Aggression and Unity: Impacts of the First World War on German Protestant Missions in Hong Kong

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This thesis contributes to a growing pool of historical studies on the global impact of the First World War on populations outside Europe. It examines the discriminatory enemy mission policy towards German missionary societies within the British Empire during and after the War, with a special focus on its interpretation and implementation in the British colony of Hong Kong. During the War itself, growing concerns among British officials about German missionaries and the potential threats they posed to national security gave rise to the idea of removing all German missions from British Empire on a permanent basis. Realising the catastrophic consequence of this policy, Protestant missions and their supporters around the world joined forces to salvage German mission work in British territories. They gave financial aid and sent mission workers to sustain 'orphaned' German mission churches and facilities across the globe. In terms of political action, Christian mission leaders in Britain and North America lobbied their respective governments not to seize and dispose of the assets of German missions in Allied territories as enemy assets. They argued that, for the sake of the well-being of indigenous peoples, German mission assets should be preserved and continued to be used solely for missionary purposes. Their successful lobbying led to the inclusion of Article 438 in the Treaty of Versailles – an international covenant entrusting German mission assets to Allied missionaries as trustees. A review of Article 438 as interpreted and implemented in Hong Kong, however, shows that, without practical guidelines or any monitoring or appeal procedures, the

implementation of any concept such as trusteeship was open to interpretation, and even manipulation, by the Hong Kong government and British missionary agents. The interests of those in the care of the German missions were subordinated to the pursuit of wealth and prosperity.

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgment is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University or any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

Signed _____

Leung Chui Wa

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List of Abbreviations

AMS	Archive and Museum Foundation of the UEM, Wuppertal
BL	The British Library
BMA	Basel Mission Archives
BMTC	Basel Mission Trading Company
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CMSGBI	Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland
CRCHK	Chinese Rhenish Church Hong Kong Synod
CRL	Cadbury Research Library, Birmingham
ELAB	Evangelischen Landeskirchlichen Archiv in Berlin
FMCNA	Foreign Missions Conference of North America
GMT	German Missions Trust
HKGRS	Hong Kong Government Records Service
HKSKH	Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Archives
HML	Hildesheim Mission Library
IMC	International Missionary Council
LMS	London Missionary Society
SOAS	SOAS Archives & Special Collections
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
WCC	World Council of Churches
UFCS	United Free Church of Scotland

Notes

Chinese names and places in this thesis appear in pinyin romanization, except in cases where it has not been possible to determine a Pinyin romanisation from original sources. Some direct quotations also contain names and places in the Hakka romanisation system. For names of streets and places in Hong Kong such as Pokfulam and Saiyingpun, the traditional Cantonese romanisation system is adopted.

The names of the countries or colonies that appear in the thesis are the names used at the time of the First World War, rather than their contemporary names. For instance, Ceylon is today's Sri Lanka, Malaya is Malaysia, and Burma is today's Myanmar.

'German missions' and 'Allied missions' refer to Protestant missionary societies in Germany and the Allied nations. The Basel Missionary Society, though registered in Switzerland, was classified as a German mission by the British government in the First World War because of its dominant German characteristics.

Sections of the thesis have appeared in the following publications:

"Aggressive Nationalism vs Global Mission: German Missionary Societies in Hong Kong during the First World War." In *The First World War as a Turning Point: The Impact of the years 1914 - 1918 on church and Mission (with special focus on the Hermannsburg Mission)* ed. Frieder Ludwig, 181-186. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2020.

"Zhanzheng yu xuanjiao - diyici shijie dazhan yu xianggang de deguochahui" 戰爭與宣教 - 第一次世界大戰與香港的德國差會 [War and Mission - The First World War and German Missions in Hong Kong], *Logos & Pneuma,* 52 (2002) 112-134.

Introduction

On 21 June 1919, the First World War (the War) had been over for more than seven months. Life in Hong Kong, a small British colony in East Asia, had returned to 'normal' in many respects. However, for the four German Protestant missions operating in the colony before the War, their trials and tribulations were just beginning, for on this day, the Hong Kong Legislative Council passed the 'Trading with the Enemy Amendment Ordinance, 1919', reported as follows by a local newspaper:

> Designed to be part of an Empire-wide policy of enemy missionary exclusion, the Bill frees Hongkong from the insidious influences of associations which, under the cloak of religion and while enjoying its hospitality to the utmost, have been used to undermine British interests. Not only does the measure aim at preventing the return of the German missionaries but it vests in the Custodian of Enemy Property the right to sell and dispose of the property, real and personal, of such missions.[1]

The newspaper also suggested that the Ordinance would not affect the charitable work of German missions, mentioning a foundling house, a school for the blind girls and a workshop for blind women. With the help of such bodies as the Church Missionary Society (CMS), it reported, 'the good work is to continue with the elimination of the bad'.

The passing of the 'Trading with the Enemy Amendment Ordinance, 1919' marked the beginning of a decade-long struggle by the four German Protestant missions as they sought to defend their assets and missionary rights in Hong Kong. The battle between German missions and the Hong Kong colonial government in the early twentieth century is the main subject of this thesis. To appreciate this subject fully, one has to be aware of two particular issues. Firstly, that the exclusion of German missions from Hong Kong was not merely a local issue. As the above newspaper article righty pointed out, it was part of an Empire-wide policy to minimise or eliminate entirely the risk German missionaries posed to British national security and British rule around the world. This policy - referred to as 'enemy mission policy' in this thesis - contributed to making the War a truly 'world' war. To understand what happened in Hong Kong, a sound

[1] "Barring the Door", *South China Morning Post* (23 June 1919): 6.

understanding of the globality of this policy is critical. Secondly, one needs to be aware that the enemy mission policy was actually a conflict between politics and religion. In the early 1910s, the British Empire and Protestant evangelisation were both at the zenith of their global power and influence. Britain had a vast empire on which 'the sun never set'. It ruled over 412 million people, or 23 per cent of the world population, and it covered 13.71 million square miles, or a quarter of the world's land area.[2] At the same time, the global Protestant evangelical movement was also at its peak. After decades of evangelical work in schools and on university campuses worldwide, Protestant missions and their supporters gave rise to a new generation of passionate Christians ready to witness their faith. At the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, a global mission 'army' assembled under the passionate slogan, 'Evangelisation of the World in This Generation.'[3] The War itself, and the Empire's hostility towards German missions presented the primary and most severe challenge to this new-found unity among Protestant missions worldwide. A good understanding of the global action taken by Protestant mission leaders in the face of this challenge is therefore also crucial to this study.

Despite its extensive impact and its vital importance to state-mission relationships, the enemy mission policy has yet to be thoroughly studied. It is buried among hundreds of thousands of potential topics relating to the history of the War. The War, ever since its occurrence, has been a treasure trove for historians. Its political perspective, particularly in terms of its origins and causes, remains a century-old research topic.[4] Which nation or individual should bear the burden of guilt for the War? Was the terrible War inevitable, given its imperial, economic and social background? Or was it merely an accident of fate caused by a group of 'sleepwalking' politicians? Military historians focus on the conflicts of the War and their impact, from war strategies, military technology, army

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[2] Niall McCarthy, "The Biggest Empires in Human History", *Statista* (25 May 2020), accessed 17 August 2023, https://www.statista.com/chart/20342/peak-land-area-of-the-largest-empires/.

[3] John Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in This Generation* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1901).

[4] Fritz Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967). Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalker - How Europe Went to War in 1914* (London: Allen Lane, 2012). Richard Hamilton and Holger Herwig (eds.), *The Origins of World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). W. Mulligan, *The Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

organisation and management, war casualties to the details of major battles on land, at sea, and in the air. For economic historians, there is a wide range of exciting topics, including the impact of the War on the economy of the respective nations involved, trade and blockades, mobilisation of labour, the transformation of industry and agriculture, war financing, and post-War reparations. For social historians, the focus is on human beings. They study the wartime experience of different groups, their thoughts and feelings about the War, wartime writing and arts, death and killing, food and hunger, faith and religion, mourning and memorials. Each topic offers a unique angle on the War.

In recent years, the tendency to examine the War from a global and interdisciplinary perspectives has gathered momentum. For example, Ulrike Freitag suggests that historians should 'recast' the War by examining its full geographical repercussions and extending its chronology to look at the impact of its aftermath.[5] Jürgen Kocka also notes that the post-War period and the War's consequence have not received as much attention as its beginning.[6] In many cases, the significant changes triggered by the War, such as the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, imply that research should take a much longer-term view. There is also a suggestion that more interdisciplinary research into the War should take place, as pointed out by Pierre Purseigle and Jenny Macleod.[7] Looking at the War from different historical perspectives would give scholars a more informed view of this total war and its repercussions. The edited book by Stephen Broadberry and Mark Harrison is an excellent example. It systematically compares the economies which were at war from 1914 to 1918.[8] The economic data and statistics clearly illustrate the expensive human and monetary costs of the War, providing robust support to the editors' conclusion: peace is better than war.[9] By studying the British Empire's global system of mass deportation and internment during the War, Stefan Manz and Panayl Panikos give a much broader picture of

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5 Ulrike Freitage, "Beyond Europe: New Perspectives on the Great War", in Helmut Bley and Anorthe Kremers (eds.), *The World During the First World War* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2014), 23-25.

6 Jürgen Kocka, "Comments", in *The World During the First World War*, 353-357.

7 Pierre Purseigle and Jenny MacLeod, "Introduction: Perspectives in First World War Studies", in Jenny MacLeod and Pierre Purseigle (eds.), *Uncovered Fields: Perspectives in First World War Studies* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2004), 1-24.

8 Stephen Broadberry and Mark Harrison (eds.), *The Economics of World War 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

9 Ibid, 2.

the War's impact on German civilians residing in the 'wrong' places.[10] Another example is Xu Guoqi, who relates the long-forgotten story of 140,000 Chinese workers employed by Britain, France, and the U.S. during the War, to fight against Germany.[11] In his most recent book, Xu further expands his research to cover other Asians including Indians, Japanese, Koreans and Vietnamese, arguing that the involvement of Asians majorly changed the significance and implications of the War.[12] The enemy mission policy is a subject which has been neglected in the history of the First World War. This thesis aims to put this policy under the spotlight and contribute to the growing pool of global and interdisciplinary research related to the War in three respects: empire and colonial policy, state-mission relationship, and British Hong Kong history.

Empire and Colonial Policy

A major reason for political historians' limited discussion of British enemy mission policy may be because this so-called 'policy' was never at the centre of policy-making or operational debates during the War. Within the British government, there was no department or individual assigned to be in charge of German mission affairs. The Colonial Office was the primary facilitator for any discussion, but the Foreign Office, the War Office, and the Indian Government Office, as well as various colonial governments, all had their say regarding the development and implementation of any measures related to German missions in British territories. There was also not much public attention in Britain itself. As a result, the enemy mission policy tends to be treated as historical background in terms of research into individual German missions or indigenous churches in particular regions. One of the earliest studies is Samuel Prempeh's doctoral thesis on the War's impact on the indigenous churches established by the Basel and Bremen Missions in the Gold Coast (modern-day Ghana) and Togoland (modern-

[10] Stephen Manz and Panayi Panikos, *Enemies in the Empire - Civilian Internment in the British Empire During the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
[11] Xy Guoqi, *Strangers on the Western Front - Chinese Workers in the Great War* (Harvard University Press, 2011).
[12] Xu Guoqi, *Asia and the Great War - A Shared History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

day Togo), Africa, from 1914 to 1930.[13] Prempeh gives ample details about the wartime African experiences of the two German missions – including references to the expulsion of German missionaries, the hardships suffered by and changes within the indigenous churches, the continuation of mission work by international missions, and the fraught reconciliation process after the post-War return of German missionaries. Based on the locals' experience, Prempeh regards in a negative light the post-War arrangement (Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles) entrusting German mission assets to Allied trustees. He regards it as a means of putting German mission work under British political control and as a major reason for the delay in the reconciliation among German and Allied missionary societies after the War.[14] This thesis, however, argues that, taking a broader view, there were noble reasons behind the creation of Article 438. Global missionary collaboration was actually quite successful in preventing German mission property from falling into the hands of colonial governments, as demonstrated by the Hong Kong case.

Other scholars, including Frieder Ludwig, Michael K. Lang, Fritz Hasselhorn, and Jayabalan Murthy, have also studied German missions' wartime experiences in other British colonies, including Cameroon, South Africa, and India.[15] Their focus is also mainly confined to the experience of individual churches or German missions. A common conclusion of their studies – also cited by Prempeh — is that the expulsion of German missions from British territories during the War gave rise to indigenous churches turning increasingly to self-sufficiency or independence. This thesis supports that conclusion.

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[13] Samuel Prempeh, "The Basel and Bremen Missions and Their Successors in the Gold Coast and Togoland, 1914 - 1926: A Study in Protestant Missions and the First World War," PhD dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 1977.

[14] Ibid, 178-181.

[15] Frieder Ludwig, "Die Basler Mission im Ersten Weltkrieg," *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 117 (2017): 63-83; Michael Kpughe Lang, "World War One in Africa: Implications on Christian Missions," *Contemporary Journal of African Studie*s, vol. 4, no. 2 (2017): 37-65; Michael Kpughe Lang, "The Plight of German Missions in Mandate Cameroon: An Historical Analysis," *Brazilian Journal of African Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2017): 111-130; Fritz Hasselhorn, "Steering Course in Troubled Times: The First World War and the Hermannsburg Mission in South Africa," in *The First World War as a Turning Point - The Impact of the Years 1914-1918 on Church and Mission,* ed. Frieder Ludwig (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2020), 137-148; Jayabalan Murthy, "The First World War and Its Impact on the Leipzig Mission Society in India," in *The First World War as a Turning Point*, 213-232.

Some scholars of Christian history have gone beyond the local perspective to examine the War's impact on global evangelical movement of British policy towards German missions. Richard Pierard, for example, supports the views of German mission leaders, arguing that the British restrictive measures towards German missions was an extreme violation of the supranationality of Christian missions.[16] Keith Clements and William R. Hogg, in their writing of the memoirs of J. H. Oldham and John Mott respectively, also cover the development of British policy towards German missions.[17] Their studies provide helpful insights into the roles of Protestant leaders in terms of policy development and the global efforts to rescue orphaned German mission work in British colonial territories.

Although British enemy mission policy itself is not widely covered in historical studies, an incident in its wake — namely the confiscation of the assets of the Basel Mission Trading Company in the Gold Coast and India — has indeed attracted academic interest. William J. Danker gives a comprehensive account of this diplomatic issue, which proved to be embarrassing to Britain and the respective colonies. He shares Prempeh's view that the well-intentioned efforts of British Christians to preserve German mission work not only failed in their objective, but also led to a long delay in the course of justice.[18] Margaret Gannon discusses the incident from the perspective of the Gold Coast, questioning the benefits of the trusteeship policy for the indigenous population and the fairness of the decision that the Gold Coast should bear the full cost of legal resolution.[19] The seizing of the Basel Mission Trading Company's assets by the British is also discussed by Christof Dejung and Andreas Zangger in their coverage of British wartime protectionism. They suggest that the confiscation of the Basel Mission Trading Company's assets might have been a result of the company's insufficient

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[16] Richard V Pierard, "Shaking the Foundations: World War I, the Western Allies, and German Protestant Missions," *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1988): 13-19.

[17] William Richey Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations – A History of the International Missionary Council and Its Nineteenth-Century Background* (New York: Harper & Brothers,1952); Keith Clements, *Faith on the Frontier – A Life of J. H. Oldham* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999).

[18] William. J. Danker, *Profit for the Lord: Economic Activities in Moravian Missions and the Basel Mission Trading Company* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002), 131.

[19] Margaret Gannon, "The Basle Mission Trading Company and British Colonial Policy in the Gold Coast, 1918-1928," *Journal of African History*, 1983, vol. 24, no. 4 (1983): 503-515.

commercial relationship with the British business community.[20] Chapter 2 presents evidence to support this argument.

This thesis studies the British enemy mission policy from a broader perspective. It traces the origin of the British government's suspicions of and hostility towards German missionaries; and how Protestant mission leaders, particularly Oldham, managed to steer the policy development in a more benign direction. The thesis also explains how the issue of the custody of German mission property was raised at the 1919 Peace Conference of Paris, which eventually led to the creation of Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles. Riding the wave of the 'sacred trust' principle (the suggestion that there was a sacred trust between the British Empire and the indigenous people in its colonial territories, under which Britain had a moral responsibility to protect and advance the interests of the indigenous people until their independence), Protestant mission leaders in Britain and the North America successfully persuaded their governments that German mission property should not be confiscated as enemy assets.[21] For the well-being of indigenous populations in mission fields, they argued, the property should be entrusted to designated trustees appointed by the colonial administration and should continue to be used for missionary purposes. As Brian Stanley suggests, this advocacy represented a shift in the British Christian mindset towards the British Empire, considering the Empire a means of disseminating cherished British values of liberty and progress towards democracy.[22] However, as demonstrated by the Hong Kong case (see Chapters 4 and 5), without practical guidelines or any monitoring or appeal procedures, the implementation of Article 438 was open to interpretation, or even manipulation, by the colonial administration. The interests of indigenous peoples, which was the core of the

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[20] Christof Dejung and Andrea Zangger, "British Wartime Protectionism and Swiss Trading Companies in Asia During the First World War," *Past & Present*, no. 207 (2010): 181-213.

[21] For more information about the concept of 'sacred trust' between empire and indigenous population of their occupied territories, please refer to: Ronald Hyam, "Bureacracy and 'Trusteeship' in Colonial Empire", in Judith M. Brown and Wm. Roger Louis (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. IV - The Twentieth Century*, (Oxford Scholarship online), accessed 17 Aug. 2023. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198205647.003.0011.

[22] Brian Stanley, "Wars and Rumors of Wars: The Response of British and American Churches to the First World War", in *Christianity in the Twentieth Century: A World History*, ed. Brian Stanley (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 12-35, 12.

'sacred trust' principle, came second only to the desire for wealth (on the part of the Hong Kong administration) in its handling of German mission property in the colony. As Susan Pedersen's work shows, a similar problem also occurred in the Mandate System, devised under the same 'sacred trust' principle.[23]

State-Mission Relationships

This thesis also explores state-mission relationships. Traditionally, they have been dominated by the notion that missionaries were the agents or allies of imperial Western powers. This view was popularly held by Marxists, nationalists, and lobbyists belonging to anti-colonial movements.[24] It drew further support in the 1970s after global church leaders debated a moratorium to end the sending of missionaries from the West to the so-called 'Third World'.[25] New evidence supporting the 'agent' concept have continued to emerge in recent years. Tom Cunningham, for instance, suggests that missionaries in Kenya embraced their work as providing crucial legitimacy for the governing structures of British colonial rule in Kenya's resources, including African labourers.[26] However, many scholars have objected to the 'agent' generalisations, including Stanley Neill, Brian Stanley, and Andrew Porter.[27] These scholars have accumulated a wealth of historical evidence which suggests that the relationship between missions and imperial powers was ambiguous and complex, varying from one period to another and from one region to another. Most of the time, missions and imperial powers acted independently, with little evidence of close cooperation. This view is supported by Paul Cha's recent study of Protestant mission history in Korea.[28] Cha's findings indicate that regardless of the ruling of a national government or

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23 Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians - The League of Nations and The Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 75-76.

