. Zhong Rongguang was one of the few Chinese presidents who worked extremely hard to make Lingnan a self-sufficient university. For the year 1927-1928, Board of Directors (US$190,000)

[178] CPPCC Guangzhou Committee 中国人民政治协商会议广州市委员会, "Meiguoren chuangban lingnan xuetang de mudi 美国人创办岭南学堂的目的" [The intention of Americans to establish Lingnan Academy], accessed June 10, 2019, http://www.gzzxws.gov.cn/gzws/cg/cgfl/cgxp_whjy/200808/t20080826_4344.htm.

[179] CPPCC Guangzhou Committee 中国人民政治协商会议广州市委员会, "Youguan Zhong Ronguang xiaozhang de jidian huiyi 有关钟荣光校长的几点回忆" [My reminiscences about President Zhong Ronguang], accessed June 10, 2019, http://www.gzzxws.gov.cn/gzws/gzws/ml/34/200809/t20080918_9306_1.htm.

[180] CPPCC Guangzhou Committee 中国人民政治协商会议广州市委员会, "Zhong Rongguang zai Lingda de diandi 钟荣光在岭大的点滴" [My memories of Zhong Rongguang in Lingnan University], accessed June 10, 2019, http://www.gzzxws.gov.cn/gzws/cg/cgfl/cgxp_whjy/200808/t20080826_4437.htm.

[181] CPPCC Guangzhou Committee, "Zhong Rongguang zai Lingda".

already generated larger budgets than the American Foundation (US $130,000).[182] The annual report of the year 1936-1937 showed that the Guangdong government already provided more funds than the Lingnan Foundation.[183] Zhong's dedication and hard work to a certain extent had made Lingnan less dependent on Western financial support, yet all his efforts in constructing a self-supporting Lingnan empire reflected the truth of the reality: the newly deployed Chinese administration in Christian educational enterprises was denied authority. On a dinner party in around 1935, Zhong implicitly expressed his discontent.

"It is of course before we were in a difficult situation since we did not have enough money to support our own education. Now that we have money yet we are still hindered by certain people. This is really hilarious!"[184]

Zhong's endeavors in making Lingnan University independent from quasi-colonial control did not please his Western masters. In 1929, he was position was once taken over by the vice-president Li Yinglin, who was believed to be a pro-American Chinese educator.[185] In 1938, Zhong finally broke with the Trustees of Lingnan University and resigned from his position.[186]

7.2.2 Social Activist Liu Zhan'en

Compared to Zhong Rongguang, the president of University of Shanghai, Liu Zhan'en seemed to have more control over the university since the previous principal Francis Johnstone White[187] was a supporter of Sinification of Christianity.[188] By 1936, Liu already

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[182] Charles Hodge Corbett, *Lingnan University: a short history based primarily on the records of the University's American Trustees* (New York: Trustees of Lingnan University, 1963), 116.

[183] Zhong Rongguang 钟荣光, *Sili Lingnan daxue ershiwu niandu xiaowu baogao: minguo nianwu nian qiyue zhi nianliu nian liuyue* 私立岭南大学二十五年度校务报告: 民国廿五年七月至廿六年六月 [Lingnan University 1936 report: July, 1936 – June, 1937] (Guangzhou: Lingnan University, 1937), 1.

[184] CPPCC Guangzhou Committee, "Zhong Rongguang zai Lingda".

[185] CPPCC Guangzhou Committee, "Youguan Zhong Rongguang".

[186] CPPCC Guangzhou Committee 中国人民政治协商会议广州市委员会, "Lingnan hua cangsang 岭南话沧桑" [Vicissitude of Lingnan University], accessed June 15, 2019, http://www.gzzxws.gov.cn/gzws/gzws/ml/52/200809/t20080916_7950_2.htm.

[187] Francis Johnstone White knowns as Wei Fulan (魏馥兰, 1870-1959), he was the co-founder of Shanghai Baptist College and President of University of Shanghai from 1911-1926.

[188] Shanghai ligong daxue dang'an'guan 上海理工大学档案馆 [Archives of University of Shanghai for Science and Technology], *Banxue zhi dao: Shanghai ligong daxue liren lingdao fangwen shilu* 办学之道: 上海理工大学历任领导访问实录 [Ways to run a school: interview records of previous leaders in University of Shanghai] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2011), 161.

assigned Chinese educators as heads of most departments, only English, sociology, music and other religious courses were still hosted by missionaries.[189] Liu nevertheless did not degrade the value of Western missionaries' contribution.

