

Ruth Hayhoe and Yongling Lu, "Christianity and Cultural Transmission," in R.G. Tiedemann (ed.) *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Volume Two: 1800-present (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 681-691.

In China's transition from Empire to republic, higher education played a crucially important role. The establishment of modern universities represented a fundamental break with both the institutional patterns and the content and organization of scholarly knowledge that characterized classical institutions. Christian missionaries played an important role in this process, first in the development of a new vocabulary for modern knowledge, and secondly in the establishment of new institutions. The late 19th century had seen a number of missionaries who moved from direct Christian evangelisation to extensive work in the translation of a wide range of Western literature into Chinese, in some cases consciously following in the footsteps of earlier Jesuit work in this area. The best known such figures are Timothy Richards, with the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge, John Fryer, with the Shanghai Polytechnic Reading Room (*Gezhi shuyuan*), and W. A. P. Martin, who taught at the Tongwenguan for many years. (Covell, 1978)

Their pioneering work in adapting classical terminology to modern use was later taken up by scholars such as Yan Fu and Ma Xiangbo, who attempted to build a modern Chinese vocabulary on the basis of classical terminology in the face of a rising tide of neologisms from Japan introduced by the large number of students and scholars who studied in Japan between 1900 and 1911. We have argued elsewhere that the alienation of modern academic terminology from its classical scholarly roots has made the modern Chinese higher education system peculiarly vulnerable to political manipulation from above, (Lu and Hayhoe, 2004) something particularly noticeable in the 1950s, when Soviet introduced texts and terminology fitted neatly into the academic frameworks supplied by an earlier era and consolidated a narrow set of modern subject specialisations. If anything, the early translation work of Christian missionaries, and of Christian scholars such as Ma Xiangbo, kept alive some linguistic connections to classical terminology and so could be seen as providing a foundation of cultural authenticity for the modern academic project.

If we move from the development of modern academic terminology to that of modern universities, Christian influence was an important, though probably not a defining factor. One of the least known, yet perhaps most influential early models was Shanxi University, founded by Timothy Richards in 1901, with the use of British Boxer Indemnity funding. In 1910, Richards resigned his chancellorship of the university, and gave over all control to provincial authorities, (Richards, 1916, pp.299-310). The institution became part of the emerging national system of higher education after the revolution of 1911. The influence of this model on the higher educational legislation of 1902 and 1903 has yet to be researched. It is really the only significant British model in modern Chinese higher education, with exception of the University of Hong Kong, which had minimal influence on higher education development in the Mainland.

The two most important Christian missionary influences in terms of the institutional development of higher education were American and French. A great deal of research has been done on the 16 Protestant missionary colleges, most of which exemplified an American liberal arts college model, though there were also significant Canadian and British contributions through collaboration among the various mission societies. By contrast the French influence was mainly through Jesuit activity in higher education, and L'Université Aurore in Shanghai and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Industrielles et Commerciales in Tianjin exemplified the excellence of professional education in areas such as law and medicine in Shanghai, and something of the spirit of the Grande Ecole in Tianjin. The only other Catholic institution, Furen, was run initially by American Benedictines, later by members of the German Society of the Divine Word, and was closer to American than European patterns in its curriculum and ethos. (Hayhoe, 1988)

Christian higher education played an important role in modern higher education development in China, but it was clearly subservient to that of the public institutions established by Chinese intellectuals and political figures. It is fascinating to note the difference in the models chosen from the Chinese side, and those promoted by the missionaries. Protestant missionaries favoured the model of the liberal arts college and put a strong emphasis on moral as well as intellectual formation. One of the striking expressions of the importance they placed on indigenization can be seen in the

architecture of many of the Christian colleges - Jinling in Nanjing, Yanjing in Beijing, St. Johns in Shanghai - which remains to this day some of the best exemplars of traditional Chinese style in university buildings. (Fenn, 1976, pp.163-4) By contrast, Chinese intellectuals and political leaders, with the help of Boxer Indemnity funding, developed Qinghua University on the model of the American university rather than the college, with a strong graduate school, and considerable emphasis on research as well as teaching. French Jesuits developed a model that would protect their students from the secular and socialist currents of French society at the time, while such Chinese intellectuals as Li Shizeng and Cai Yuanpei attempted to emulate these very currents in the creation of the University Franco-Chinoise in the 1920s. (Hayhoe, 1987)

The Christian colleges exemplified distinctive Western institutional models within the modernizing Chinese higher education system, yet they also adapted gradually to the system, and to their differing geographical contexts. The nationalization movement of the mid to late twenties led to most of them coming under the control of governing boards dominated by Chinese members, and accepting the rule that there should be no direct proselytization in their formal teaching programs. In terms of geographical differences, their very character as liberal arts colleges, concerned with moral as well as intellectual formation and linked to local development concerns, ensured strong local connections. This was particularly the case for the Protestant colleges, less so for the Catholic institutions.