24 Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag - Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 14-16.

25 Elliott Kendall, *The End of an Era: Africa and the Missionary* (London: S.P.C.K., 1978).

26 Tom Cunningham, "Missionaries, the State and Labour in Colonial Kenya, c. 1909 - c. 1919: The 'Gospel of Work' and the Able-Bodied Male Native", in *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 95, no. 21 (November 2022): 175-196.

27 Stephen Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1966), 13-14. Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag, 183-184*. Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 79.

28 Paul S. Cha, *Balancing Communities - Nation, State, and Protestant Christianity in Korea, 1884-1942* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2022).

colonial power, Christian missionaries in Korea were always at pains to maintain a balance between submission to state demands and their own ultimate goal of spreading Christianity. The introduction of State Shinto ceremonies by the Japanese colonial government in the 1930s created instability and conflicts among Protestant missionaries, indigenous Christians, and the state in Korea. Other historical studies also challenge the notion of state-mission collusion. Alan Lester's work, for instance, records the strenuous efforts of missionaries in the nineteenth century to end what they saw as the cruel treatment of indigenous people by white settlers and colonial governments.[29]

In recent years, a more neutral approach has been taken to studies of state-mission relationship. In these studies, missionaries are considered more as cultural mediators, facilitating the exchange of ideas and information across cultures, religions, political systems, and social structures. Their regular reports and fund-raising propaganda enabled governments and people who lived in their home countries to learn about foreign civilisations. The German missionary Karl Gützlaff and his supporters in Europe and North America, as Thoralf Klein shows, set up a global communication network for the transmission of ideas and knowledge between East Asia and the West.[30]

The state-mission relationship as described in this thesis is neither the agent/running-dog model nor the cultural mediator model. In this thesis, Christian missions are just members of society (legal persons). A generally good relationship existed between Christian missions and the Protestant British government. However, like other civilian entities, Christian missions became involved in the turmoil of the War. Because of their nationality, German missions became enemy institutions overnight. Even worse, their unique characteristics made them thought of as a potential threat to the British Empire's security, and they were therefore subjected to harsh policies, even after the War was over. For British Protestant missions, Britain's enemy mission policy created a vacuum in global mission work. Some British mission leaders chose to work together to

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[29] Alan Lester, "Humanitarians and White Settlers in the 19th Century", in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 64-85.

[30] Thoralf Klein, "How to be a Contact Zone - The Missionary Karl Gützlaff between Nationalism, Transnationalism and Transculturalism, 1827-1851", in *European Missions in Contact Zones - Transformation through Interaction in a (Post-) Colonial World*, ed. Judith Becker, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 222-238.

rescue German mission work from the evils of the War, while other British missionaries saw the War and British enemy mission policy new opportunities for them to advance their own ministries, as demonstrated in the case of Hong Kong in Chapter 5.

The findings of this thesis support the argument that the state-mission relationship is never constant. It varies from one era to another, from one place to another, and even from one individual to another. Moreover, placing Christian missions as merely civil organisations within colonial civil society for historical study may open up further research opportunities. Some scholars have compared the work of Protestant missions to international NGOs as they exist today.[31] It would be interesting to examine, for instance, if there were any official regulatory regimes, financial surveillance, or operational responsibilities imposed on Christian missions, as those NGOs today are subject to. Given that Christian missions managed significant sums of public money deriving from local and international sources, it would also be worthwhile to examine and evaluate their financial management, staff development, and internal controls in comparison with modern NGOs. Other aspects, such as the organisational structure, managerial hierarchy, and operational administration of Christian missions in foreign fields, may also provide new insights into the Christian missionary movement.

British Hong Kong History

From the perspective of British Hong Kong history, this thesis offers new insights into the impact of the War on the German community in Hong Kong. Coverage of this subject is limited. Perhaps the most relevant information comes from a brief article written by Anne Selby entitled 'When Germans were Unwelcome in HK'.[32] She reviews the colony's treatment of German residents during and after the War. Hong Kong Germans were paroled when the War broke out, but were expelled or interned in late 1914. After the armistice, the Hong Kong government passed a

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[31] Firoze Manji and Carl O' Coill, "The Missionary Position: NGOs and Development in Africa", *International Affairs*, vol. 70, no. 3 (July 2002): 567-583; Marian Burchardt, "Transplanting Institutional Innovation: Comparing the Success of NGOs and Missionary Protestantism in Sub-Saharan Africa", *Theory and Society*, vol. 49 (2020): 335-364.

[32] Anne Selby, "When Germans were Unwelcome in HK: Focus," *South China Morning Post* (25 June 1988): 25.

regulation prohibiting Germans from entering the colony. It was only in 1922 that Germans were allowed to return and rebuild their homes and businesses in Hong Kong. Further details of this history are provided by Carl Smith's study of the German-speaking community in Hong Kong.[33] Smith's focus is primarily on German merchants and commercial companies in the colony, but he also briefly touched upon the War's impact on the three benevolent facilities run by German Protestant missions, namely the Berlin Foundling House and the Hildesheim Mission's two facilities for blind women and girls. Neither Selby nor Smith examines the British trusteeship of German mission property. In recent years, new research into the German community in Hong Kong provided further insights into the impact of the War on Hong Kong. Bert Becker, for example, describes how the War became the ultimate trigger for the decline of the feeble German Protestant congregation in Hong Kong, until the emergence of a new one in 1965.[34] In another study of the relationship between German merchants in Hong Kong and their Chinese compradors, Becker argues that the War strengthened, rather than weakened, the mutual trust and friendship between the two groups.[35] As demonstrated in Chapter 5 of this thesis, the same argument might apply to German missions operating in Hong Kong and their Chinese pastors.

This thesis provides fresh insights into what happened to the German community in Hong Kong during the War by describing the experience of the four German missions operating in the colony before the War, namely the Evangelical Missionary Society of Basel (the Basel Mission), the Rhenish Missionary Society (the Rhenish Mission), the Berlin Women's Mission for China (the Berlin Women's Mission) and the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind (the Hildesheim Mission). It describes how German missionaries in Hong Kong came to be regarded as enemies overnight when Britain declared war on Germany in August 1914. Their fate was determined not only by the Empire-wide enemy mission

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[33] Carl Smith, "The German Speaking Community in Hong Kong, 1846-1918," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 34 (1994): 1-56.

[34] Bert Becker, "Die Deutsche Kirchen- und Schulgemeinde zu Hongkong 1900-1914, " in Hanns Hoerschelmann and Bert Becker (eds.), *Gemeinsam unterwegs: 50 Jahre Evangelische Gemeinde Deutscher Sprache in Hongkong 1965-2015* (Hong Kong: Evangelische Gemeinde Deutscher Sprache in Hongkong, 2015), 54-102.

[35] Bert Becker, "Western Firms and Their Chinese Compradors: The Case of the Jensen and Chau Families," in *Foreign Communities in Hong Kong*, ed. Cindy Yik-yi Chan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2005), 106-130, 123.

policy, but also, and to a greater extent, by the personal views and agenda of the respective colonial official in charge. From 1914 until 1925, Hong Kong was under the administration of Governor Francis Henry May (1914-1918), Acting Governor Claud Severn (1918-1919), and Governor Reginald E. Stubbs (1919-1925). Each of these governors seemed motivated by different concerns, and each seemed to have his own style. Examination of the Hong Kong case indicates that economic factor — rather than national security or political concerns or the welfare of the needy in the care of German missionaries — was the key driver influencing the treatment of German missions in Hong Kong.

This thesis also deepens scholarly understanding of German missions' ministry in China (which also covered British Hong Kong). German missions in China have received notably less attention among historians than their counterparts from Britain and North America. This is due in part to the two world wars, which significantly weakened the activities and reputation of German missions around the world. Another factor is the much smaller scale of German mission work compared with that of Britain and North America. As Figure 1 shows, in China, both British and North American missions were also much larger than the Continental European missions in evangelical, educational, medical, and philanthropic terms.[36] However, to measure the significance of different Protestant missions in China purely in terms of size would be to overlook other factors. German Protestant missionaries were important players in the evangelical, cultural, and social development of China. They were among the earliest cohorts of Protestant missionaries to be active in China, and the first Protestant missionaries to live and work in inland China.[37] German missionaries contributed actively to conferences and publications, particularly to theological debates.[38]

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[36] *Statistical Atlas of Christian Missions,* report by the Sub-committee of Commission I, 'On Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World' to the World Missionary Conference (Edinburgh: World Missionary Conference, 1910), 86-120, accessed 20 May 2021, https://archive.org/details/MN41422ucmf_2/page/n31/mode/2up.

[37] Jessie Gregory Lutz, *Opening China – Karl F. A. Gützlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827-1852* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 298.

[38] Albert Mon-shan Wu, *From Christ to Confucius – German Missionaries, Chinese Christians, and the Globalization of Christianity, 1860-1950* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 9-10.

Figure 1: Statistical Overview of Mission Work in China, 1910[39]

	North American	British	Continental European
Evangelical work			
No. of missionaries	1,812	1,065	326
No. of local workers	5,329	4,208	751
No. of communicants	85,749	57,234	15,078
No. of baptised Christians	92,621	83,371	18,937
Educational work			
No. of universities/colleges (no. of students)	12 (469)	1 (40)	0 (0)
No. of theological schools/training groups (no. of students)	81 (1,717)	33 (403)	9 (198)
No. of industrial training groups (no. of students)	2 (16)	2 (64)	0 (0)
No. of boarding schools/high schools (no. of students)	197 (11,579)	120 (5,500)	28 (1,055)
No. of primary/village schools (no. of students)	1,187 (25,552)	1,003 (21,560)	220 (5,569)
No. of kindergartens (no. of students)	9 (270)	2 (46)	1 (36)
Medical work			
No. of hospitals	95	88	12
No. of dispensaries	127	110	12
No. of individual patients	594,606	351,108	37,422
No. of medical schools /training groups (no. of students)	21 (137)	26 (191)	1 (4)
No. of nursing schools (no. of students)	17 (95)	9 (61)	0 (0)
Philanthropic & Reformatory work			
No. of orphanages (no. of residents)	9 (464)	2 (132)	1 (141)
No. of leper asylums (no. of residents)	1 (14)	10 (368)	7 (228)
No. of blind and deaf institutions (no. of residents)	2 (59)	7 (228)	1 (69)
No. of opium refuges (no. of residents)	2 (151)	8 (133)	0 (0)
No. of industrial homes (no. of residents)	1 (150)	2 (12)	1 (45)

Source: *World Atlas of Christian Missions, 1911,* 87, 103, 115 and 121.

[39] James S. Dennis, Harlan P. Beach, Charles H. Fahs, eds., *World Atlas of Christian Missions – Containing a Directory of Missionary Societies, a Classified Summary of Statistics, an Index of Mission Stations, and Maps Showing the Location of Mission Stations Throughout the World* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1911), 87, 103, 115 and 121.

German sinologist missionaries facilitated Sino-German cultural exchanges and were instrumental in bringing Sinology to Europe.[40] Jost O. Zetzsche, in particular, highlights the key contributions of German missionaries to the translation of the Union Version of the Chinese Bible, despite their relatively limited resources.[41]

Scholarly knowledge of German Protestant missionaries in China rests on the work of a relatively small group of scholars. Carl T. Smith has made a significant contribution to the history of German missions by highlighting their work in Hong Kong as well as their connection with the Taiping Movement (1850 - 1864), a radical political and religious upheaval in China.[42] Jessie Gregory Lutz traces the origin of German missions in China back to Karl Gützlaff, arguing that his legacy had a profound influence on the evangelical strategies of German missions and is still felt in independent Chinese churches today. Albert Wu points out that the cultural exchange was actually two-way, with German missionaries sent to westernise China returning home with changed beliefs and changed assumptions about Christianity. Other scholars focus on the history of individual German missions. The Basel Mission's work among the Hakka people in South China has attracted particular academic interest, as seen in the work of Thoralf Klein, Tobias Brandner and Tong Wing-sze.[43] Jessie G. Lutz and Rolland Lutz provide rare descriptions of the earliest Hakka Christians, who contributed

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[40] David B. Honey, "The History of German Sinology," in *Sino-German Relations Since 1800 – Multidisciplinary Explorations*, ed. Ricardo K. S. Mak and Danny S. L. Paau (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), 149-165.

[41] Jost O. Zetzsche, *The Bible in China – The History of the Union Version or the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China* (St Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999), 68-72.

[42] Carl T. Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005).

[43] Thoralf Klein, *Die Basler Mission in Guangdong (Südchina) 1859-1931*, München: Iudicium Verlag, 2003; Thoralf Klein, "The Other German Colonialism? Power, Conflict & Resistance in a German-speaking mission in China, ca. 1850-1920," in *German Colonialism Revisited*, ed. Nina Berman, Klaus Mühlhahn & Patrice Nganang (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 2014), 161-178; Tobias Brandner, "Basel Mission and Revolutions in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century China: Debating Societal Renewal," *Mission Studies*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2018): 7-30; Tong Wing-sze 湯泳詩, *Yige Huanan Kejia Jiaohui den Yanjiu: Cong Basehui Dao Chongzhenhui* 一個華南客家教會的研究：從巴色會到香港崇眞會 [*A Study of the Hakka Church in South China: From the Basel Mission to the Tsung Tsin Mission of Hong Kong*] (Hong Kong: Tsung Tsin Mission of Hong Kong, 2002).

significantly to establishing the Hakka Chinese churches.[44] Nicole Constable's anthropological study of Shung Him Tong Tsuen (崇謙堂村), a Hakka Christian village in Hong Kong, adds to scholarly knowledge of the profound impact of the Basel missionaries' work on their Christian congregations.[45]

In recent years, there have been new historical studies of the philanthropic activities of German missions in Hong Kong. Julia Stone, for example, explores the history of the Hong Kong foundling home in the care of the Berlin Women's Mission.[46] Her major focus is on the foundlings themselves and their relationship with their caretakers, but she does question the CMS's decision to close down the institution after the War. The findings underpinning this thesis, as outlined in Chapter 3, provide a fuller explanation of the CMS's decision. A comprehensive study of the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind is given in Bernhard Ortmann's work, which presents a detailed account of the challenges faced by Hildesheim missionaries in Hong Kong and the Chinese mainland.[47] Neither Stone nor Ortmann addresses fully what happened in Hong Kong during the decade (1919 - 1928) when German mission work and property were entrusted to British missions. Based on rich, though under-studied, government archives and mission records, this thesis uncovers significant findings about this 'lost' decade.

Methodology and Structure

The thesis explores a subject in Hong Kong history which was driven by events and individuals locally and in other parts of the world. Therefore, the study is underpinned by primary research into government records, missionary letters and reports, files, and publications distributed across the UK, Hong Kong SAR, China, Switzerland, and Germany. It spans the period from the outbreak of the

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[44] Jessie Gregory Lutz and Rolland Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850-1900 with the Autobiographies of Eight Hakka Christians, and Commentary* (New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1998).

[45] Nicole Constable, "Poverty, Piety, and the Past - Hakka Christian Expression of Hakka Identity," in *Guest People: Hakka Identity in China and Abroad*, ed. Nicole Constable (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 98-123.

[46] Julia Stone, *Chinese Basket Babies - A German Missionary Foundling Home and the Girls It Raised* (1850s –1914) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2013).

[47] Bernhard Ortmann, *Die Hildesheimer Blindenmission in Hong Kong – Blinde und sehbehinderte Kinder in Werk und Wahrnehmung einer Frauenmission, ca.1890-1997* [*The Hildesheim Mission to the Blind in Hong Kong - Blind and Visually Impaired Children in the Work and Perception of a Women's Mission ca 1890-1997*] (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017).

War in 1914 to the restoration of German mission property to its original owners in 1929. Research was conducted at the time of an unprecedented global pandemic, which restricted international travel and access to libraries and archives. The field work planned for the summer of 2020 had to be abandoned, and this inevitably limited the scope of the research work possible. Research bore fruit mainly because the research work in Britain was largely completed before March 2020 and, at the very beginning of the project, small-scale preliminary visits took place in August 2018 to the four German mission archives in Switzerland and Germany. It also proved invaluable that the Berlin Women's Mission's papers and Church Missionary Society records were accessible online.

This thesis has made use of the archives and records in number of collections. In the U.K.: The National Archives at Kew; the British Library; the Lambeth Palace Library; the School of Oriental and African Studies Library; the Cadbury Research Library, Birmingham. In Hong Kong: the government Public Records Office; the Tsung Tsin Mission of Hong Kong; the Chinese Rhenish Church Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Archives. In Switzerland: the World Council of Churches Archives, Geneva; the Basel Mission Archives, Basel. In Germany: the Evangelisches Landeskirchlichen Archiv in Berlin; the Rhenish Mission Archives, maintained by the Archive and Museum Foundation of the UEM, Wuppertal; the Hildesheim Mission Library, Hildesheim.

In an ideal world, historical information about the treatment of German missions in Hong Kong during and after the War would be available in Hong Kong. However, many of the Hong Kong colonial government's records were destroyed during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong from 1941 to 1945. The three German mission-legacy institutions in Hong Kong, which include the Tsung Tsin Mission of Hong Kong, the Chinese Rhenish Church and the Ebenezer School for the Visually Impaired, have kept barely any pre-war historical records. The Anglican Church of Hong Kong has a substantial record collection, but it yielded little for the purposes of this research topic. Secondary sources such as Stone's and Ortmann's works have been used to fill possible gaps in the research. Very little information was available about the personal experiences of Chinese pastors, lay Christians, the Chinese foundlings, and blind residents who were affected by British enemy mission policy. The vast majority of government records and mission records are professionally looked after, except for the

Hildesheim Mission records. Their surviving documents are stored in unmarked cardboard boxes in the basement of the mission house, without a reference catalogue. The Central Library of the Evangelical Church in Berlin-Brandenburg keeps a collection of publications of various German missionary societies, including the Hildesheim Mission and the Berlin Women's Mission.

In addition to the scattered distribution of primary sources, another challenge in this research project has been the German language. The author's lack of knowledge of German means that this thesis has drawn mainly on source materials in English. More thorough research into German-language sources relating to the research topic would have been useful in amplifying the discussion in this thesis.

This thesis is made up of five chapters. Chapter 1 gives the background to the four German missions operating in Hong Kong and their status at the outbreak of the War. It examines the longstanding relationship between German missions and Hong Kong's colonial government, and that between Hong Kong-based German and British missions. Both of these relationships were damaged by the War. The remaining four chapters reveal the story of British enemy mission policy, starting with the international context and moving on to Hong Kong. Specifically, Chapter 2 describes how events in different parts of the British Empire gave rise to British enemy mission policy, and includes a description of the strategic role of J.H. Oldham. Chapter 3 examines the tense relationship between German and British mission leaders during the War, as well as the measures taken by Allied missions and churches to salvage orphaned German mission work in British territories. Chapter 4 discusses how the Hong Kong colonial government interpreted and implemented the Empire's enemy mission policy under the governorships of Henry Francis May, Claud Severn and Reginald Stubbs. The final chapter, Chapter 5, examines how individual British missionaries played their part in implementing British enemy mission policy in Hong Kong. Archdeacon Ernest Judd Barnett of the CMS and Rev. Thomas William Pearce of the LMS were heavily involved in the supervision and trusteeship of German mission work and mission property in Hong Kong. However, archival evidence calls into question how they managed their responsibilities, and highlights potential conflicts of interest, and even abuse of power. The challenges facing the Basel, Rhenish and Hildesheim Missions as they strove to resume their work in Hong Kong are also touched on at the end of Chapter 5.