"Since [our] university has been improved with the increase [numbers] of high quality Chinese teachers, many people doubt whether we still need missionary teachers. We reiterate that Christian school like us, always reserve positions for missionary teachers, though sometimes their work need to be adjusted (…) missionary teachers have made valuable contribution to the maintenance and development of this university. In fact, after being removed from heavy administrative work, they can be more efficient in doing religious and educational work that they are enthusiastic with."[190]

It is evident that Liu intended to consolidate his administrative power by replacing Western teachers with Chinese teachers. Besides that, he justified the purpose of lessening Western teachers' management burdens by claiming to facilitate their focus on educational work. These seemly considerate changes that Liu made obviously largely empowered the Chinese president and other Chinese staff members.

Amidst the miseries of the Great Depression, Western missionaries slowly disengaged from evangelistic work in China. Similarly to Lingnan University, University of Shanghai also faced financial problems. At this critical moment, reinforcing their agency became a matter of survival for the Chinese subordinates.

"Recently, many American Christians have changed their attitude toward oversea missionary work. They believed that America is in a critical condition where self-help is not even enough, let alone helping others (…) Donations from Christian churches hereafter will be more difficult. We missionary schools should seek for financial independence so as to save ourselves."[191]

In the same way as other Chinese principals, Liu also collected donations and welcomed subsidies from the Chinese government. A government grant which approved by the board of directors in 1935 alerted the Southern Baptist Convention.

"We do not agree on any policies that Christian organizations should receive government subsidies. We are glad to maintain a friendly relationship between all government bodies and missionary institutions. However, we are afraid that it is not a wise move for missionary schools to accept government aids."[192]

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[189] Wu, *Jidujiao daxue huaren*, 36-37.

[190] Ibid., 37.

[191] Zhang, *Liu Zhan'en wenji*, 150.

[192] Wu, *Jidujiao daxue huaren*, 39-40.

The concern of the missionaries was not without reasons because ever since Christian schools were registered with the Chinese government, the Chinese started to exerted more influence within parochial schools. Additionally, Sinification of Christianity also speeded up the secularizing processes at the Christian educational institutions and therefore impaired imperialist power's religious influence. Liu Zhan'en, as a Chinese Christian leader, well balanced his role as a patriot as well as a Christian disciple. From time to time, he kept reminding his Western sponsors that University of Shanghai must accommodate the situation in China and therefore they should let Chinese Christians make their own policies.[193] On the other hand, Liu also tried to appease his Western masters with certain concessions. For example, he advocated a family-like Christian environment in campus. Teachers were encouraged to influence students with their Christian personalities. Permanent teachers of University of Shanghai must be Christians and other teachers should also identify themselves with the Christian spirit.[194] Liu's tactics for ensuring his leading position in the Western educational empire includes both minor resistance (emphasize the importance of indigenization of Christianity) and compromise (his several measures on maintaining Christianity in campus). Though Liu Zhan'en's authority was still restrained by board of trustees due to financial constraint, his influence in University of Shanghai, the Christian circle and the Chinese society should not lightly be neglected.

8. Conclusion

Subaltern Studies has achieved great success in the study of histories of colonial countries among Southeast Asia, Latin America and Africa, yet SS theory and methodology still attracted less attention in the field of East Asian history studies. By exploring the subordinate-dominant relationship between Chinese subalterns and Western missionaries in the context of semi-colonial China, this thesis intends to demonstrate the possibility of SS approach to reconstruct people's history from semi-colony like China, and the varied strategies that subalterns deployed to negotiate power and influence with their Western masters.

The power asymmetry resting on the complicated relationship between the Chinese subalterns and Western missionaries surrounding the quasi-colonial educational institutions from late Qing to Republican China was clearly noticeable as China's economy and education

[193] Ibid., 40.

[194] Ibid., 48-49.

were mostly reliant on Western imperial powers. Nonetheless, Chinese people's experience of subordination and their practices of pro-active with their Western masters have still been largely neglected.[195] Unlike India (Ranajit Guha, 1983; Sumit Sarkar, 1985; Partha Chatterjee, 1988 etc.), Zimbabwe (Terence Ranger, 1967), Mozambique (Allen F. Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, 1976), Mexico and Peru (Florencia Mallon, 1995) where resistance and uprising were prime techniques that subalterns used to contend with colonists, Chinese subalterns living in a semi-colony were in stronger positions and therefore their tactics bear certain special traits. With careful examination of historical texts, the analyses above evidently show that subalterns (Chinese students, educators, Christian leaders and other Chinese staff) in the missionary educational enterprises utilized their particular techniques to negotiate power and influence in order to establish their agency vis-à-vis their Western masters. These strategies include - but are limited to - open confrontation (student strikes, petition, and withdrawal from school); manipulating the dynamics of the contemporary mass movements to pressure school leaders; working through the missionary education system, getting a higher position in order to secure certain degree of authority and decision-making power to themselves and their Chinese colleagues.