We can thus see interesting differences in the kind of cultural ethos developed by St. Johns University, in Shanghai, Yanjing University in Beijing and West China Union University in Chengdu. The Shanghai context supported a kind of socialisation into the commercially dominated bourgeois culture of the city at the time (Yeh, 1990, pp.49-88) and fitted well with the kinds of class associations of American episcopalianism at the time. By contrast, Yanjing University in Beijing may have represented a tougher academic climate, and probably had the strongest reputation for scholarship of all the colleges. (West,1976) West China Union University, for its part, had a kind of pioneering spirit, reflecting the outlook of the American and Canadian methodist and presbyterian missionaries who had consciously chosen the challenge of the hinterland.(Minden, 1994) The Christian institutions thus took on the character of their location, and in some of their

features may have been closer to other local institutions, than to their peer institutions in other parts of the country. Almost all remained in their original locations during the Sino-Japanese war, however, a point that differentiated them from most other public and private universities.

The Christian institutions were not to survive the reorganization of colleges and departments that took place in 1952, under the influence of Soviet advisors to the new Chinese government. However, the contribution of Chinese Christians and Christian missionaries to the formation of a modern Chinese intellectual discourse, and to modern higher education institution building, persists to the present time. It can be seen in the contribution of individuals who graduated from and/or taught in the Christian institutions, including figures such as Tao Xingzhi, Lin Yutang, Wu Yifang and many others who played an important role both before and after 1949. It can also be seen in the way in which former Christian institutions were integrated within the Communist higher education system after 1952, with many of their campuses being used by prominent national or provincial institutions, and most of their faculty continuing to teach within the new system.

It is particularly fascinating to note how many become the basis for new normal universities, responsible for a highly sensitive task within the People's republic - the training of teachers at all levels. Nanjing Normal University is located on the beautiful campus of the former Ginling Women's college, Central China Normal University on the former Huazhong University, Zhejiang Normal University (now once again called Hangzhou University) on the former campus of Hangzhou University, and Beijing Normal University on the former campus of Furen University. Beijing University, still the premier academic institution of the country, moved to the Yanjing campus in 1952, and the East China Institute of Political Science and Law took over the St. John's University campus in 1952.

The system was drastically changed, to follow a Soviet model with a relatively small number of comprehensive and normal universities, with broad curricula, and a majority of highly specialised universities in engineering, and other professional areas. What is interesting to note is the substantive contribution of the Christian institutions to the mainstream of the new system. While rigorous specialisation, and a series of thought

reform campaigns, limited the influence they could have at the time, they were woven into the new tapestry and form an integral part of the heritage of diversity that has been revived and drawn upon by Chinese intellectuals in the reform period since the early eighties.

There is a rich literature on Christian higher education, which has gone through several phases. On the Western side, there are original accounts by figures such as Timothy Richards, W.A.P. Martin, F. Potts, Leighton Stuart etc. Then there are the formal histories of the Protestant colleges written largely by missionaries associated with the Protestant colleges and published by the United Board for Christian Higher Education in the 1950s. Finally, there is a rich critical literature developed by Sinologists since the sixties and seventies, including Lutz (1971), West (1976), Minden (1994), Yeh (1990) etc.

On the Chinese side, it was almost mandatory to condemn all aspects of the Christian higher education contribution as the cultural arm of imperialist aggression up until the early eighties. However, with the more reflective and diverse historical research that has emerged since 1978, a much more contoured and discriminating picture has been drawn, in writing by scholars such as Shi Jinghuan (1991), Zhang Kaiyuan (1991) and Zhu Weizheng (1994). The latter two volumes were based on conferences, jointly organized by Chinese and Western scholars, which focused on Christianity and Chinese culture. A particularly valuable resource for understanding changing Chinese views of Christianity and cultural development is the extensive bibliography recently compiled, which lists all major publications in Chinese on the subject since 1949. (Zhu, 1994, pp. 429-489)

As Chinese scholars have had the opportunity to reflect critically on their experience of the Soviet model of higher education, whose contours continue to shape the present system, they have come to realise that this too was a kind of experience of cultural imperialism, an encounter in which there was remarkable coordination among the forces of educational, cultural and political conformity to Soviet patterns. In the first backlash against the Soviet model, during the expansion and localisation that came in the wake of the Great Leap Forward in 1958, numerous new local institutions were established and there was considerable support for broader and more locally relevant

curricula than the narrow and highly specialist teaching plans. While these new institutions were born in times very different from those of the earlier Christian colleges, it is fascinating to note that the kinds of expertise and spirit of service built up under Christian auspices still had their outlets at this time. An example is the establishment of the Qinghai Medical College, the first such institution in the remote and poor province of Qinghai, by twenty teachers from Sichuan Medical College in Chengdu. This college was located on the campus of the Christian West China Union University, and its core faculty had been graduates of the university's medical faculty, which had been largely established and run by Canadian missionaries.

Although only one thread, Christianity clearly became interwoven into the texture of China's modern intellectual culture, and still continues to exert some influence, through historical and philosophical research, and through newly emerging relations of collaboration with Christian institutions elsewhere.