Chapter 1:

German Missions in Hong Kong at the Outbreak of the War

Compared with that of their British and North American counterparts, the work of German Protestant missionaries in South China did not attract much attention, both during their time there, and in later accounts of missions in China. Yet they were among the 13 earliest Protestant missionaries in Hong Kong in 1848.[1] They settled in inland China much earlier than other Protestant missionaries.[2] Even today, the Chinese Bible and other publications they produced are still the source of great interest for modern scholars of linguistics, psychology, and cultural studies.[3] A Hong Kong newspaper in 1865 profiled German missionaries in South China as below:

> We find them studious in the acquirement of the language, zealous, devoted and persevering to a degree. They throw themselves among the people, establish schools and churches, and work very very hard. There appears to us more management in their proceedings than is observed by other missionaries. The field of their labours appears to be selected in very poor districts, where native literature does not exist to thwart and obstruct them.[4]

So impressed by their work was the reporter that he even suggested that these German missionaries 'are likely to Christianise the entire district'. He was partly right. German mission churches formed the second largest Protestant denomination in Guangdong, as shown in a mission survey from the 1920s. The Lutherans had a total 289 evangelical centres comprising 15,671 converts and

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1 S., "List of Protestant Missionaries at the several Ports of China, with the names of the Societies to which they belong," *The China Repository*, vol. 2 (1848): 101-104.

2 Jessie Gregory Lutz, *Opening China – Karl F. A. Gützlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827-1852* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 298.

3 Christine Lamarre, "Early Hakka corpora held by the Basel Mission Library: an introduction," *Cahiers de Linguistique - Asie Orientale*, vol. 31, no. 1 (2002): 71-104; Yan Shu-chang, "Missionary and Their Practices on Coinage of Chinese Psychological Terms During Late Qing Dynasty," *Acta Psychologica Sinica*, vol. 50, no. 8 (2018): 920-928; Wu Qing 吳青, "Ruishi chuanjiaoshi shaobo《rujianyanyi》de wenxian jiazhi," 瑞士傳教士韶波《儒教衍義》的文獻價值 ['The Documentary Value of Extrapolations of Confucianism Written by Swiss Missionary Martin Schaub'] *Wen Xian* 文獻, No. 3 (May 2016): 86-95.

4 "The Daily Press column", *Hong Kong Daily Press* (24 June 1865): 2.

operated 115 mission schools and five hospitals.[5] Nevertheless, the promising work of German missions in South China was almost wrecked by the First World War.

This chapter introduces the four German missions operating in Hong Kong and explores what they experienced at the outbreak of the War. It argues that German missionaries were generally treated well by the Hong Kong government at the beginning of the War. This chapter covers largely the period up to November 1914 when German missionaries were expelled from the colony. This chapter starts with a review of the relationship between German missionaries in South China and Karl F. A. Gützlaff, 'the Father of the Lutheran missions in China'. It goes on to discuss the close alliances of German missions, as well as their relationships with governments and their British counterparts before these relationships were soured by the War.

Gützlaff and German Missions in South China

A news report of 1907 suggests: "Today, the Basel and Rhenish missionary societies are at work in China because Gützlaff's enthusiasm had stirred up the Germans."[6] In recognition of this achievement, Gützlaff's headstone in Happy Valley, Hong Kong, bears the epitaph *The Apostle of China*. Jessie G. Lutz's work provides a glimpse into the fascinating life and legacy of Gützlaff, which were so vital to the development of Sino-western interaction and China mission history. Born into an artisan family in Poland in 1803, Gützlaff developed his interest in ancient languages during his education at a school which taught Latin and Greek. However, he did not pursue further studies in ancient languages after finishing school. Instead, he chose to become an apprentice to a master artisan in Stettin. The course of young Gützlaff's life changed overnight after he surprised and delighted the visiting King of Prussia, Frederick William III, with a poem of welcome. As a result, in 1821, he was awarded a royal scholarship to study at the Berlin Mission Institute.[7] He then studied for another three years at the seminary

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[5] China Continuation Committee, *The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China* (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922), 162, 171, 172.

[6] "Passed Gützlaff!", *South China Morning Post* (5 February 1907): 4.

[7] Lutz, *Opening China,* 21 - 23.

of the Dutch Missionary Society in Rotterdam, from 1823 onwards, acquiring the skills and networking relationships he needed to start mission work in a Dutch possession in the East Indies. In 1826, Gützlaff was sent to Java (part of today's Indonesia). Through his work with LMS missionary Walter Medhurst among Malay and Chinese immigrants, Gützlaff was impressed by the LMS mission strategy of preaching through distributing gospel tracts and the great potential China held for evangelical work, being the country with the largest population. With his talent for languages and his strong motivation, within a short period of time, Gützlaff learnt how to speak three key dialects of Chinese: Fujianese, Cantonese, and Hakka although his command of the three dialects was never complete.[8] He made three trips along the China coast as navigator and physician on a Chinese junk, during which he distributed gospel tracts to Chinese people. Like Robert Morrison, who had worked for the British East India Company in Macau and Guangzhou, Gützlaff transferred to Macau in late 1834. He aided British officials during the Opium War (1840 -1842), using his linguistic talents and extensive knowledge of China, and eventually becoming Chinese Secretary of the new colony of Hong Kong.[9] Gützlaff associated with opium traders and the British government in order to open China to evangelisation. However, this was largely not a matter of choice on his part, but rather the almost inevitable outcome of the era in which he lived. Like many other Protestant evangelists desirous of travelling to East Asia, sailing together with merchants and colonists was the easiest, and sometimes the only way to reach their mission fields. The entanglements between missionaries, state and traders were caused to some extent by the fact that civil transportation was developing so slowly. The pioneer Protestant missionaries' decision, however, left a lasting effect on Chinese people's opinion of the Protestant evangelical movement in China. Protestant missionaries were always associated with imperialism and China's great suffering in contemporary history. The official position in Hong Kong provided Gützlaff with the money he needed to fund the Chinese Union or Han hui (漢會) — a Chinese evangelical missionary society which sent Chinese preachers to China,

[8] Christopher Munn, *Anglo China, Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong, 1841-1880* (London: Routledge, 2013), 87.
[9] Lutz, *Opening China,* 50-54.

established by him in 1844.[10] When his financial resources were no longer sufficient to support the rapid-growing society, Gützlaff turned to missions and churches in continental Europe. Their positive response led to the arrival in China in 1847 of the first cohort of German Protestant missionaries.

The first two missions in continental Europe which responded to Gützlaff's appeal were the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society and the Rhenish Missionary Society. The Basel Mission was a transnational, interdenominational Protestant missionary society founded by German and Swiss Protestants in Basel in 1815.[11] It was funded by Christian congregations in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. However, most of its missionaries were recruited from Württemberg, Germany. The Basel Mission was a model of Pietism and Revivalism in nineteenth-century Europe. Before establishing itself in China, the Basel Mission was already doing evangelical work in India and the Gold Coast of Africa. The Rhenish Mission had been established in 1828. It had its headquarters in Wuppertal-Barmen, Germany. Initially, the Rhenish Mission sent its missionaries to support the LMS's mission work in South Africa. In 1836, it started its own missionary work in the East Indies and expanded beyond South Africa to other parts of German West Africa (1842).[12] China was its third mission region.

Theodor Hamberg and Rudolf Lechler of the Basel Mission, as well as Heinrich Köster and Ferdinand Genähr of the Rhenish Mission, set off together from Basel on 26 October 1846, and arrived in Hong Kong on 19 March 1847.[13] Following Gützlaff's advice, they lived and worked with the Chinese Union's local preachers to spread Christianity in Guangdong Province, which had a population of 19 million. Hamberg was assigned to the Hakka-speaking Chinese, Lechler to the Hoklos (Chaozhou-speaking Chinese), both in eastern Guangdong. Köster and Genähr were assigned to the Cantonese in the western part of Guangdong.[14] This geographical/lingustic division of mission fields governed the

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10 Ibid, 222.

11 Paul Jenkins, *A Short History of the Basel Mission* (Basel: Basel Mission, 1989), 1-25.

12 Carl-J Hellberg, *Mission Colonialism and Liberation: The Lutheran Church in Namibia 1840-1966* (Windhoek: New Namibia Books, 1998), 38 - 41.

13 Wilhelm Schlatter, Wolfgang R, Schmidt, Richard Deutsch, Daniel Chow (translated), *Kuangye yi guyan: Liliji chuan* 曠野一孤雁: 黎力基傳 [A Pelican of the Wilderness: Biography of Rudolf Lechler] (Hong Kong: Tsung Tsin Mission of Hong Kong, 2012), 23-24.

14 Ibid, 32.

future work of the two missions in China, though the Basel Mission's Hoklo ministry terminated in 1853, after the seventh expulsion of Lechler by government officials in Swatow (Shantou). Lechler's evangelical work was continued by English Presbyterian missionaries, beginning in 1856.[15]

The Basel and Rhenish missionaries, after discovering dishonesty and malpractice among their Chinese Union co-workers, tried to persuade Gützlaff to undertake a reformation, but failed. With the consent of their home missions, the Basel and Rhenish Missions left the China Union and pursued their evangelical work in China independently. The subsequent collapse of Gützlaff's Chinese Union, which was initiated by British missionaries in Hong Kong and supported by Hamberg, and the death of Gützlaff in August 1851, are beyond the scope of this thesis.[16] However, it is important to note that the Basel and Rhenish Missions' work in China never really departed from the evangelical strategies set by Gützlaff. As Jessie G. Lutz points out, Gützlaff left very important legacies for the growth of German Protestant missions in South China.[17] These included his evangelical strategy for penetrating inland China (which was in violation of Chinese law, for western missionaries were allowed to settle only in treaty ports). Hamberg apparently supported this strategy, judging by his comments on those missionaries who refused to settle inland: 'most stay put, build schools, marry, develop illnesses, and return to their home country before they can speak the language.'[18] Another legacy inherited from Gützlaff was the use of Chinese preachers for the evangelical work of German missions. Gützlaff firmly believed that the evangelisation of China could only be fully accomplished by Chinese. European missionaries should act simply as mentors and examples of self-sacrifice.[19] This is why, at the early stages of their work, both the Basel and

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15 Ibid, 59, 65.

16 Theodore Hamberg, *Report Regarding the Chinese Union at Hongkong* (Hong Kong: Registrar Office of Hong Kong, 1851).

17 Lutz, *Opening China*, 298-310.

18 Extract from Theodor Hamberg's letter (27 March 1847) published in *Basel Mission Annual Report 1847*, 156, Basel Mission Archives (BMA).

19 Wilhelm Schlatter, translated by Richard Deutsch and Daniel Chow, *Chenkuang Chao Keichia - Base Chahui Tsaochi Laihua Hsuanchiao Chienshih 1839 - 1915* 真光照客家–巴色差會早期來華宣教簡史 1839 - 1915 [True Light for Hakka - The Early History of the Basel Mission's Evangelical Work in China] (Hong Kong: Tsung Tsin Mission of Hong Kong, 2008), 24.

Rhenish Missions set up seminaries to train Chinese catechists. They even sent some of the best students to Europe for formal theological training.[20]

A further legacy should be added to Lutz's list: Gützlaff's embrace of Chinese culture. From the day of their arrival in China, the Basel and Rhenish missionaries learnt to speak and write Chinese, wear Chinese clothes, and eat Chinese food.[21] The Basel Mission's committee was open-minded enough to allow Hakka Christians to take part in ancestor worship ceremonies, considering this clearly distinct from idolatry which was forbidden in Protestant Christianity.[22] Both the Basel and Rhenish Missions had Sinologists among their staff, including Martin Schaub and Ernst Faber. Friedrich Lindenmeyer, a Basel missionary collected and shared over 2,000 Hakka proverbs with his co-workers so that they could gain a better understanding of the Hakka language and Hakka culture.[23] Most of the German missionaries serving in South China adopted Chinese names. It was common practice for German missionaries who died in the mission field to have their Chinese name carved on their headstones. One missionary who fell ill on the voyage to Hong Kong and died just three months after arrival already had a Chinese surname, which was carved on his headstone.[24] Ying Fuk-tsang interprets this practice as reflecting Lutheran missionaries' deep respect for and recognition of Chinese culture.[25] German missionaries' embracing of Chinese culture served to deepen their relationship with the Chinese, which in turn helped prevent their

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[20] Thomas Tsang 曾福全, ed., *Yi ai huan ai - rui shi basechahui zai zhongguo he xianggang de chuanjiaoshi minglu* 1846 zhi xian zai 以愛還愛-瑞士巴色差會在中國和香港的傳教士名錄 1846 至現在 [List of the Basel Mission missionaries in China and Hong Kong 1846 to the Present] (Hong Kong: Thomas Tsang, 2022). Tschin Min-syu was the first Chinese student sent to the Basel Mission Seminary in 1863, followed by Kong Fat-lin (1865), Li Schin-ein (1871) and Wei Han-fan (1931).

[21] Extract from Theodor Hamberg's letter dated 27 March 1847, *Basel Mission Annual Report 1847*, 156-161, BMA.

[22] Li Lei, "Adapting Christianity to Hakka Culture: The Basel Mission's Activities among Indigenous People in China (1846–1931)," *Religions*, 13, no. 10 (2022): 924.

[23] Proverbs in Hakka, collected by Friedrich Lindenmeyer, A-20.22-23, BMA.

[24] Friedrich Schlatter, a Swiss missionary who arrived in Hong Kong on 4 April 1920 and died on 6 June 1920. The headstone of his grave bears the Chinese name '斐牧師' Fei mushi [Rev. Fei].

[25] Ying Fuk-tsang 邢福增, "Laizi ruide de sanba gushi: paomadi xianggang fenchang zhoug de jidujiao (san)" 來自瑞德的三巴故事：跑馬地香港墳場中的基督教（三）, [The Story of Three-B Missions from Switzerland and Germany: Christianity in the Hong Kong Cemetery, Happy Valley], *Duli meiti* 獨立媒體[*InmediaHK.net*], accessed 6 August 2022, https://www.inmediahk.net/node/1081615.

repatriation from China during the War, even though Germany was officially at war with China (see Chapter 3).

The prosperity of German missions in Guangdong can be seen in Figure 2, which shows that the three German missions took up nearly one-third of preaching sites, one-quarter of Christian staff, and 30 per cent of communicants among all the Protestant missions operating in Guangdong in 1914. The table further indicates the impacts of the war in reducing the prominence of the German missions by 1919. There were declines, though not massively, in the number of their preaching sites, Christian staff and communicants in Guangdong.

After the overall discussion of the German missions' work in China, it is time to introduce the four German missionary societies operating in Hong Kong one after another. As the arrival of the Basel and Rhenish missions in Hong Kong in 1847 and their subsequent evangelical efforts in the inland of China have already been discussed, the introduction of these two missions will be briefer than that of the other two Hong Kong-based German missions, the Berlin Women's Mission for China and the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind. These two German women missions offered critical social services which were treasured by the colonial authority in Hong Kong. For this reason, their workers were allowed to stay in the colony during wartime. As will be discussed in Chapter 4 and 5, after the repatriation of these female German missionaries in 1919, their mission work were taken over by British missionaries in Hong Kong.

The Basel Mission and the Rhenish Mission

After decades of effort, the Basel missionaries succeeded in establishing Christian congregations among the Hakka, who lived in the poorest areas of Guangdong Province. Hakka literally means 'guest families', and, indeed, their forefathers were refugees from the northern provinces of China. They found themselves constantly under the threat of hostility from the local Cantonese, the Punti.[26] Their social position, seen as inferior, made them particularly receptive to German missionaries and their offering of education and medical services.

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[26] Zheng Dehua 鄭德華, *Tukedaxiedou: Guangdong tukeshijian yanjiu 1856-1867* 土客大械鬥: 廣東土客事件研究 1856-1867 [Armed Conflicts Between Hakka and Punti: A Study of the Guangdong Incident 1856-1867] (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book, 2021).

Figure 2:
Missionary Societies in Guangdong by Denomination, 1922

Missionary Societies in Guangdong by Denomination	No. of Preaching Sites		No. of Christian Staff		No. of Communicants	
	1914	1919	1914	1919	1914	1919
Anglican (聖宗) Church Missionary Society (英聖公會)	30	46	232	275	1,509	2,100
Baptist (浸宗) American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (浸禮會) Southern Baptist Convention (浸信會)	214	233	339	574	9,814	11,221
Congregational (公宗) American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (公理會) London Missionary Society (倫敦會)	66	63	195	271	5,168	4,972
Lutheran (信宗) Basel Missionary Society (巴色會) Berlin Missionary Society (巴陵會) Rhenish Missionary Society (禮賢會)	303	289	635	395	16,297	15,671
Methodist (監宗) Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (循道會)	42	30	80	106	1,924	2,013
Presbyterian (長宗) English Presbyterian Mission (英長老會) Presbyterian Church of Canada (加長老會) Presbyterian Church of New Zealand (新長老會) American Presbyterian Mission (North) (北長老會) Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America (約老會) United Bretheren in Christ Mission (基督同寅)	306	342	938	968	18,219	22,324
Others Evangel Mission(聖道會) Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America(瑞美會)	4	11	21	31	607	723
Total	965	1,014	2,440	2,620	53,538	59,024

Source: *The Christian Occupation of China* (Shanghai: National Christian Council of China, 1922), 431.

At the same time, the strong kinship ties among the Hakkas allowed the rapid expansion of Christianity among various Hakka communities in Guangdong. Mission records from 1910 suggest that the Basel Mission established over one hundred mission stations in Guangdong, attracting more than 10,000 church members, and founded 54 schools, one seminary, and two hospitals.[27] Hong Kong was established as the Basel Mission's headquarters for its work in China. The Basel Mission possessed over twenty properties in the colony, including a mission house, a retreat centre, seven Hakka churches, four primary schools, and also some European-styled houses for rental income.[28] The Basel Mission had a rather unique practice to keep investment properties to support its Chinese churches and schools so that they would not become a financial burden on its home mission in Europe.[29] As explained in Chapters 4 and 5, these mission properties proved to be a hindrance to the missions' return to Hong Kong after the War.

With the help of some Chinese preachers who had previously worked for the Chinese Union, the Rhenish missionaries also successfully established churches in the Punti areas of Xin-an (新安) and Dong-guan(東莞).[30] By 1910, the Rhenish Mission had twenty-four stations in China, with over two thousand church members. It ran 28 schools, one seminary, two hospitals, one psychiatric facility, and one leprosy clinic.[31] With its focus on China itself, and perhaps also to avoid direct competition with British missions, the Rhenish Mission did not look to develop evangelical work among the Punti in Hong Kong. For a short time in 1858, it possessed a small house in Second Street, Sai Ying Pun, but this was disposed of very soon.[32] It was only in 1898 that the Rhenish Mission purchased a mission house of its own in the Mid-Levels of Hong Kong Island, as a place of

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[27] "Jiaohui xinwen:sanbachuandaohui juji ji" 教會新聞：三巴傳道會聚集*記* [News from the Churches: Gathering of the three German missions], *Dehua shuowang bao* 德華朔望報[The Chinese Christian Fortnightly], issue 55 (April 1910): 21 - 23.