Strategies that the Chinese subalterns used to negotiate power with their masters varied, depending on different historical stages and circumstances. When missionaries started to provide free education to attract lower class Chinese pupils as well as to train missionary assistants during mid-19th century, Chinese parents already saw the advantages of sending their children to study in mission schools since they could not afford the cost for the imperial examination. As cultural, economic and political confrontations increased between China and Western countries, the Qing government, having been repeatedly defeated by Western imperialists had prompted several reform movements (the Self-Strengthening Movement, the Hundred Days Reform and the New Policies). Through these movements, the Qing officials attempted to regain their power and influence that had lost to its Western counterparts. Meanwhile, Western imperialists continued to exert influence and maximize their benefits in China. By the end of 19th century, Chinese maritime customs, shipping, railway, postal service and other industrial and commercial business were largely dominated by foreigners.[196] Western education hence became increasing popular among all Chinese since it was the

[195] O'Hanlon, "Recovering the Subject", 195.

[196] Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 431-436.

gateway to wealth, power and success. Mission school students during this time mostly endured their unavoidable obligations of studying Christianity and attending religious ceremonies as they purposefully used Christian schools to improve their English skills or considered it as a springboard to further their education in Western countries. Chinese graduates and Chinese Christians likewise acted as individuals, either cooperated with the Qing government like Rong Hong, or with the colonialists like Ma Xiangbo to maximize their benefits and reach their personal goals.

Until early 20th century, China had gone through waves of political turmoil which slowly brewed to the massive explosion of social movements that aroused nation-wide anti-tradition, anti-Christian, anti-imperialist and nationalist sentiments. Instead of trying to mitigate the anti-foreign sentiments in China, all investigations, publications and conferences that mission boards initiated to help Christian schools in China become "more efficient, more Christian and more Chinese"[197] had added fuel to fire of the rising Chinese nationalism which resulted in large-scale Anti-Christian Movement. Chinese Christian leaders during this period actively steered the dynamics of anti-imperialist movements and provocatively advised their Western masters that it was high time to transfer leadership to Chinese Christians. Mission school students also realized that the tactics like petitions, strikes, demonstrations and withdrawals would bring pressure to school authorities hence they constantly used these techniques to voice their dissatisfaction on school affairs and to negotiate their rights with school authorities. After the May Thirtieth Movement, student protests in Christian schools merged to the larger anti-imperialist movement and therefore students' long-drawn resentment toward Western rulers broke out as Restore Educational Rights Movement which the subalterns publicly defied their masters and strenuously pleaded for support from the mass.

When it became inevitable for Christian schools to register with Chinese governments, Chinese educators and Christian converts also deployed various stratagems (open conflict, submission and cooperation as in the case of Fukien Christian College; petition, persuasion and cooperation as at Yenching University) as they intended to utilize this opportunity to wield power. After the registration of Christian schools, the nominal Chinese principals also work through the quasi-colonial system (tried to be self-supporting, changed leadership to Chinese staff, received financial subsidies from Chinese governments etc.) so as to strengthen

[197] Chinese Educational Commission, Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, *Christian Education in China: a study made by an educational commission representing the mission boards and societies conducting work in China* (New York: Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1922), 15.

their decision-making power within the Western educational enterprises. Beginning from 1930s, Western missionaries slowly lost their enthusiasm for overseas evangelistic work as global economy was greatly affected by the Great Depression and the Second World War. Chinese Christian disciples thus continued to bolster their agency, actively mobilized domestic and international resources and strived for the survival of their dominated influence as the Western colonial enterprises that they were affiliated with, were decaying.

All strategies that the Chinese subalterns used to maximize their benefits and secure their authority were based on the fact that the ultimate financial power rested with the overseas sponsors of the Chinese missionary education sector; as well as the fact that China's economic, political and socio-cultural realms were dominated by imperialist forces during late Qing to Republican Era. Compared to subalterns in full-fledged colony like India, or even the neighboring country, Korea, Chinese subalterns were in stronger positions and thus their expected rewards from working through existing institutions were much higher. This is especially clear when local governments demanded that foreign educational institutes register with them and when the Nanjing government, albeit in a very slow pace, tried to expand its authority vis-à-vis foreign forces. A new appraisal of postcolonial life through the lens of the Chinese students, educators and Chinese Christians surrounding the subject matter of Western education in China demonstrated to us that Chinese subalterns were active participants in the making of their own history. The Chinese subalterns' agency in negotiating power and influence vis-à-vis their masters was one of the consequential factors that contributed to the waxing and waning of the colonialist educational entity in China over a century of time. This paper provides one of the many possibilities to re-evaluate and account for the "particular forms of subjectivity, experience and agency"[198] which was silenced by mainstream historiographies. Other subaltern groups such as Chinese female students, students in medicine schools and students of special day schools are alternatives that scholars can consider as to study postcolonial life in the Chinese context.

[198] O'Hanlon, "Recovering the Subject", 190.

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