### **Bibliography:**

Anderson, Mary Raleigh, *Protestant Mission Schools for Girls in South Chin* (Mobile, Ala., Heiter-Sterke Printing Co., 1943)

Bennett, Adrian Arthur, *Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and His magazines, 1860-1883* (Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 1983).

Chiang, Yung-chen, *Social Engineering and the Social Sciences in China, 1898-1949* (Yenching, Nankai), Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1986.

Coe, John L., *Huachung University* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1962).

Corbett, Charles Hodge, *Shantung Christian University* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1955).

Edwards, Dwight W., *Yenching University* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1959)

Fenn, William Purviance, *Christian Higher Education in Changing China 1880-1950* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976)

Graham, Gael, *Gender, Culture, and Christianity: American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880-1930* (New York: P. Lang, 1995)

Gu, Changsheng, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai zhongguo* (Missionaries and the Modern China), (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1981).

Hayhoe, Ruth and Lu Yongling (eds.), *Ma Xiangbo and the Mind of Modern China* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996)

R. Hayhoe, "Catholics and Socialists: The Paradox of French Educational Interaction with China," in R. Hayhoe and M. Bastid (eds.), *China's Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer* (Toronto: OISE Press, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1987, pp. 97-119.

Hayhoe, Ruth, "A Chinese Catholic Philosophy of Higher Education," in *Tripod*, No. 48, 1988, pp. 49-60.

Hunter, Jane, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1984)

La Fargue, Thomas E., *China's First Hundred: Educational Mission Students in the United States, 1872-1881* (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1987)

Lamberton, Mary, *St. John's University* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1955)

Li, Chucai, *Diguo zhuyi qinhua jiaoyushi ziliao-Jiaohui jiaoyu* (A compilation of historical materials on the imperialist invasion of Chinese education--missionary education) (Beijing: Jiao yu kexue chubanshe, 1987).

Li, Younin and Zhang, Yufa, ed., *Zhongguo funüshi lunwenji* (A collection of papers on the history of women in China) (Taipei: the Commercial Publishing Co., 1981)

Li, Younin and Zhang, Yufa, *Jindai zhongguo nüquan yundong shiliao* (Historical materials on the feminist movement in modern China) (Taipei: Zhuanji chubanshe, 1975)

Liu, Kwang-Ching, ed., *American Missionaries in China: Papers from Harvard Seminars* (Cambridge, Mass.: published by East Asian Research Centre, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1966).

Lu, Yanzen, *Zhongguo jindai nüzi jiao yu shi* (The history of education for woman in modern China), (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1989)

Y. Lu, and R. Hayhoe, "Chinese Higher Learning: The Transition Process from Classical Knowledge Patterns to Modern Disciplines 1860-1910," in Christophe Charle, Juergen Schriewer, Peter Wagner (eds), *Transnational Intellectual networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag, 2004), pp. 269-306

Lutz, Jessie Gregory, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971)

Martin, W.A.P. *A Cycle of Cathay* (New York: F.H. Revell Co., 1900)

---*The Chinese: Their Education, Philosophy and letters* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1881).



---*The Awakening of China* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1907)

Minden, Karen, *Bamboo Stone: The Evolution of a Chinese Medical Elite* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

Nance, W.B., Soochow University (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1965)

Potts, F.L., Hawks, *A Short history of Shanghai, Being an Account of the Growth and Development of the International Settlement* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1928).

Richard, Timothy, *Forty-Five Years in China* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company Publishers, 1916).

Scott, Roderick, *Fukien Christian University: A Historical Sketch* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1954)

Shi, Jinghuan, *Di Kaowen he Situ Leideng zaihua de jiaoyu huodong* (The education activities of C.W. Mateer and John Leighton Stuart) (Taipei: Wenjing chubanshe, 1991)

Shi, Jinghuan, "Xifang chuanjiaoshi yu zhongguo jindai de jiaoyu gaige" (Western Missionaries and Education Reform in Modern China), in Zhu, Weizheng ed., *Jidujiao yu jindai wenhua* (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1994).

Thurston, Lawrence and Chester, Ruth M., *Ginling College* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1955).

Twenty-five years in Tsinan: Shantung Christian University published by Board of Governors, North American Section, Shantung Christian University, 1945.

Van Putten, J. Dyke, *Christian Higher Education in China: Contributions of the Colleges of Arts and Sciences to Chinese Life* (Chicago, Il.: The University of Chicago Libraries, private edition, 1937).

Wallace, L. Ethel, *Hwa Nan College: The Women's College of South China* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1956).

Walmsley, Lewis C. *West China Union University* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1974).

West, Philip, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976)

Yeh, Wen-hsin, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937* (Cambridge, Mass: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1990)

Zhang, Kaiyuan, & Lin, Wei (Arthur Waldron), eds., *Zhongxi wenhua yu jiaohui daixue* (Christian Universities and Chinese - Western Cultures), (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991).

Zhu, Weizheng, ed., *Jidujiao yu jindai wenhua* (Christianity and Modern Culture), (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1994).