[28] "Return of Primary Schools," *The Blue Book 1914*, Hong Kong Government, Q4-5. The Basel Mission operated four primary schools (Shamshuipo, Shaukiwan, Tokwawan and High Street). Together they had 344 students.

[29] Schlatter, *True Light for Hakka*, 188- 89.

[30] 'Xianggangtang shile 香港堂史略 [A Brief History of Hong Kong Church], in *Lixianhui zai hua chuanjiaoshi,1847-1947* 禮賢會在華傳教史 1847-1947 [The History of the Rhenish Mission in China, 1847–1947], ed. Lao Yan-bin 羅彥彬 (Hong Kong: CRCHK, 1968), 3.

[31] "Jiaohui xinwen:sanbachuandaohui juji ji," *Dehua shuowang bao*, Issue 55: 21 - 23.

[32] "Xianggangtang shile," *Lixianhui zai hua chuanjiaoshi*, 4-5.

rest and recuperation for its mainland missionaries. A Chinese church gradually developed from the regular Sunday gatherings at this mission house. In 1914, only days before the War, the Chinese Rhenish congregation celebrated the erection of a new chapel on a government-granted plot of land in Bonham Road. Some Rhenish missionaries travelled from Guangdong and Germany to attend the opening ceremony in Hong Kong, and found a horrifying surprise awaiting them.

The Berlin Women's Mission for China

The third German mission, the Berlin Women's Mission for China (Berlin Women's Mission), could trace its early history in Hong Kong back to Rev. Robert Neumann and his wife Hermina, a missionary couple from Berlin, who arrived in 1851.[33] Neumann was sponsored by the Berlin Missionary Association for China, and Hermina by the Berlin Women's Mission for China.[34] Both sponsoring institutions owed their founding to Gützlaff's European travels in 1850. On Gützlaff's advice, the couple established, Bethesda, a foundling home, in the Western District of Hong Kong. However, the Berlin Missionary Association for China was in financial difficulty and eventually merged with another society, die Berliner Missionsgesellschaft (the Berlin Missionary Society), in 1882. This new missionary society focused its attention on inland. The Berlin Women's Mission nonetheless continued to operate the foundling house in Hong Kong, taking care of many abandoned Chinese little girls.[35]

Female infanticide was prevalent in China in the nineteenth century. A Chinese magistrate estimated that only 20 to 30 percent of parents raised their female offspring to adulthood.[36] The practice of female infanticide was condemned by some Chinese officials.[37] There were also some anti-infanticide organisations in China, for example, the Ying-cheng-hwei or the Native Society for the Prevention of Infanticide, which was established in Ningbo in 1868.[38] However, the efforts of such officials and organisations were not enough to put a

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[33] Stone, *Chinese Basket Babies*, 1-8.
[34] The German names of the sponsors were the 'Berliner Hauptverein für die Evangelische Mission in China' and 'the Berliner Frauen-Missionsverein für China'.
[35] Stone, *Chinese Basket Babies*, 5.
[36] "Female Infanticide," *Hong Kong Daily Press* (4 July 1873): 2.
[37] "Infanticide in China," *Hong Kong Daily Press* (19 August 1876): 2.
[38] "Infanticide," *The China Mail* (2 July 1868): 3.

stop to female infanticide in China. In Hong Kong, infanticide cases were few, except among some Chinese newcomers who were unfamiliar with British laws.[39] Yet in Guangdong, where German missions were active, infanticide and/or the abandonment of female infants was still very common during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Abandoned baby girls were rescued from China and brought to Hong Kong under the auspices of the Berlin Foundling House (巴憐育嬰堂). The foundlings were looked after and given a Christian education in Hong Kong, until they reached 16 years of age. After that, they either entered into marriage or took up work, receiving professional training in one of the German mission schools or hospitals.[40]

Marriages were arranged by the missionaries in their capacity as guardians of their 'daughters'. The establishing of Christian families was an important strategy for the continuation of Christianity for future generations in China. Girls' schools and orphanages run by German missions served as marriage match centres for young Chinese male Christians. The earliest reports of a marriage arranged by German missionaries was recorded by Rudolf Lechler of the Basel Mission in 1866.[41]

Missionaries arranged personal meetings between the girls and selected candidates. However, only with the individual girl's consent would marriage take place. The candidates were mostly Chinese Christians who worked at or belonged to one of the German mission churches in Guangdong, but some were Chinese Christians from American or British missions' churches. Tschin-min-siu, the first Chinese Basel-Mission ordained pastor, married a graduate of the Berlin Foundling House/Girls' School (巴憐育嬰堂/女校).[42] With the education they received, the Berlin foundlings had an alternative path: a professional career. They were encouraged to 'work for the Kingdom of God' as teachers, nurses or assistants in Christian mission institutions.

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39 "Infanticide in the New Territories," *Hong Kong Daily Press* (27 January 1904): 3.

40 Stone, *Chinese Basket Babies*, 116.

41 Schlatter, *Biography of Rudolf Lechler*, 90.

42 Jessie G. Lutz and Rolland R. Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850-1900, with the Autobiographies of Eight Hakka Christians, and Commentary* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 248.

Figure 3: Berlin Foundling House children

Source: BMA QA-30.113.0055

Figure 4: Foundlings with their Christian husbands

Source: BMA A-30.09.011

At the outbreak of the War, the Berlin Girls' School was one of the schools which received regular Hong Kong government contributions.[43] It had a total of 90 students and looked forward to further expansion. Lady May, the governor's wife, laid the foundation stone for its new school wing on 25 June 1914.[44] No one attending that ceremony could have foreseen its closure just five years later.

The Hildesheim Mission for the Blind

The last German mission to come to Hong Kong, the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind, was established in 1890.[45] Although it did not trace its origins to Gützlaff directly, it was certainly inspired by his wife, Mary, who, with her husband, adopted six blind girls in China in the 1830s.[46] Mary Gützlaff sent some of her adopted blind daughters to England and the United States to learn Braille. Among them was Agnes Gützlaff, who was sent to England. She returned to China and taught blind students in Ningbo. The founder of the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind was Luise Cooper, who had worked at the Berlin Foundling House in Hong Kong between 1884 and 1886. Cooper's premature departure from Hong Kong because of illness did not hold her back from helping needy children in Hong Kong, however, particularly blind girls. She published a book in 1889, drawing attention to the needs of poor blind girls in China.[47] Many blind girls were sold into prostitution or resorted to begging. Her advocacy was supported by Wang Yu-chu, a Rhenish Mission Chinese pastor who frequently preached at the Berlin Foundling House. He wrote a letter to some Christian newspapers in Germany in 1890, describing the dire predicament of blind girls in China which was quoted in a missionary journal:

> The blind girls are taught to sing obscene songs and suffer from all kinds of torture at the hands of their masters. At night, the blind girls sleep in rooms where no knives or ropes can be found. The master even removes their trouser-belts to prevent suicide attempts. When a blind girl completes her course of singing lessons, she is sent out to

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43 "Return of Primary Schools," *The Blue Book 1914*, Hong Kong Government, Q 8-9.

44 "Lady May at Berlin Foundling House: Foundation Stone for New School," *South China Morning Post* (26 June 1914): 10.

45 Ortmann, *Die Hildesheimer Blindenmission in Hongkong*, 70-80.

46 Lutz, *Opening China*, 62-65.

47 Luise Cooper, *Aus der Deutschen Mission unter dem weiblichen Geschlechte in China. Zum Besten der Blinden Chinesinnen* [From the German Mission Among Women in China – For the Good of Blind Chinese Women] (Darmstadt: Winter, 1898).

> work. Every night she has to earn a certain minimum amount, without which she is not allowed to return and rest.[48]

The writings of Cooper and Wang attracted sufficient attention and support in Germany, leading to Cooper's establishment of the Society of Women and Virgins for China, Hildesheim (later renamed the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind) in 1890.[49] It was the first Protestant charitable institution for the blind in Germany. Initially, Cooper sponsored Mary Niles, an American Presbyterian missionary, to run an asylum for blind girls in Guangdong. In 1896, the Society of Women and Virgins for China, Hildesheim, sent its first missionary, Martha Postler, to Hong Kong. After learning Chinese at the Berlin Foundling House, Postler started a school for five blind girls in a small house in Hong Kong. This was in October 1897. It was only the second school for the blind in the colony; the Roman Catholic Canossian Sisters had founded the first blind school in 1863.[50] .

The early constitution of the Hildesheim Mission established two important precepts to underpin its mission: (1) the setting up of a home for Chinese blind girls who had been cast out by their parents or relatives; (2) the offering of education according to Christian principles and training in handicraft work so that the girls could earn a living.[51] At the outbreak of the War, the Hildesheim Mission was running Ebenezer, a school for 57 blind girls on Hong Kong Island, as well as Tsau-Kwong, a work centre and shelter for 61 blind women in Kowloon, where they produced handicrafts for living.[52] Ebenezer moved to Pokfulam on 11 March 1914, and opened a new campus there. The Pokfulam land had been purchased for HK$3,727 in June 1911, and present at the opening ceremony were the Hong Kong governor, the commander of the German Navy ship *Tsingtau*, and many German missionaries.[53] The new premises were intended to create a better future for the blind students, but, as it will be shown in Chapter 5, it actually turned out to be an obstacle to the return of the Hildesheim Mission to Hong Kong after the War.

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48 Agathe von Seelhorst, "Xinguang shuyuan shilu," "心光書院實錄" ["Annual Report of the Hildesheim Blind House"], *Dehua shuowang bao* 德華朔望報[The Chinese Christian Fortnightly], 59 (May 1910):1-4.
49 Ortmann, *Die Hildesheimer Blindenmission in Hongkong*, 66.
50 Ibid, 66-67.
51 Ibid, 70.
52 Ibid,147-150.
53 Ibid, 147.

Figure 5: Blind girls with German missionary

Source: BMA A-30.09.002

Figure 6: Hildesheim Mission's Girls School students

Source: BMA A-30.09.003

Relations between the German Missions

The German missions in South China were very close to each other. The Basel, Berlin and Rhenish missions (sometimes also called the Barmen Mission) actively pursued joint projects in their evangelical work, earning the nickname of Sanbahui (三巴會 or the 3-B missions).[54] During 1908 to 1911, the 3-B missions explored the possibility of merging their churches to form a joint German church in China. To move towards this goal, they jointly published a fortnightly publication *The Chinese Christian Fortnightly.* The editorial column in the first issue indicated clearly that the objective of the publication was to facilitate communication and connection between the three missions' Chinese congregations, so that they could gradually move towards full integration among themselves.[55] The 3-B missions also collected and translated German and English hymns, compiling a joint Chinese hymn book, Songzhushige (頌主詩歌), which is still used by the Basel and Rhenish missions' associated Chinese churches in Hong Kong today.[56] The two women's missions regularly invited male missionaries or pastors of the Basel and Rhenish missions to in charge of their Sunday services and sacraments. At the individual level, intermarriage among German missionaries from different missions was not uncommon. For instance, Rudolf Lechler's sister, Friederike, married Ferdinand Genähr in 1853.[57] The friendship and collaboration of German missions in South China, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, was vital to their survival and subsequent return to Hong Kong.

German Missions and Governments

A critical question relating to the treatment of German missions in the War is whether they were, in fact, agents of the German government. There seems to be no definitive answer, however. Some scholars, including Seth Quartey, Catherine

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[54] Li Zhi-gang 李志剛, "Sanba huitong qi xuanjiao" 三巴會通齊宣教["Evangelical Collaboration of the 3-B Missions"], *Christian Weekly* (2 November 2014), accessed 23 November 2021, http://www.christianweekly.net/2014/ta2023192.htm.

[55] "Benbao zongzhi " 本報宗旨["Objective"], *Dehua shuwang bao* 德華朔望報[The Chinese Christian Fortnightly], vol. 1 (1 January 1908): 1.

[56] *Songzhushige* 頌主詩歌 [Praise the Lord](Guangdong: Basel, Berlin and Rhenish Missions, 1911), A-II.c.36, BMA.

[57] Wolfgang Apelt and Julia Besten, eds., *Rhenish mission worker in China and Hongkong* (Wuppertal: Archives and Museum Foundation of the UEM, 2014), 26.

Koonar, and Carl-J Hellberg, suggest that German missionaries contributed actively to imperialism and colonialism in India, the Gold Coast, and Namibia.[58] Friedrich Fabri, a Rhenish Mission leader, is also widely recognised as a keen supporter of German colonial imperialism.[59] Influenced by him, the Rhenish Mission initiated mission work in the Cameroons and Togoland.[60] German imperialists reached China in 1897, when they acquired Jiaozhou (now Qingdao), in the hope of establishing a 'German Hong Kong' there.[61] Two Berlin Mission missionaries were sent there to carry out missionary work.[62]

However, other historians have put forward evidence disputing this idea. Winfried Glüer, for example, points out that the mission school established and the evangelical work carried out in Jiaozhou were run along the same lines as the school and work in Guangdong.[63] Evangelical ambition, rather than colonial advantage, motivated the Berlin Mission to establish mission work in Germany's mandate. Karl Rennitich examines the Basel Mission's history in terms of its close relationship with colonialism.[64] He argues that the policy of the Basel Mission towards German colonialism was ambiguous. The mission was under extreme pressure from the German government and its Wüttemberg members to support the German Empire's cultural colonisation. However, there was also a strident voice within the mission itself to the effect that 'Mission is to proclaim

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58 Seth Quartey, *Missionary Practices on the Gold Coast 1831-1895 - Discourse, Gaze and Gender in the Basel Mission in Pre-colonial West Africa* (New York: Cambria Press 2007); Catherine Koonar, "Christianity, Commerce and Civilization: Child Labor and the Basel Mission in Colonial Ghana, 1855–1914," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, vol. 86 (2014): 72-88; Hellberg, *Mission Colonialism and Liberation*, 38-41.

59 "Fabri, Friedrich (1824-1891)" in *Online Missiology Collection*, School of Theology, Boston University, accessed 17 March 2021, http://www.bu.edu/missiology/fabri-friedrich-1824-1891/.

60 Hellberg, *Mission Colonialism and Liberation*, 41-70.

61 Thoralf Klein, "Ambiguities of Race: Colonial Segregation in the German Leasehold of Kiautschou (1897 – 1914)," unpublished research paper presented at the International Interdisciplinary Conference on German Colonialism and Post-colonialism, San Francisco, 6 September 2007, accessed 6 October 2022, https://www.academia.edu/7861036/ambiguities_of_race_colonial_segregation_in_the_german_leasehold_of_kiautschou_1897_1914_.

62 Ulrich van der Heyden, "The Archives and Library of the Berlin Mission Society," *History in Africa*, vol. 23 (1996): 411-427, 423.

63 Winfried Glüer, "German Protestant Missions in China," in Torben Christensen and William R. Hutchison (eds.), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880 - 1920* (Århus, Denmark: Aros, 1982), 51-61.

64 Karl Rennitich, "The Understanding of Mission, Civilisation and Colonialism in the Basel Mission", in *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era*, 94-103.

the Gospel and nothing more.' In the mission fields, the exploitation of Africa by the German colonial government led the Basel missionaries to rethink their philosophy of being submissive to the authority. Some of them, including Konrad Walther and Johannes Bizer, sided with the Cameroonian people in their struggle to prevent the German colonial government from appropriating their lands.[65] Jeremy Best also suggests that German missionaries, with their background of Pietism, were careful to safeguard the 'religious, international and politically independent character' of their evangelical work.[66] Best points out that Fabri was forced out of his missionary leadership position by other Rhenish Mission leaders who disagreed with his imperialist views.[67] Ulrich van der Heyden also argues that German missionaries did not demonstrate nationalistic ideals or colonialist interests during their work in the colonies.[68]

For German missionaries operating in South China, Winfried Glüer suggests that they were hardly affected by Fabri's promotions on colonialism. Even after the acquisition of Jiaozhou by Germany in 1897, there was no significant change. Instead, the 3-B missionaries condemned Johann B. Anzer the Catholic priest, who persuaded the Kaiser to send warship to Jiaozhou after the murder of his colleagues, for allowing his missionary work to be used by German imperialists.[69] German missionaries refused the privilege of extraterritoriality in China and condemned imperialism and expansionism for economic gains. German Chinese churches' publications also seldom cited the Kaiser or the German government. Only a few exceptions included the Kaiser's awarding a medal of honour to Rudolf Lechler in 1897, to mark his fifty years of service in China.[70] Another one was the Hildesheim Mission's fund-raising concert in Hong Kong in 1908 when

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65 Ibid, 100-101.

66 Jeremy Best, *Heavenly Fatherland - German Missionary Culture and Globalisation in the Age of Empire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021), 13.

67 Ibid, 16.

68 Ulrich van der Heyden, "The Archives and Library of the Berlin Missionary Society," 411-427.

69 Glüer, "German Protestant Missions in China", 55.

70 "Liliji Mushi Chuandao Shihle," 黎力基牧師傳道史略[The Brief History of Rev. Rudolf Lechler's Evangelical Work], in *Jiuentang lihui yibai zhounian jinian tekan* 救恩堂立會一百週年紀念特刊[The Special Publication for the 100th Anniversary Celebration of Kau Yan Church](Hong Kong: Kau Yan Church, 1967), 80-82.

the orchestra of the visiting German military ship *Fürst Bismarck* performed.[71] Not wanting to be associated with any political interests, the Basel Mission's board rejected the offer of a generous grant by the German government for its mission schools in China in 1903.[72] Shortly before the War, the German government approached German missions in China with presumably nationalistic objectives in mind. The veteran missionary Otto Schultz recalled that:

> The Basel Mission recognised the underlying intention and the associated danger of detracting from the pure international, or, rather, supranational, missionary goal of striving for the Kingdom of God. It took a doctrinal stance, and, predictably, criticised any German government institutions in East Asia at the time. Consul von Borch even told me in Swatow that we Baslers would have to atone for this as the war approached.[73]

Schultz's observation supports Best's argument about the commitment of Pietist German missionaries to the notion of a supranational heavenly kingdom rather than the earthly empire to which they belonged.

In fact, there was significantly more cooperation between German missions and the Hong Kong colonial government than between German missions and the German government. Hong Kong was a safe haven for German missionaries working in mainland China during times of social unrest. The colony's British army was the nearest European military power that could come to their aid. In 1856, for instance, when Chinese bandits imprisoned two German missionaries in Pu-kit, Guangdong, the Hong Kong governor, Sir John Bowring, had sent Hong Kong troops across the border in a successful operation to rescue them.[74] During the Boxer Movement in 1900, the Basel Mission wrote to the Hong Kong government seeking protection for its Li-long station.[75] Hong Kong's colonial administrations were careful to make sure that they could readily access German missionaries' knowledge of China and personal networks at critical times. In the Six-Day War of 1899, when the British army briefly occupied Shenzhen, Guangdong, the Hong Kong government obtained local maps, intelligence and

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71 Mai Mei-sheng 麥梅生, "Jiaohui xinwen: huigu zhi yifa," 教會新聞:惠瞽之一法 [Church News: A Way to Help the Blind], *Dehua shuowang bao* 德華朔望報 [The Chinese Christian Fortnightly], Issue 8 (April 1908): 22-24.

72 Schlatter, *True Light for Hakka*, 173.

73 A quotation of Otto Schultz cited by Conrad Bitzer in his letter to the Basel Mission's President, 7 July 1919, A-3.08.01, BMA.

74 Bowring to Labouchère, 11 November 1856, CO 129/59, pp 104- 111, TNA.

75 H. A. Blacke to Joseph Chamberlain, 31 May 1899, CO 129/291, pp 605-610, TNA.

supplier contacts from Martin Schaub, the Sinologist head of the Basel Mission's seminary.[76] Two of his seminary students were recruited forcibly by the British troops as interpreters and eventually died in the Beijing Battle of August 1900.[77]

Apart from military protection, German missionaries also relied on land grants from the Hong Kong government to further their mission work in the colony. In 1863, during the armed confrontations between the Hakka and the Punti, the Basel Mission received a $100 grant from the Hong Kong government for the relief of arriving Hakka refugees in the colony.[78] This was a significant milestone in the history of both the Basel Mission and the Hong Kong Hakka community. The colonial government also sold land at a nominal price to the four German missions for the building of churches and schools. A number of these churches and schools were located in the Mid-Levels of Hong Kong Island, which became Hong Kong's most expensive district after the Xinhai Revolution of 1911. The good relationship between German missionaries and the Hong Kong government was also reflected in their social interaction. For example, Rudolf Lechler was one of the four independent examiners for the colony's foremost public school, the Central School.[79] Admirals and generals in the British military force, as well as the Magistrate of Hong Kong, were major donors to the Berlin Foundling House.[80] Free travel was granted to female missionaries who travelled from Europe to work for the Foundling House in Hong Kong.[81] Such examples indicate that the relationship between German missions and the Hong Kong colonial government was positive and productive before the War. German missionaries in Hong Kong were always careful not to involve themselves in political conflicts between Britain and their home country of Germany.

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76 N.V. O'Gorman to Martin Schaub, 31 May 1899, 7 June 1899, 3 August 1899 and 29 August 1899; T. J.W. Prendergast to Schaub, 3 August 1899, 20 September 1899, 20 November 1899 and 23 January 1900; J.H. Stewart Lockhart to Schaub, 6 September 1899, A-10.2, 3, BMA.

77 J. Edkins of the LMS to Martin Schaub, 4 August 1900, A-10.2, 3, BMA.

78 William Thomas Mercer, Acting Governor of Hong Kong, to the Duke of Newcastle, 29 December 1863, CO 129/94, pp 318–324, TNA.

79 *Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 5 Feb 1881, No.42, Hong Kong Government Records Services (HKGRS).

80 "Berlin Foundling House: One of the Colony's Oldest Institutions - Interesting Developments," *South China Morning Post* (25 June 1914): 6.

81 "Lady May at Berlin Foundling House," *South China Morning Post* (26 June 1914): 10.

German Missions and British Missions

German missionaries also worked closely with their British counterparts in the interests of the Protestant evangelical movement. Their relationship can be traced back to the eighteenth century, when the Moravian Mission of Germany started missionary work in the British colonies of North America.[82] The main source of funding for the Moravian Mission's Labrador mission came from the British Christian community. The British government allowed the Moravian to be registered as a Protestant Episcopal Church so that it could make payment in lieu of military service and affirm rather than take an oath on all occasions.[83] John Mason suggests that Moravian missionary work, its international profile, and the public support it received in Britain in fact gave rise to the growth of the British missionary movement of the nineteenth century. The popularity of and support for missionary work in Britain in turn stimulated the burgeoning of missionary bodies in continental Europe, including the Basel Mission. A group of Pietist Christians in Basel wrote to inform the LMS in 1798 that, inspired by the LMS work, a mission society *Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft* (literally 'German Christianity Society') had been formed in Basel.[84] The LMS later donated 200 guineas (British currency) to support this society's establishing of a new seminary, which eventually became the Basel Mission.[85]

Another example of cooperation between British and German missions was missionary training. In the nineteenth century, young Germans were recruited into the burgeoning missionary work in Britain. During its early years, from 1819 to 1858, the CMS recruited over 120 missionaries from Basel and Berlin to carry out its missionary work in India and Africa.[86] It even signed a formal agreement with

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[82] John C. S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England (1760-1800)* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001).

[83] Colin Podmore, *The Moravian Church in England, 1728-1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 228-265.

[84] C. F. A. Steinkopff and other leaders of the Basel Mission to the London Missionary Society, 7 February 1798, CWM/LMMS/07, Box 2, Folder 4, Jacket A, Archives and Special Collection, School of Oriental and African Studies Library (SOAS).

[85] Rev. Blumhardt, the Basel seminary to the London Missionary Society, 20 March 1817, CWM/LMMS/07, Box 2, Folder 4, Jacket D, SOAS.

[86] J. McLeod Campbell, *Christian History in the Making* (London: The Press & Publications Board of the Church Assembly, 1946), 68-78.

the Basel Mission in 1817 to guarantee a supply of Basel-trained missionaries.[87] This agreement, renewed several times up to 1861, was important to the Basel Mission. It gave financial and organisational stability to the Basel mission, and it also gave the Basel Mission international endorsement, which appealed to its supporters. However, the partnership between the German and British missions was not without its challenges. Paul Jenkins notes that the conflicts which arose between the CMS and the Basel Mission, were attributable to their differences in ecclesiology and culture, language, and missionary management.[88] The cooperative relationship between the two gradually disappeared in the 1850s, and the evangelical movement became nationally based. Nonetheless, German missions still maintained a close relationship with British missions as far as the evangelical movement was concerned. A German attending the General Missionary Conference of 1888 observed that, like a three-legged stool, the global Protestant mission was built on the British, German and North American mission movements.[89]

The pre-existing friendship between German and British Protestant missions was extended to their new mission fields in South China, an area which had been evangelised for centuries by Roman Catholic missionaries. The first Catholic missionary, John of Montecorvino, a Franciscan, reached Beijing in 1294, during the Mongol-controlled Yuan dynasty.[90] The Franciscans' mission work crumbled after the fall of Mongols in 1368. Two Jesuits, Michael Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci, re-started the Catholic mission work in 1583 in Macau and Guangzhou. Ricci and other Jesuits impressed the Ming emperor with their scientific knowledge of astronomy, engineering and geography, and their other talents in music, painting, engraving and clockmaking.[91] They were appointed to serve at the imperial Calendar Office in 1629. After the Ming was replaced by Manchu

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87 Paul Jenkins, "The Church Missionary Society and the Basel Mission: An Early Experiment in Inter-European Cooperation," in Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley (eds.), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799 - 1999*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2000), 43-65.

88 Ibid, 50-65.

89 Best, *Heavenly Fatherland*, 192.

90 Arnulf Camps, "The People's Republic of China: From Foreignness to Contextualization," in *Studies in Asian Mission History*, *1956-1998* (Leiden: Brill 2000), 105–121.

91 Hsia Po-chia, "Imperial China and the Christian Mission," in *A Companion to the Early Modern Catholic Global Mission* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 334-365.

conqueror, the Jesuits continued to serve the new administration. During the reign of Kangxi, the Jesuits' China mission reached its zenith. The Manchu emperor issued an edict of tolerance, allowing Christianity to be as freely and openly exercised in China as other major religions. However, the concerns over Chinese Catholics participation in sacrificial rites gave rise to the 'rites controversy'.[92] In 1715, the Pope issued a papal decree prohibiting Chinese Catholic Church members took part in ritual practices including ancestor worship. Upset by the papal decree, Kangxi reversed his edict of tolerance and ordered most Catholic missionaries to leave China. More severe anti-Christian measures initiated by Emperor Qianlong were introduced in 1784. However, Roman Catholic practices continued in a low-profile manner in small, loyal communities in various provinces of China.[93]

Having Roman Catholic missions as a common rival appeared to strengthen solidarity among Protestant missions in China. Missionaries from different Protestant denominations published essays complaining about the problems of Roman Catholics.[94] Genähr of the Rhenish Mission claimed that, if he were to publish the material he had gathered in the last three years relating to the wrongdoings committed by Catholics in South China, he could fill a whole volume of the missionary journal *The Chinese Recorder*. In 1899, a severe case involving the kidnapping and robbing of a Rhenish missionary by a French Catholic priest on the northern border of Hong Kong made newspaper headlines and was ultimately reported to London.[95] Faced with the challenge of evangelising to millions of Chinese and the prospect of competition from Roman Catholic missions, Protestant missionaries opted to unite in support of each other. For example, when the LMS urgently needed a Chinese preacher for its growing Chinese congregation at the Dao Ji Church (道濟會堂), it sought help from German Protestant missions, which had begun to train Chinese catechists from almost the first day of their arrival in China. The LMS recruited from the Rhenish Mission the experienced pastor, Wang Yu-chu (王煜初), in 1885. Then, in 1908,

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92 Camps, "From Foreignness to Contextualization,"109.
93 Hsia, "Imperial China and the Christian Missions," 364.
94 Immanuel Genähr, "Outrages at Pak-kong," *The Chinese Recorder*, vol. 30, no. 11(1899): 529-539.
95 Governor H.A. Blake to J. Chamberlain, 4 December 1899, CO 129/294, pp 465-479, TNA.

the Basel Mission generously offered the LMS Zhang Zhu-ling (張祝齡), a bright graduate from the Li-long seminary, son of a Basel Mission pastor. Zhang was ordained as a pastor five years later, and he contributed significantly to the LMS Chinese church congregation.[96] Major collaboration between German and British missionaries produced the translation of the Union Version Chinese Bible. Both the Basel Mission and the Rhenish Mission took part in the project. Martin Schaub of the Basel Mission worked closely with John Chalmers of the LMS on the translation of the New Testament into Wenli classical Chinese. They jointly published the Chalmers-Schaub Wenli New Testament in 1897.[97]

It cannot be claimed that there was complete harmony between German and British Protestant missionaries in South China, however. They argued over jurisdiction in the mission fields. In 1911, for instance, there were some arguments between the Basel missionaries and the LMS missionaries in Honyen and Kutschuk areas.[98] However, overall, China was simply too large in terms of population and geographical space to be evangelised, which meant that collaboration made much more sense than competition. Their common rivals were, instead, Roman Catholics, Buddhists, and Taoists, as well as members of other popular religions in China. In summary, German missions had a longstanding friendship and tradition of collaboration with British missions in both Europe and Hong Kong. However, when the War made their home countries (Germany and Britain) enemies, the relationship between the two mission groups was severely tested.

At the Outbreak of the War

Ever since their arrival in China in 1847, German missions had enjoyed legal protection, personal security, convenient trade and communications, as well as warm support and friendship from their British counterparts and the small European community in Hong Kong. The Basel and Rhenish Missions established Hong Kong as their administrative centre and a safe haven for their missionary

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96 Lau Siu-lun 劉紹麟, *Zhonghua jidujiao heyitang shi* 中華基督教合一堂史[History of Hop Yat Church, CCC] (Hong Kong: Hop Yat Church, 2003), 174.

97 Jost O. Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version or the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China* (Nettetal: Steyler Verlage, 1999).

98 Rev. Ziegler to the Basel Mission's President, 18 February 1911, A-01.49, BMA.

work in China. As for the Berlin Women's Mission for China, Hong Kong was their raison d'être, their home base, and their only mission field. Just a few months before the outbreak of the War, the foundling home had committed to building a new school wing, but had not yet paid the architect in full.[99] Hong Kong was also the impetus for the establishment of the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind in 1890, and remained its sole mission field in China until October 1912, when the Hildesheim Mission started a small venture in the Chinese mainland. In response to an invitation from the Basel Mission, it sent Marie Räuchle to Kaying (now Meixian) to develop education for blind girls there.[100] If the War had not occurred, these four German missions would surely have continued to expand in Hong Kong and the Chinese mainland. However, developments in world history put them on a very different path.

When the news of the War broke in Hong Kong in early August 1914, the Rhenish Mission was holding a four-day conference (1–4 August 1914) to celebrate the completion of its new chapel in the colony.[101] Many of those attending were Germans, coming from various mission stations in Guangdong and Europe. Once the news was confirmed by the German consul to Hong Kong, the conference was halted, and the German delegates prepared to depart. Missionary Carl Maus managed to acquire tickets for three of his missionary colleagues (Friedrich Habersang, Karl F. Fischer and Jakob Graf) to travel to Tsingtao, departing on 4 August 1914. His report describes their departure:

> At 10:30 a.m., we gathered for a brief farewell and holy communion. I read Psalm 46 and stressed verse 8 in particular as our motto, 'The Lord Almighty is with us; the God of Jacob is our protection'. With the consent of the mission's president and treasurer general, I gave $500 to my brother missionaries. … At the bank, I was told that cashflow had been interrupted. But I was able to withdraw all the money that we still had in our account there. At the same time, I heard that a Japanese cruiser was in the port [of Hong Kong] and that it would accompany the passenger steamer. I met my brother missionaries at the point of embarkation to tell them this and to get them a boat to take them to the steamer. And so we parted ways. May God grant that we meet again![102]

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99 "Lady May at Berlin Foundling House," *South China Morning Post* (26 June 1914): 10.

100 Ortmann, *Die Hildesheimer Blindenmission in Hongkong*, 147.

101 *Berichte der Rhenischen Missions-Gesellschaft (1914)*, Citation of Maus' letter, 7 August 1914, 257, Archive and Museum Foundation of the UEM (AMS).

102 Ibid, 258.

Later that day, Britain officially declared war on Germany. All Germans resident in Hong Kong became enemies overnight. In the first two months after the outbreak of the War, the Hong Kong government allowed Germans to stay in the colony under parole conditions. They were required to report to the Provost Marshal every 14 days and give their solemn promise not to do anything against Britain/British interests.[103] Governor May drew up a list of the 192 Germans in the colony on 22 October 1914: 82 merchants and their employees and 18 spouses; 50 shopkeepers, missionaries, ship's officers, doctors etc.; six missionaries' spouses; 13 wives of other Germans; 23 spinsters, including 13 female missionaries in charge of charitable institutions.[104]

Rev. H. Dipper, the Basel Mission's Secretary for China, sent a petition to the British government on 14 August1914, asking for kindness and generosity towards his mission's missionaries in China.[105] He emphasised that the Basel missionaries had been serving Chinese people in Hong Kong and the southern part of Guangdong Province, and that they were loyal to the British government of Hong Kong and trying their utmost to foster loyalty among Christians under their supervision. If communication with Hong Kong were to cease, he said, the Basel Mission would be isolated from the whole missionary project in China, and this would involve 46 missionaries, 38 female missionaries, and 25 children. Dipper requested that the Basel Mission Society should be treated as an international institution and placed under the protective flag of the Red Cross. The Colonial Office's reply was brief, but positive, saying that purely religious work carried out by the Basel Mission would be protected.[106]

After the war was declared, the flow of incoming funds from Europe and trade between Europe and Hong Kong was severely disrupted, posing a direct threat to the German missions' daily operations. On 5 August 1914, forecasting great financial uncertainty, G. Ziegler, head of the Basel Mission's China Branch,

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[103] *Berichte der Rhenischen Missions-Gesellschaft (1914)*, Citation of Maus' letter, 1 September 1914, 260-261, AMS.

[104] May to Lewis Harcourt, 22 October 1914, CO 129/414, pp 27-37, TNA. There was no specification of the '13 missionary sisters employed in the charge of Charitable Institutions'. They may include Protestant and Catholic female missionaries.

[105] Rev. H. Dipper, Secretary for China of the Basel Mission to Reginald McKenna, Colonial Secretary, 14 August 1914, CO 129/418, pp 392 - 395, TNA.

[106] Wilhelm Schlatter and Hermann Witschi, *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1914-1919* (Basel: Basileia Verlag Basel, 1965), 276.

issued a notice to all mission stations in China and North Borneo.[107] He ordered the suspension of all training activities and construction or building repair projects, the dismissal of unnecessary servants, and a reduction in the salaries of all missionaries, local catechists, and teachers. He also urged Chinese church congregations to pay church tax in good time and to make voluntary contributions to the mission funds. The Basel Mission's treasurer, Conrad Bitzer, whose key responsibility was to distribute money and supplies to the inland-China centres, described his work as 'completely paralysed'.[108] The Basel Mission had ordered consignments from Europe, but these were never received, and Bitzer was forbidden by law to send any goods to inland China, the Caroline Islands (near New Guinea), or New Guinea itself. The only positive news was that the Basel Mission had substantial deposits in banks and that the transfer of money from London was still permitted. Bitzer also stated that he did not expect much money would be needed for the year because of a suspension order on new projects connected with mission work.[109]

The Rhenish Mission, which was smaller than the Basel Mission, suffered greater financial pressure. Once the War had been declared, almost all of its Hong Kong staff were let go.[110] It also reached agreement with all its assistants and teachers in China that their salaries would be reduced by half, with the assurance that their rightful salary would be fully paid to them by the end of the school year.[111] They also informed the Chinese Christians belonging to their churches of their financial difficulties, and only let schools which could finance themselves remain open. This proved to be a successful strategy. Missionary Hermann Linden reported that some students who could not afford even a moderate contribution towards their boarding fees in the past were able to pay in full. Additionally, his school rearranged classes so that students could cook their own meals after the school chef was let go.[112]

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107 G. Ziegler to all Basel Mission stations in China and Borneo, 5 August 1914, A-3-11.1, BMA.

108 Bitzer to the Director of the Basel Mission, 10 August 1914, A-3-8,1a, BMA.

109 Ibid.

110 *Berichte der Rhenischen Missions-Gesellschaft (1914)*, Citation from Maus' letter, 1 September 1914, 260-261, AMS.

111 *Berichte der Rhenischen Missions-Gesellschaft, 1914*, Citation from Linden's letter, 20 September 1914, 261, AMS.

112 Ibid.

The other two German missions in Hong Kong – the Berlin Women's Mission for China and the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind – had relied on local subscriptions from European residents and wealthy Chinese, as well as donations from Germany, to fund their work before the War. When money could no longer come from Germany, Governor May and some of his associates made contributions out of their own pockets to support the Berlin foundlings and the blind temporarily.[113] Later, the records of the Hildesheim Mission show it was the Hong Kong government which advanced money to these German institutions to allow them to continue their work with foundlings and the blind.[114] The government's financial aid to these mission work reflected the endorsement of colonial officials to social service for underprivileged women in China. However, some years later, as outlined in Chapter 5, when the German missions negotiated their return to the colony, the repayment of the accumulated debt to the Hong Kong government was one of the most difficult negotiating points.

During the War, Hong Kong was under the governorship of Sir Francis Henry May. Hailing from Dublin, May was the fifteenth governor of Hong Kong, and also the only governor to have previously served as the head of the colony's police force. He had started his colonial career in 1881 as a cadet officer in Hong Kong, serving in many different positions, including those of assistant protector of Chinese, private secretary to the governor, captain superintendent of police, and colonial secretary. In 1911, May was appointed governor of Fiji, but he returned after just a year to take up his position as Governor of Hong Kong. May was passionate about Chinese culture. He studied Mandarin Chinese in Beijing for two years and furthered his studies by learning Cantonese in Hong Kong.[115] During the War, May was criticised by British merchants in the colony and Guangdong for his leniency towards Germans (further details can be found in Chapter 5). Mission and government records show that May was well disposed towards the German missions in the colony. When he eventually followed the practice of other

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[113] May to Lewis Harcourt, Colonial Office, 4 November 1914, CO 129/414, pp 129-138, TNA.

[114] *Zeiundzwanzigster Bericht der Deutsche Blindenmission unter dem weiblichen Geschlecht in China - Herausgegeben vom Vorstande, Das Blindenheim in Kaulun, 1915.* [Twenty-second report of the German Mission for Blind Females in China - The Home for the Blind in Kowloon, 1915], 3, Hildesheim Mission Library (HML).

[115] Andrew Yanne and Gillis Heller, *Signs of a Colonial Era* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 62 – 63.

British colonies, expelling all Germans from the colony, he allowed the nine female missionaries of the Berlin Women's Mission and the Hildesheim Mission to stay on.[116] In a subsequent letter, May explained:

> As it was impossible to obtain substitutes possessed of the necessary qualifications, they were allowed to remain, but the institutions were placed under the supervision and control of Archdeacon Barnett of the Church Missionary Society, who volunteered his service.[117]

We cannot be sure if there was really a problem to substitute the German missionaries, because as will be shown in Chapter 4, May's successor quickly obtained the required help from the CMS. May did not impose many restrictions on these German women, except that they could not leave their premises without official permission, and their correspondence was heavily censored. However, by far the most dramatic case illustrating May's supportive stance towards German missionaries was his correspondence with Major-General Francis Henry Kelly, Commander of the British troops in South China. The copious correspondence between the two men, concerning essentially local disputes, was preserved only because their confrontations were so serious that they were reported to London.[118]

Before we review their arguments, it is appropriate to outline some possible reasons for their difference of opinion. First, the two men had a very different understanding of and trust level towards German missionaries in Hong Kong. After decades of civil service in the colony, May must have been very familiar with the work of German missionaries in South China. As Captain Superintendent of Police in 1898, it was likely that May was aware of the help of the Basel missionary Martin Schaub in the British acquisition of the New Territories.[119] Such personal knowledge and experience might possibly have influenced how May perceived the risk profile of German missionaries in South China. On the other hand, Kelly was a veteran military officer who had served in Burma and

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116 May to Lewis Harcourt, 4 November 1914, CO 129/414, pp 129-138, TNA.

117 May to Lewis Harcourt, 4 Feb 1915, CO 129/420, pp 266-269, TNA.

118 May to Lewis Harcourt of the Colonial Office, 11 February 1915, CO 129/420, pp 354-375; May to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 30 October 1914, CO 129/414, pp76-78; Foreign Office to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 9 November 1914, CO 129/417, pp 289-290, TNA.

119 B. D. Wilson, "The Acquisition of the New Territories," *The British Empire* website, accessed 19 October 2022, https://www.britishempire.co.uk/article/acquisitionnewterritories.htm.

India since 1885.[120] He might have inherited the cautious approach towards missionaries from the Indian government. Kelly was transferred to South China in 1913, just a year before the War broke out. Lack of local experience and knowledge could have driven Kelly to adopt a stricter and more cautious attitude towards any potential British enemy. A government record of 1915 indicates that Kelly was the first person who proposed expelling Germans from Shamian, a British concession in Guangzhou. However, the idea was strongly opposed by May and Sir John Jordan, HM Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to China.[121]

Another possible reason for the arguments over German missionaries could be due to a clash of power between an experienced civil governor and a new military leader for the colony. During the same period, the two had serious disputes over the use of military power within Hong Kong. May complained to London that Kelly and his men mistakenly considered Hong Kong to be under martial law, and that they believed 'they can do what they like to any civilian'.[122] He quoted three recent cases where illegal entry and searching of British and European civilians were carried out by military force in the colony without sufficient evidence of their being pro-German. May did not hide his feelings, stating that many other minor incidents that occurred had given him 'a good deal of annoyance and trouble'. He worried that the military authorities who had no acquaintance with Chinese customs and the Chinese language could threaten the stability of the colonial government. In another letter, he also warned that, 'in a colony populated by an alien and timid race like the Chinese, the exercise of such wide powers as Major-General Kelly claims might lead to disastrous results'.[123] May's argument that it should be the duty of the civil authorities to deal with any

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120 "Francis Henry Kelly," Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College London, accessed 10 October 2022, https://web.archive.org/web/20120924101052/http://www.kcl.ac.uk/lhcma/locreg/KELLY.shtml.

121 Remarks of a Colonial Office staff member (unrecognisable signature, 27 November 1915), CO 129/428, pp 55-71, TNA.

122 May to Sir John Anderson, 6 November 1914, CO 129/414, pp 121-122, TNA.

123 May to Lewis Harcourt, 3 November 1914, CO 129/414, pp 114-115, TNA.

riot in Hong Kong, and the assistance of military forces should be involved only as a last resort was accepted by the authorities in the Colonial Office.[124]

The discussion above indicates that the civil and military authorities in Hong Kong held different views as to how military power should be used towards civilians, including Germans. To the German missionaries, the governor's protective actions during the War were crucial to the future of their work in South China. There were what might be described as three rounds in the 'war' between May and Kelly over German missionaries. The first round concerned the arrest, trial and imprisonment of Rev. Conrad Bitzer, Treasurer General of the Basel Mission, by a field general court martial on 8 September 1914. Bitzer was prosecuted for a breach of his parole and sentenced to 4.5 months in prison. His term was subsequently reduced to 28 days on medical grounds and he was released after just five days in prison. Only on the day of Bitzer's release did Kelly inform May of the incident.[125] He also declined to provide any records pertaining to Bitzer's trial. This and other similar cases prompted May to pose a query to London regarding the application of military force in Hong Kong.

The second round of the 'war' between May and Kelly took place in late October 1914, when the British imperial government ordered all Germans to be expelled from its colonies and possessions. Deportation orders were issued to all German missionaries on 25 October 1914, requiring their departure by 12 noon on 1 November 1914.[126] Bitzer and three other German missionaries wanted to go to their mission stations in Guangdong after their deportation. However, their requests were denied by the Provost Marshal of Hong Kong, who said that only women were allowed to go to the Chinese mainland. German men were all obliged to go to Manila, Philippines, or Shanghai, China (which was an international settlement, controlled chiefly by Britain at the time). The last resort of the German missionaries was to petition Governor May. Missionary Carl Maus of the Rhenish Mission recorded his conversations with the governor.

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[124] Draft letter from Colonial Office to Army Council, 31 December 1914, CO 129/414, p 123, TNA.

[125] Kelly to May,15 September 1914, CO 129/420, p 373, TNA.

[126] *Berichte der Rhenischen Missions-Gesellschaft, 1914*, citation of Maus' letter undated October 1914, 259, AMS.

> ‘To which mission do you belong, Mr Maus?’
> ‘The Rhenish Mission.’
> ‘Where do you work?’
> ‘In Guangdong.’
> ‘In any other place?’
> ‘No.’
> ‘Then I presume you speak the Cantonese dialect, correct?’
> ‘Yes, I have done so for the past 27 years.’
> ‘Well, then, there is no point in going to Shanghai.’ (Turning to his secretary) ‘Write Santong,’ he said.[127]

After his meetings with four German missionaries, including Maus, and Bitzer, Nigel, and Maute of the Basel Mission, May sent a summary of his conversations to Kelly, indicating that based on the facts revealed in the interviews, these German missionaries should be allowed to proceed to Guangdong, given the absence of any evidence that they were spies.[128] He also pointed out that these German missionaries only spoke the dialects of Guangdong, and that their missions had no other stations in China. Therefore, he concluded, they should not be sent to Shanghai. Nonetheless, this view was strongly opposed by Kelly, on military grounds. He wrote:

> These men will have great facilities for communicating information likely to be of value to our enemies and for spreading anti-British rumours among the Chinese. Everyone of them is a potential spy with an intimate knowledge of this Colony; to have them within a few miles of it is a risk which I, as a Military Commander, would not myself incur.[129]

May wrote back and argued that little danger was to be anticipated relating to the presence of these missionaries in China.[130] He argued that the German Consular Officer in Guangdong had all the resources and knowledge necessary for successful spying on Hong Kong, including the privilege granted to the German Consulate by the Chinese government, which allowed them to send telegrams. May also pointed out that, ‘any unduly harsh treatment of German missionaries by British Authorities would be injurious to British prestige in the eyes of the Chinese.’ Kelly and May both refused to give in, and the issue was eventually referred to the Colonial Office, London, in February 1915. Although London

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127 Ibid. Santong is a place in Guangdong where the Rhenish Mission had a mission station.
128 May to Kelly, 5 November 1914, CO 129/414, pp 390-393, TNA.
129 Kelly to May, 6 November 1914, CO 129/414, p 394, TNA.
130 May to Kelly 10 November 1914, CO 129/414, pp 395-396, TNA.

decided to leave the final decision to Kelly, by the date on which the Colonial Office's telegram arrived in Hong Kong, the four Germans had already left for Guangdong, with the express permission of Governor May.[131] One of his London colleagues, on learning about the departure of the four Germans, queried why the governor did not send a telegram before release of the missionaries and include a remark: 'I suppose no more need be said. It is to be hoped that these were missionaries first and Germans only secondarily.'[132]

The third round of the 'war' between May and Kelly unfolded in January 1915 and concerned the Basel Mission's withdrawal of funds from Hong Kong and their delivery to its centre in China. When Kelly discovered that $5,000 would soon be transferred by a coolie to Bitzer in Li-long, Guangdong, he raised strong objections on 29 January 1915.[133] He protested on military grounds that the funds could be used to spread anti-British propaganda among the Chinese or to bribe people to work against British interests. Kelly wrote: 'I do not trust Mr Bitzer.' He also suggested referring the matter to London. May responded on the same day, stating that the money transfer had obtained his approval in advance.[134] The sum was to be used to support the 70 European missionaries and their 200 Chinese assistants working in Guangdong Province. May said that he had taken legal advice before granting the approval, and that he had no doubt that the Colonial Secretary in London would approve his action. He also stated that the Colonial Office was aware that the missionaries of the Basel Mission were residents of the colony, and that the colonial government had permitted them to draw upon 'their funds' in the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank to support their mission work in China. May suggested that the Colonial Secretary should not be troubled with 'what would necessarily be a long and expensive telegram on the subject', but agreed to send a copy of Kelly's letter to London. Knowing that nothing could be done to stop the money transfer, Kelly wrote back to May the next day, agreeing that there was no need to send an expensive telegram to London. However, Kelly still questioned the governor's decision, and wrote:

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131 May to Kelly, 12 November 1914, CO 129/414, p 397, TNA.
132 May to Lewis Harcourt, 4 November 1914, CO 129/414, pp 29-138, TNA.
133 Kelly to May, 29 January 1915, CO 129/414, p 357, TNA.
134 Ibid, 358.

> We are fighting an enemy who leaves no stone unturned to injure us morally and physically and it is most undesirable on military (and I am authorised to say on naval) grounds that funds should be placed in the hands of anyone who in all probabilities will use part at least of them in his country's service. Mr Bitzer has already been Court Martialled for breaking the terms of his parole when resident here. He is now residing within two hours railway journey of Hong Kong, where he has every opportunity of working mischief.[135]

Kelly also stated that, if the Colonial Secretary's telegram had arrived before the governor's direct order, Bitzer would already have been deported to Shanghai, where his potential to cause problems would have been greatly diminished. Kelly's letter led May to inform the Colonial Office of everything, knowing that the issue would no longer remain local. He replied on 2 February 1915, stating that he would send the correspondence on the subject of the money transfer to the Colonial Office in due course.[136] But in order to enable the Secretary of State to appreciate the reasons for Kelly's distrust of Bitzer, May insisted that Kelly should provide the legal documents and related evidence from Bitzer's trial. On the matter of deporting Bitzer to Shanghai, May reminded Kelly that the power of deportation was vested in the governor. May also sent Kelly some evidence to justify his own opinion of Bitzer's reputation. It was a statement by a police sergeant who accompanied the coolie on his journey to deliver the money to Bitzer in the village of Li-long.[137] The sergeant denied seeing any anti-British photos or propaganda in the village, and said that the Chinese there either knew nothing about the War or did not take sides regarding the War. Kelly eventually sent the governor the charge sheet and the court evidence on 8 February 1915.[138]

The charge sheet indicated that Bitzer was accused of 'posting a circular letter containing exaggerated statements of German victories to various residents in China, [and that Bitzer] did thereby attempt to disseminate reports calculated to cause unnecessary alarm and despondency amongst British or Chinese residents.'[139] There was also a copy of a half-page notice distributed by Bitzer to various mission stations in China on 31 August 1914, which mentioned decisive

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135 Kelly to May, 30 January 1915, CO 129/420, p 359, TNA.
136 May to Kelly, 2 February 1915, CO 129/420, p 360, TNA.
137 T. Murphy to the Chief Detective Inspector, 3 January 1915, CO 120/420, p 362, TNA.
138 Kelly to May, 8 February 1915, CO 129/420, p 364, TNA.
139 A charge sheet signed by R.S. Stewart for Major-General, which was attached in the letter from Kelly to May, 8 February 1915, CO 129/420, p 367, TNA.

victories of Germany over the Allies in France, and a list of French fortresses already captured by the Germans.[140] Kelly also enclosed a statement written by a lieutenant colonel, a member of the court-martial body, who accused Bitzer of writing another letter claiming that German prisoners-of-war on Stonecutters' Island were being employed to wash British soldiers' clothes.[141] The lieutenant colonel added that he and other members of court-martial body perceived Bitzer as 'quite unscrupulous as to what he spread in the way of anti-British rumours and that he certainly was not to be trusted.'

May forwarded copies of all their correspondence to the Colonial Secretary on 11 February 1915.[142] He also enclosed a statement by the crown solicitor, questioning the validity of the trial of Bitzer, a civilian, by a field general's court martial.[143] May expressed his regret that Bitzer should be tried in such a manner, because he had 'very grave doubts as to whether Mr Bitzer committed any offence' against section 40 of the Army Act. He also testified that, 'during the presence in Hongkong of the members of the Basel Mission, there was no evidence of their engaging in any anti-British propaganda among the Chinese population.' The three rounds of disputes between the governor and the military leader in Hong Kong over German missionaries in South China reflect their different points of view regarding the potential risk to national security of German missions operating in British territories. Subsequent history indicates that it was the views of military authorities that eventually dictated the British policy towards German missions.

In terms of the relationship between German missions and British missions in Hong Kong at the outbreak of the War, a harmonious coexistence seemed to endure. The long-standing collaboration between the two entities in Chinese evangelical work still played a major role for the British missionaries. Rev. Thomas W. Pearce of the LMS received instructions from London to the effect that: 'German missionaries are not allowed to come to want in respect of personal

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140 A letter from Bitzer addressed to 'Brothers and Sisters', 31 August 1914, CO 129/420, p 369, TNA.

141 F. J. Moberley, Lieut-Colonel, 25th Punjabis to Provost Marshal, 6 February 1915, CO 129/420, pp 365-366, TNA.

142 May to Lewis Harcourt, 11 February 1915, CO 129/420, pp 355 - 375, TNA.

143 Paul M. Hodgson, Crown Solicitor to the Colonial Secretary, 8 February 1915, CO 129/420, p 374, TNA.

requirements.'.[144] In his report to the London headquarters of the LMS, he recalled the unselfish acts of his German counterparts in the past:

> Previous reports have called attention to our relations with the German missions, of which no fewer than four are established in Hongkong. Our Church owes much to their work which has been the means of providing the Dao Ji congregation with two able and faithful pastors. The fact should be remembered in the way of further and final acknowledgement.[145]

Another British mission in Hong Kong, the CMS, also expressed sympathy for the German missions, so severely affected by the War. Archdeacon Ernest. J. Barnett reported to its headquarters that the school for blind girls and the foundling home had been doing excellent work in the colony.[146] However, with estimated monthly expenses of between $1,300 and $1,400, it was impossible for individual missionaries to maintain these institutions. When the German missionaries were expelled from the colony in November 1914, the government asked the CMS to take over the general supervision of the Berlin Foundling House and the two facilities for the blind 'until such time as the male missionaries are allowed to return'.[147] Barnett assured his London colleagues that the CMS would not assume any financial responsibility vis-à-vis these institutions. This CMS arrangement was obviously welcomed by the female German missionaries. In early 1915, Sister Berta of the Hildesheim Mission stated in her letter to the home mission that, 'It was really nice of Mr Barnett look after our financial affairs as his fourth job; he is a dear, obliging old friend, and so good-hearted. He even helped our blind family out with some of his own money when the bank was not paying anything out.'.[148] Further developments, as revealed in Chapter 5, indicate that Sister Berta's observation was put to the test after the end of the War.

Conclusion

Following the strategies of Gützlaff, four German missionary societies successfully established evangelical work in South China. Hong Kong remained

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[144] Barnett to Baylis, 23 October 1914, G1/CH1/O/Original Papers, CMS.
[145] Thomas W. Pearce, "Annual Report of South China District Committee, 1915," CWM/LMS/South China/Reports/Box 5, SOAS.
[146] Barnett to Baylis, 23 October 1914, G1/CH1/O/Original Papers, CMS.
[147] Barnett to Baylis, 5 November 1914, G1/CH1/O/Original Papers, CMS.
[148] Annual Report of the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind, *1915,* 4-5, HML.

the established base for their China ministries. A good relationship with the colonial government and local British missionaries was generally maintained before the War. The War certainly brought much suffering and stress to German missionaries as a result of the trade ban and the interruption of cashflow from Europe. However, the sympathetic governor May allowed the missionaries of the two women missions to stay in the colony. Throughout the War, they continued to take care over 100 foundlings, blind students and workers, with financial support offered by the colonial government and Hong Kong residents. The Basel and Rhenish missionaries were allowed to proceed to their inland stations in Guangdong where they were able to continue their mission work by reining in their expenses. At this stage, with the exception of British military staff, both the British government and the colonial government maintained great faith in the German missionaries and their conduct. Nevertheless, the tide began to turn in 1915, when certain events in British colonies caused German missionaries to be seen as 'enemy missionaries'. The tiny colony was about to be drawn into a collision between two global forces - the wish of the world's greatest Empire to remove the threats of German missions within its territories; and the determination of Allied Protestant leaders to salvage the evangelical fruits of their German comrades worldwide.

Chapter 2:

British Policy towards German Missions

When German missionaries were expelled from the Cameroons in 1914, the news shocked Protestant missions and their supporters around the world. Rev. W. Stark, director of the Evangelical Press Union for Germany, expressed his dismay in a leaflet:

> Only a few months ago, England was reckoned the best friend of mission-work — the country whose government was most eagerly concerned to spread Christian religion and civilisation among the heathen. … Today, this England lies under the serious accusation of having, by her methods of warfare in the colonies, ruined for a long time to come the civilising work of flourishing mission stations.[1]

Britain was the leading light in and a generous supporter of the global evangelical movement when the War broke out. According to the world Christian mission survey of 1910, British people contributed £2.3 million, equivalent to 38 percent of the world budget, to Protestant missionary work.[2] The British government was liberal and friendly towards Protestant mission work in its colonies.[3] However, the outbreak of the War in August 1914 dramatically changed this picture. German missions became 'enemy missions', while their staff were seen as potential spies and/or threats to national security. As discussed in Introduction, German Protestant missions were keen to avoid political connections with their home government. They viewed their work as a universal, supra-national part of the world evangelical movement. They were therefore utterly unprepared for what happened to their mission work under the new policies which prevailed during and after the War.

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[1] Sir Claud Schuster, Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor's Office, to Rev. J. V. Macmillan, Lambeth Palace, 18 May 1915, R.T. Davison Papers, The Lambeth Palace Library. The letter contains the English translation of a German pamphlet *Das Martyrium der evangelischen Missionare in Kamerun 1914*, ed. W. Stark (Berlin: The Evangelical Press Association for Germany, 1915).

[2] James S. Dennis, Harlan Beach, Charles Fahs (eds.), *World Atlas of Christian Missions*, (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions,1911), 78.

[3] J. H. Oldham, *The Missionary Situation After the War - Notes Prepared for the International Missionary Meeting at Crans*, 22-28 June 1920, accessed 11 October 2021, https://archive.org/details/themissionarysit00unknuoft/page/n2/mode/2up?q=international+review+of+missions+1919.

This chapter, drawing on government and mission records, discusses the complex development of the British government's enemy mission policy, which affected over a million people associated with German missions around the world. A good understanding of how this enemy mission policy was developed in the international context is crucial to our later discussion of the Hong Kong case in Chapter 4 and 5. Research findings suggest that the British government's policies towards German missions were not the brainchild of a single department, task force, or special committee. Rather, they were the combined result of multiple forces initiated by different parties, each with its own agenda. These parties included the armed forces, colonial governments, diplomats, merchants, the general public, politicians, the Vatican, and Christian mission leaders. Among all, Protestant mission leaders in Britain were probably the most influential party, for better or for worse, during the whole policy development process.

German Missions in British Territories

At the outbreak of the War, German missions had already established significant presence in India, and other British colonies, protectorates and dependencies. According to a leaflet produced by J. H. Oldham, the Secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland (CMSGBI), in 1921, one can get a glimpse of the scope of the work of German missions in British territories at the outbreak of the War.[4] The statistics of German missions were also supplied to the British government for policy consideration, as it will be discussed later in this chapter and Chapter 3. Appendix 1 provides detailed statistics of each German missions in individual areas. In brief, there were 24 German Protestant missions operating in foreign mission fields in 1914. Geographically, their work was concentrated in Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. As shown in Figure 7, the 24 German Protestant missions sent out over 1,800 workers (including male missionaries, their wives, and single female missionaries). Over half of these missionaries were stationed in Asia, including India, China, and the Dutch East Indies, with a large number of these stationed in China and Hong Kong. Forty-one percent were stationed in Africa, of which almost half worked in South Africa, the

[4] J. H. Oldham, a leaflet entitled 'The Position of German Missions at the Outbreak of the War' (July 1921), QK-4, 6, BMA. Its information was retrieved from the statistics submitted by German missionary societies to the Foreign Office, Berlin.

rest in Tanganyika (now Tanzania), the Gold Coast (now Ghana), and the Cameroons. A hundred or so German missionaries worked in Australia and the Pacific Islands.

German mission churches, schools, medical and benevolent facilities served a massive indigenous population, with a total of more than 631,000 baptised Christians and 216,000 students. As will be discussed later in this chapter, in the view of colonial officials, the larger the size of the mission in terms of indigenous Christians and students, the greater its threat to the security and stability of the respective colonies. As shown in Figure 8, the three largest indigenous populations under the influence of German missionaries were South Africa (236,769), the Dutch East Indies (229,570), and India (192,683). They were followed by Tanganyika (46,991), the Cameroons (44,617), China and Hong Kong (35,262), and the Gold Coast (33,999). The percentage of baptised Christians and students in German missions in China and Hong Kong was relatively insignificant.

Figure 7: German Mission Workers at the Outbreak of the War

Country	**No. of German Mission Workers**			**Total**
	Males	**Wives**	**Single Females**	
India	210	158	44	412
China / Hong Kong	136	112	72	320
Dutch East Indies	117	105	25	247
Japan	2	2	0	4
British Borneo	2	2	0	4
Asia Total	**467**	**379**	**141**	**987**
South Africa	213	173	89	405
Tanganyika	129	0	19	148
Gold Coast	75	23	6	104
Cameroons	68	0	16	84
Togoland	20	0	2	22
Kenya	6	4	1	11
Africa Total	**511**	**200**	**63**	**774**
New Guinea	50	31	2	83
Caroline/Admiralty Islands	9	7	5	21
Australia	4	4	1	9
South Pacific Total	**63**	**42**	**8**	**113**
Gross Total	**1041**	**621**	**212**	**1874**

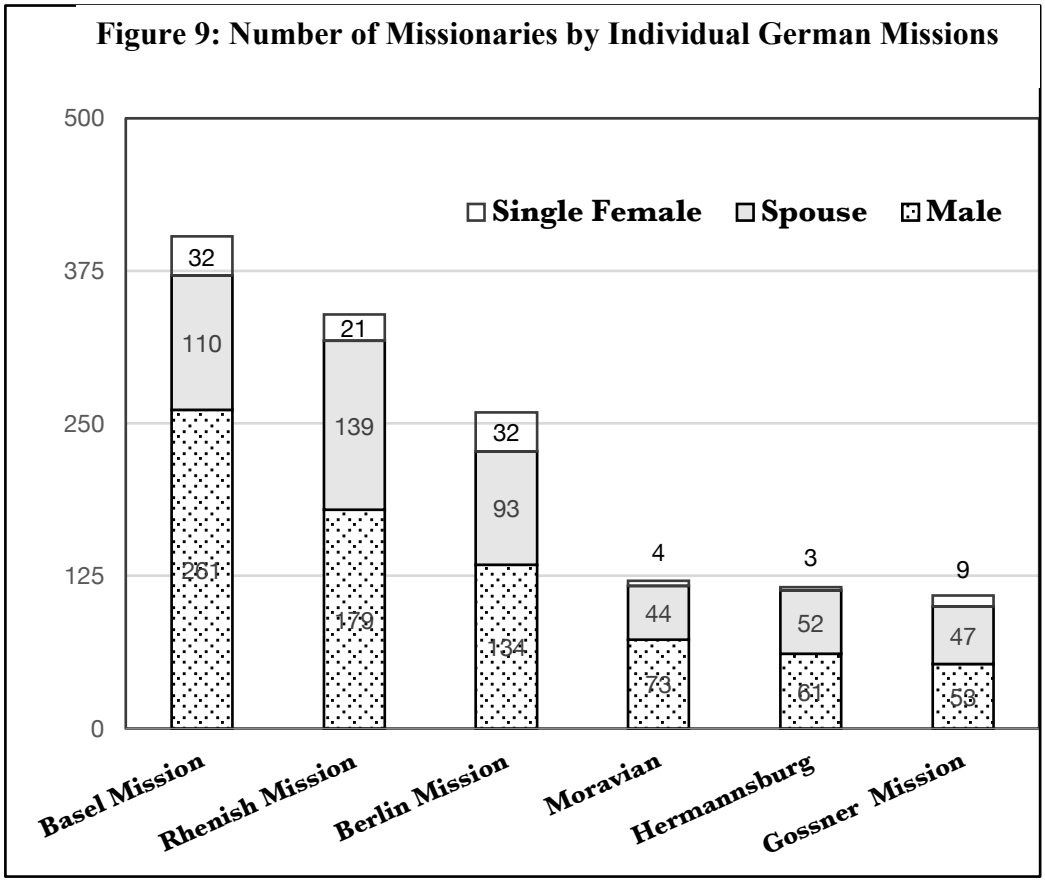
Source：J. H. Oldham, ‘The Position of German Missions’, QK-4, 6, BMA.

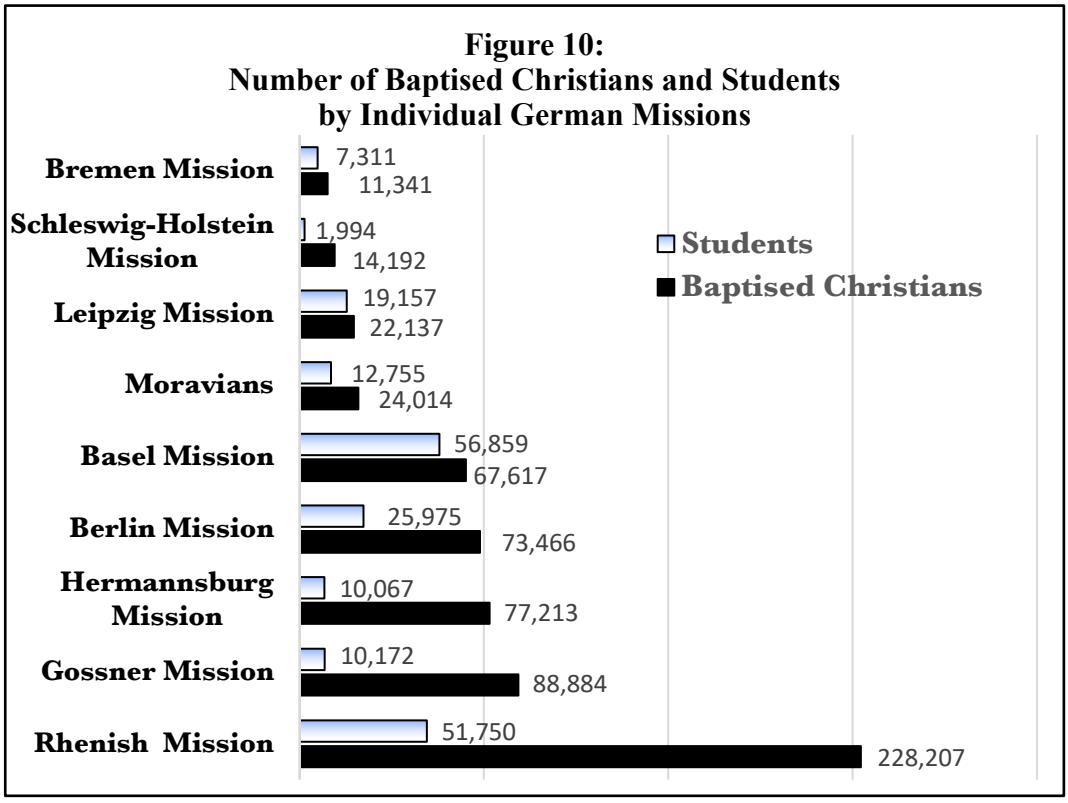
Figure 8:

Baptised Christians and Students Associated with German Missions

Country	Baptised Christians	Students	Total
Dutch East Indies	182,599	46,971	229,570
India	145,524	47,159	192,683
China / Hong Kong	25,464	9,798	35,262
British Borneo	1,129	322	1,451
Japan	333	400	733
Asia Total	**355,049**	**104,650**	**459,699**
South Africa	207,447	29,322	236,769
Gold Coast	24,119	9,880	33,999
Cameroons	18,236	26,381	44,617
Tanganyika	10,816	36,175	46,991
Togoland	7,780	5,250	13,030
Kenya	469	623	1,092
Africa Total	**268,398**	**107,008**	**375,406**
New Guinea	4,074	2,101	6,175
Caroline/Admiralty Islands	3,098	1,905	5,003
Australia	196	254	450
South Pacific Total	**7,368**	**4,260**	**11,628**
Gross Total	**631,284**	**216,541**	**847,825**

Source: J. H. Oldham, 'The Position of German Missions', QK-4, 6, BMA.





Source: J. H. Oldham, 'The Position of German Missions', QK-4, 6, BMA.

Figures 9 and 10 show the size of individual German missions by number of missionaries and number of baptised Christians. The Basel Mission sent out the largest number of mission workers and had the largest number of schools and students. The Rhenish Mission reigned supreme in terms of the number of Christians, having a total of 228,000 baptised Christians. However, over 80 percent of them were in the Dutch East Indies, where the Rhenish Mission had founded churches since 1835.[5] These statistics show that, at the outbreak of the War, a very large portion of German mission work was already well established in British territories. The British government's policies essentially dictated the entire future of German missions during and after the War. Moreover, such policies had profound implications, as they impacted individual German missionaries, as well as their associated 840,000 baptised Christians and students around the world.

Tolerant Policy in the Early Days of the War

At the beginning of the War, there was no standard policy governing the treatment of German missionaries working in British territories. German missionaries' experience depended purely on the stance of the British officials governing the places where the German missionaries operated.[6] In most places, German missionaries were allowed to continue their mission work under police surveillance, after they gave a commitment not to discuss war issues.[7] The Basel Mission urged the British government to protect its work, its staff, and their families in the colonies.[8] It argued that its missionaries at all times were 'loyal to the English government' and its work was of advantage to indigenous people in the colonies.[9] The Colonial Office's response was brief but positive: purely

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5 K. A. Steenbrink and J. S. Aritonang, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2008), 142.

6 Essay of T.H. Oehler of the Basel Mission, *Basle Nachrichten* (13 January 1915), attachment to letter from Evelyn Grant Duff, British consul of Bern, Switzerland to Sir Edward Grey Bart, Foreign Secretary, 13 January 1915, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, BL.

7 Wilhelm Schlatter and Hermann Witschi, *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1914-1919*, *Band* 4 (Basel: Basileia Verlag, 1965), 276.

8 Rev. H. Dipper, the Secretary for China of the Basel Missionary Society to Reginald McKenna, Colonial Secretary, 14 August 1914, CO 129/418, pp. 392-395, TNA.

9 Rev. L. J. Frohnmeyer, Secretary for the Indian Mission of the Basel Missionary Society to the Marquess of Crewe K.C., Secretary of State for India, 14 August 1914, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, BL.

religious work would be protected.[10] A similar guarantee covering all German missionaries was given publicly in the House of Commons, provided that their observance of strict neutrality could be guaranteed.[11] This tolerant approach adopted by the British government towards German missionaries was generally followed in various colonies, dependences and protectorates, as evidenced by reports from German missionaries. Rev. Friedrich Fritz, a Basel missionary in Sandakan, British Borneo, reported that, despite the curfew, the government was well disposed towards German missionaries. They were 'in the best of hands among all Germans in British colonies'.[12] It was reported that a colonial official in India had even said to German missionaries: 'Keep working, we are glad you are here'.[13]

The tolerant attitude of the colonial administrations towards German missionaries was understandable. As Andrew Porter suggests, a utilitarian relationship existed between missionaries and empires.[14] Although missionaries were taught to avoid political involvement, and the British imperial authorities always distrusted missionaries, the two parties learnt over time that cooperation and collaboration could be advantageous and of mutual benefit. In many British colonies, German missionaries gave vital assistance to the respective colonial administration. The Basel Mission is one example; it helped the government of British Borneo to attract the settlers it (the government) wanted most, i.e., the hard-working Hakka Christians recruited from Hakka church congregations in Hong Kong and Guangdong. The history of their collaboration dates back to 1882, when the first group of over 100 Hakka Christians arrived at Kodat.[15] Shortly before the War, in November 1912, the British Borneo authorities signed

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10 Schlatter & Witschi, *Geschichte der Basler Mission*, 276.

11 "Parliamentary Notice, House of Common, Answer to Colonel Williams's Questions, Nos. 9 and 121 and to Mr Edmund Harvey's Questions, Nos. 10 and 122," 27 August 1914, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, BL.

12 Schlatter & Witschi, *Geschichte der Basler Mission*, 280.

13 Jayabalan Murthy, "The First World War and Its Impact on the Leipzig Mission Society in India," in *The First World War as a Turning Point*, ed. Frieder Ludwig (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2020), 202.

14 Andrew Porter, "An Overview: 1700-1914," in *Missions and Empire,* ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 40-63.

15 'Our History', the website of the Basel Christian Church of Malaysia, accessed 10 September 2020, https://web.archive.org/web/20160814030844/http://www.bccm.org.my/index.php/about-us--mengenai-kami/our-history--sejarah-kami/50-bccm-mission-history.

a memorandum with the Basel Mission, cementing a scheme to encourage the continuous recruitment of Hakka settlers.[16] In the Gold Coast, German missions were running 'practically half of the educational work of the Colony' in 1914.[17] The Basel Mission's associated trading company, the BMTC, helped the Gold Coast government to make the Gold Coast the world's largest cocoa producer and exporter.[18] The BMTC also established successful tile-making and textile businesses in southern India.[19] German missions were also key providers of education and social charity, as well as medical services in India and many other British colonies.[20]

However, the civil authorities' sympathy towards German missionaries at the outbreak of the War was not always shared by British military officers. To them, naturally, national security and war victory were of the greatest concern. Some characteristics of missionaries made them perfect targets for 'spy-hunting', such as their knowledge of local landscapes and culture, fluency in indigenous languages, frequent travel, and personal networks at all levels of society. At the outbreak of the war in the Gold Coast's neighbour German's colony Togoland, where military combat took place, German missionaries were suspected of giving aid and assistance to the German army. In East Asia, where military threat was minimal, the military nevertheless remained watchful of the possibility that German missionaries were spreading anti-British propaganda among indigenous populations. Just before the War, in 1913, the Emperor of Germany introduced a policy promoting cooperation with Christian missions.[21] Millions of Marks were raised to sponsor the work of German missions overseas, particularly in the areas of healthcare and education. Such financial aid might well have been regarded as pro-German propaganda. This was precisely why the Bombay government

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16 Wong Tze-Ken Danny, "Chinese Migration to Sabah Before the Second World War" in *Archipel*, vol. 58 (1999): 131-158, accessed 13 May 2021, https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1999.3538.

17 Hugh Clifford, Governor of the Gold Coast to A. Bonar Law, 20 January 1916, CO 323/697, TNA.

18 Danker, *Profit for the Lord*, 97.

19 Ibid, 83-92.

20 Lord Islington, Under Secretary of State for India, "Answer to the question on Alien Enemy Missionaries in India," *Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, Official Report*, vol. 19-46, 1 July 1915, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, 201, BL.

21 Ludwig, "Introduction," in *The First World War as a Turning Point*, 7.

interned 26 young German Jesuit priests connected with educational institutions.[22] There were reports that these priests 'have not lost the spirit of German nationality in the same way as older men who have been in India for many years' and 'their teaching is inclined to show decided pro-German tendency'.[23] As has already been seen, similar concerns were raised by the Major-General commanding British troops in South China, Francis Henry Kelly, who suggested that every missionary was a potential spy with intimate knowledge of the colony in question.[24] Suspicions about German spies was not limited to missionaries working for German missions, however. Even German missionaries working for British missions were placed under strict surveillance. The War Office and Treasury ordered British Protestant missions not to transfer money to help the families of their German missionaries.[25] Also, missionaries of non-German nationality, if their attitude was considered pro-German or they had some connection with Germany, were under suspicion. In India, some Swedish missionaries were considered spies for Germany and were not allowed to join the work in the former German mission fields.[26]

However, the Foreign Office staff in London remained well disposed towards German missionaries, at least until the spring of 1915. In February 1915, they rejected an Indian government proposal for the discontinuation of all government financial subsidies to German mission schools.[27] The Foreign Secretary, Edward Grey, said that as long as the missionaries' conduct was satisfactory and their work valuable, local governments in India could continue to support their work with possible temporary funding from local and provincial funds. Sir A. Hirtzel, Secretary of Political Department, India Office described the

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22 "Extract: Viceroy of India to Secretary of State, regarding Jesuits of German nationality in Bombay," 13 January 1915, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, BL.

23 M.C. Seton of India Office to Under Secretary of States, Foreign Office, 5 June 1919, Enclosure of a telegram from the Viceroy of India, 13 January 1915, FO 608/160.39, p 585, TNA.

24 Kelly to May, 6 November 1914, CO 129/414, p 394, TNA.

25 War Office and Treasury Chambers to Frank Lenwood on the subject of money transfer to Rev. Müller's family in Germany as a contribution to the education of his son, 13 July 1918, CWM/LMS/Home Office/Incoming Correspondence/Box18, SOAS.

26 Jayabalan Murthy, "The First World War and Its Impact on the Leipzig Mission Society in India,", 207.

27 Secretary of State, Foreign Office, to Viceroy of India, 9 February 1915, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, BL.

Indian government's proposal towards German missions as 'deep water' and suggested that the government and the ecclesiastical authorities should consider the whole issue comprehensively.[28] He wrote the following almost prophetic comment:

> It may be that one of the lessons of the war will be that the nations should see that the most promising ground for the fulfilment of their evangelizing task is in their own territory. But in the meantime, no nation calling itself Christian dare prejudice this issue.

German Missionaries' Neutrality

With the War imminent, the British government introduced increasingly restrictive policies governing the activities of German nationals within its territories. Panikos Panayi has examined in great detail the policies implemented against Germans in Britain during the War, and argues that these policies were developed under pressure of public opinion, which, in turn, was motivated by the right-wing press and right-wing politicians, and by wartime propaganda and extremist movements, including the pressure group the British Empire Union.[29] His observation also applies to British policy towards German missions operating in Britain's colonies.

A review of British government records indicates that letters of suspicion and allegation against German missionaries swamped its offices at the outbreak of the War. Many of these letters came from business consuls in different parts of the empire. German missions, including the Moravian and Basel Missions, had a long history of conducting trade, industry, and agriculture in British colonies.[30] Perhaps there was a business motive behind these accusations: Were the business consuls expressing their own views, or were they perhaps defending British traders who would benefit from the expulsion of their German competitors? One of the earliest 'whistle-blowers' was W. A. Churchill, a business consul in

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[28] Comments of Sir A. Hirtzel in reaction to the Indian government's proposal for the termination of financial subsidies to German mission schools, 21 January 1915, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, BL.

[29] Panikos Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst - Germans in Britain During the First World War* (New York/Oxford: BERG Publishers Limited, 1991).

[30] Danker, *Profit for the Lord*, 34.

Stockholm.[31] In November 1914, he forwarded to the Foreign Secretary an alert from an anonymous Swedish national, accusing Moravian missionaries in South Africa of inappropriate conduct. The informant alleged that the Moravians who had 'established trading monopolies' were exploiting native South Africans, were trying 'to sell the land which had been given to them' and were remitting 'all their profits to the central institution in Germany'. Although no allegation was made about any actual acts of disloyalty towards Britain, Churchill suggested that 'It is quite probable that, as they are Germans, they would be tempted to work in favour of German political interests.'. He also drew up a list of Moravian mission stations in the British Empire for the Foreign Secretary's reference.[32] The War made any German, missionary or not, local or overseas-based, a potential threat to Britain.

The sinking of *RMS Lusitania* by German U-boats in May 1915 ignited 'a tinder box of anti-German resentment', which spread from the British Isles to the whole of the Empire.[33] Questions were raised in Parliament about German missionaries who had remained in the colonies.[34] German missionaries were placed under strict surveillance. What would have been regarded as normal intelligence in everyday life became grounds for suspicion. After the first shots were fired in neighbouring Togoland in early August, the anxiety and suspicion in Accra, the Gold Coast surged to a new level. A censor stationed there reported to his supervisor in London that one of the Basel missionaries had received a suspicious letter from Edinburgh, in which the War and a recent cruise across the Atlantic Ocean were mentioned.[35] He suggested that the missionary was a German masquerading as a Swiss, and should be deported or interned. He suggested that the cruise information could be a leak of sensitive travel information to be passed to Germany via Basel.

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31 W. A. Churchill, British Consul, Stockholm, to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary, 3 November 1914, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, BL.

32 Ibid.

33 Stefan Manz and Panikos Panayi, *Enemies in the Empire - Civilian Internment in the British Empire during the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 101.

34 Lord Islington, "Answer to the question on Alien Enemy Missionaries in India," Parliamentary Debates, vol. 19-46, 1 July 1915, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, p 201, BL.

35 W. S. Wallace, Censor at Accra, Gold Coast, to A.E. Combe of Censor's Office, London, 30 August 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

Letters of allegation from British consuls overseas also played a decisive role in the classification of the Swiss-registered Basel Mission as a German mission, which should therefore be subject to restrictive policies. In early 1915, Evelyn Grant Duff, a British consul stationed in Bern, Switzerland, submitted multiple dispatches to the Foreign Office, arguing that the Basel Mission was a German entity. He alerted the Foreign Office to an essay written by Dr T. H. Oehler, director of the Basel Mission, which complained about the ill-treatment of Basel missionaries in the British-occupied Cameroons, India, and Hong Kong.[36]

> They have been torn away from their profession, they can only think with anxiety of their flocks, while the fruit of long and laborious toil is menaced with ruin. Their personal situation in their imprisonment is oppressive. Married couples have often been separated, connection with their Fatherland and intercourse with their far away children is [sic] entirely stopped or at any rate controlled and limited.

In his article, Oehler accused Britain of unnecessarily carrying the War into the colonies and thereby turning 'the war of the peoples into a world war'.[37] Oehler further complained that Britain had disgraced Christianity and hindered mission work with its unworthily brutal conduct. Evelyn Grant Duff published a brief statement countering Oehler's article in several Swiss newspapers shortly afterwards, justifying the removal of German missionaries from British colonies.[38] However, the Basel Mission leaders did not want to let the matter rest. Oehler published another long essay giving further details of ill-treatment of the Basel Mission's missionaries, and even drew up a list of witnesses who could support his accusations.[39] Moreover, he forwarded to Evelyn Grant Duff a 44-page report describing the suffering of German missionaries in the Cameroons, a Germany colony in Africa. Oehler criticised a 'robbery' committed by British officials during their occupation.[40] The Basel Mission also sent a complaint letter to the Colonial Office.[41] A copy was sent to the Swiss government, leading to an

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36 Evelyn Grant Duff, British consul in Bern, Switzerland, to Sir Edward Grey Bart, Foreign Secretary, 13 January 1915, IOR/L/PJ/1326, BL. It contains the English translation of an article written by Dr T.H. Oehler of the Basel Mission, published in *Basle Nachrichten* on 13 January 1915.

37 Grant Duff to Grey, 13 January 1915, IOR/L/PJ/1326, BL.

38 Grant Duff to Grey, 18 February 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

39 Grant Duff to Grey, 26 February 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

40 Grant Duff to Grey, 22 May 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

41 Rev. Paul Christ, the Basel Mission to the Colonial Secretary, 28 April 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

official enquiry by the Foreign Office.[42] The Basel Mission leaders evidently believed that public debate, complaints and solid evidence could overcome politically sensitive issues, but they were mistaken. The high-profile, open attacks by Oehler and the Basel Mission might have contributed to the view among British government officials that German missions were, indeed, their enemies. The subject of missionaries was an extremely sensitive one in a war between two Christian nations, both of which claimed that God was on their side. Philip Jenkins suggests that spiritual issues and religious concerns were, in fact, crucial throughout the War.[43] He believes this largely explains why people went to fight and continued fighting. The Basel Mission's open complaints were deemed to be anti-British propaganda with a view to encouraging political support among neutral nations (such as Switzerland). The Basel Mission's public allegations might also have triggered a defensive reaction among colonial governments and given rise to what might be considered a 'witch-hunt' in the British colonies. Detrimental reports criticising German missionaries began to emerge in the colonies as well as in Britain during that period.[44]

From that time on, Grant Duff was keen to prove his point that the Swiss-based Basel Mission was, in fact, a German institution. He sent many letters to the Foreign Office in relation to the Basel Mission's activities. In 1916, when the Basel Mission applied for permission to send four Swiss workers to the Gold Coast, Grant Duff wrote six times within three months, opposing the application.[45] He included statistics and information from the Basel Mission's annual reports and publications, and gathered intelligence from intercepted letters and sermon transcripts, pointing out that the Basel Mission was dominated by Germans. Grant Duff also forwarded letters from other British consuls in Switzerland. The vice-consul in Basel, G.B. Beak, quoted the President of the Basel Mission as stating that German influence had always continued and would always continue to dominate the Basel Mission, and that he hoped to 'hoodwink'

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42 Grant Duff to Grey, 20 May 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

43 Philip Jenkins, "The Great War and the Holy War," in *The First World War as a Turning Point*, 37-38.

44 Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, to Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 11 February 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

45 Enclosures to the dispatch from the Foreign Office to A. J. Balfour, 29 June 1919, FO 608/160/39, pp 389-598, TNA. It includes six letters from Grant Duff from July to September 1916.

the British authorities by the appointment of an Australian as its representative in the Gold Coast.[46] The British consul in Zurich, H. Angst, also reported that Basel Mission members were giving anti-British lectures in various parts of Switzerland, and he referred the Basel Mission as 'a German institution under a Swiss cloak'.[47]

Gradually, a consensus developed within the Empire that the Basel Mission should be classified as a German mission, given its strong pro-German leanings. The Basel Mission wrote a high-profile complaint, which drew negative attention and put itself in the midst of the conflicts between great powers. By offering their views and information, business consuls like Churchill, Duff, Beak and Angst also played a significant role in the development of British policy towards German missions. Without further research work, it is not possible to find out if their allegations towards German missions were triggered by Anglo-German commercial rivalry in the colonies. However, their reports backed the views of colonial governments who dealt directly with German missionaries in their territories.

Suspicions among Colonial Governments

The tightening of British policy towards German missions from 1915 onwards was also a response to reports of certain incidents in relation to German missionaries in British territories or former German colonies. As H. J. Read of the Colonial Office stated, 'German missionaries have generally been treated in the same way as traders because their own actions rendered it impossible that they should be treated otherwise.'[48] In Colonial Office archives, there are some reports by colonial governments of suspicious behaviour among German missionaries. In German colonies where direct military confrontation took place, the subject of concerns were mainly the tangible resources and assistance provided by German missionaries to enemy soldiers. The decision to expel or intern German missionaries was made and carried out very quickly. In the areas without direct

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46 G.B. Beak to Grant Duff, 10 July 1916, enclosure in the dispatch from the Foreign Office to Balfour, 20 June 1919, FO 608/160/39, pp 497-499, TNA.

47 H. Angst to Sir Cecil Hertslet, 12 July 1916, enclosure in the dispatch from Foreign Office to Balfour, 20 June 1919, FO 608/160/39, pp 410-411, TNA.

48 H. J. Read, Colonial Office, to Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 11 February 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

combat, the concerns of colonial governments were more related to the influence of German missionaries on indigenous people, and the economic activities of the colony in question.

Incidents in the Cameroons

The first allegation against German missionaries came from the Cameroons, a German colony in Central Africa which were bombarded and eventually taken by the British forces on 27 September 1914.[49] Shortly before the Germans surrendered, on 14 September 1914, a certain Alphons Hermann was captured after attempting to sink a British guard ship with a locally made torpedo. He was initially mistaken for a German missionary, but it was later clarified that he was a lay member of the German Catholic Palatine Mission.[50] Further allegations against German missions emerged after the Cameroons were taken by Allied forces. They included the discovery of unreported arms and ammunition buried four feet below ground, in the Basel Mission stations in Duala and Beua.[51] Records seized in another mission station in Sakbayeme showed that money and supplies had been given to German armed forces.[52] Mission staff in the BMTC station in Edea were also found to have left with German soldiers. All these incidents contributed to the Allied forces' decision to intern or expel German missionaries from the Cameroons in late 1915.

The Basel Mission claimed that the weapons found in its stations belonged to its German staff who had already left the Cameroons.[53] It was, indeed, practice for the mission's departing workers to deposit weapons with their mission station for safekeeping. The Basel Mission's defence was difficult to prove, however, and

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49 Lovett Elango, "The Anglo-French 'Condominium' in Cameroon, 1914-1916: The Myth & the Reality," in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 18, no. 4 (1985): 657-673, 657.

50 H. J. Read for Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, to Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 11 February 1915; and Dobell, General Officer Commanding the Cameroons Expeditionary Force, Duala, to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 24 May 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

51 C.M. Dobell, Brigadier-General Commanding the Allied Forces, to the Colonial Office, 21 June 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

52 C.M. Dobell, Brigadier-General Commanding the Allied Forces to A. Bonar Law, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 21 July 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

53 H. J. Read for Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, to Under Secretary of State for India, "Memorandum of the Basel Mission in Cameroon," 11 November 191), FO 383/49, TNA.

it was not ultimately accepted by the Allied forces. In fact, given that the Cameroons had been a German colony, the likelihood of German missionaries aiding and abetting the German forces was not out of the question, it was thought. As James Barton suggests, German nationals were bound by military regulations to join the nation's armed forces whenever their country called on them to do so.[54] As a result, he suggests, many German missionaries in Africa joined the German military forces during the War.

Another factor which probably fed into the British authority's nervousness was that, from 1885 until the outbreak of the War, the Basel missionaries were involved in the local resistance movement protesting against the land policy in the Cameroons.[55] Given the desire to ensure social order and security in the newly acquired territory, the British military forces in the Cameroons decided to expel or intern the German missionaries in the territory. This action provoked strong reaction in Europe, including a serious allegation that rewards were being offered for hunting down Germans, which led directly to the brutal murder of two German missionaries by Africans. The British government conducted a comprehensive investigation and issued a Parliamentary memorandum denying the allegations against the Cameroons in November 1915.[56] The incident provoked a propaganda war between Britain and Germany over the treatment of German missions in other British territories.

Incidents in India

In India, there were over 400 German missionaries at the outbreak of the War, and they were allowed to continue their work for the first few months.[57] However, this was changed by the attack of Madras by the German cruiser *S.M.S. Emeden*

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54 James L. Barton, "The Effect of the War on Protestant Missions," *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 12, no. 1 (January 1919): 1-35, 5.

55 Erik Hallden, *The Culture Policy of the Basel Mission in Cameroon 1885-1905*, Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1968.

56 "A Parliamentary Paper on Correspondence relating to the Alleged Ill-Treatment of German Subjects Captured in the Cameroons," 10 November 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

57 "Alien Enemy Missionaries in India," *Official Report of the House of Lords*, vol.19, no.46, 1 July 1915, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, BL.

on 22 September 1914.[58] The attack triggered widespread rumors. Many people fled the city in a panic. The incident made the Indian government take a significantly tougher approach towards German missionaries. As previously mentioned, some German Jesuit priests working in an educational institution in Bombay (now Mumbai) were arrested on grounds of public safety.[59] The Viceroy of India then proposed the discontinuation of all government grants to German mission schools.[60] He justified his decision in several ways, including the missionaries' apparent antipathy towards the British government and the growing influence of Germany in India through German mission schools. He also speculated that some riots which had occurred in the Jaipur Zamindari, Vizagapatam, in November 1914 might have been provoked by German missionaries and their Indian catechists. Fearing that the continuing presence of German missionaries might threaten social stability and the British rule, the Indian government suggested removing German missionaries permanently after the end of the War.

The proposed expulsion provoked heated debate in Britain, including a debate in Parliament, at which a Liberal politician, Lord Strachie, pointed out the risk of having German missionaries in India:

> We know especially as regards these missionaries that they are men who have been ready to sacrifice their own easy lives at home to go out to India for the good of their own country. They are men who have made great sacrifice already, and from the character of the German nation we know that they would think no sacrifice was too great to make if they could do anything to damage our rule in India.[61]

Eventually, in late 1915, the Indian government repatriated all German missionaries not eligible for military conscription, together with their families. The first cohort left on *S.S. Golconda* on 15 November 1915.[62] The Indian

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58 Rangan Datta, "108 years of Emden - the only World War I attack on India", *My Kolkata*, 23 September 2022, https://www.telegraphindia.com/my-kolkata/places/emden-attack-a-german-cruiser-that-rocked-madras-india-during-world-war-i-in-september-1914/cid/1888328.

59 Extract: Viceroy of India to Secretary of State, Foreign Office, regarding Jesuits of German nationality in Bombay, 13 January 1915, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, BL.

60 Viceroy to Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 9 April 1915, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, BL.

61 Notice of Lord Strachie on the paper "Alien Enemy Missionaries in India," *Parliamentary Debates,* House of Lords, vol. 19, no. 41, 1 July 1915, IOR/L/PJ/6/1326, BL.

62 J. H. Seabrooke, Joint Military Secretary, India Office, to Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 4 November 1915, FO 383/105, TNA.

government insisted that its stance towards German missionaries was 'generous and humane'.[63] However, how German missionaries in India were treated provoked considerable distress in Europe. One German Catholic missionary, after returning to his country, complained that, during the medical examination of himself and his colleagues at a retention camp, he and other missionaries 'were obliged to strip naked' and then 'branded and stamped as the lowest criminals'.[64] He stated that the whole process was 'debasing and humiliating'. The Indian government insisted that the medical examination was for hygiene purposes only and dismissed the complaint as anti-British propaganda.[65]

The expulsion of German missionaries from India in 1915 prompted the Colonial Office to issue a confidential dispatch to all British possessions, seeking their opinion as to whether enemy missionaries should be expelled permanently from the British Empire territories once the War was over.[66] It also asked the colonies to do an assessment of any German missions operating in their territories to establish their status and an estimated value of their property. The colonial administrations of Hong Kong, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), British Guiana (now Guyana), Sierra Leone, Jamaica, the Straits Settlements (now Singapore) and Malay States (now Malaysia), and British East Africa all responded within a month, all expressing support for India's decision. Reginald Stubbs, the Officer Administering the Government of Ceylon, who later became Governor of Hong Kong, was particularly supportive of banning German missions from British territories.[67] He identified and expelled some Germans associated with a Buddhist society in Ceylon and proposed that, in future, no German or Austrian national should be employed by any missionary society operating in Ceylon, regardless of whether the missionary society was Protestant, Roman Catholic or Buddhist.

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63 "German Missionaries in India," *Neue Zürcher Nachrichten* (14 April 1916), IOR/L/PJ/6/1435, BL.

64 Cecil Hertslet, British Consulate General, Zurich, to Viscount Gary of Fallodon, Foreign Office, 29 August 1916, IOR/L/PJ/6/1435, BL.

65 Cecil Hertslet, British Consulate General, Zurich, to Viscount Gary of Fallodon, Foreign Office, 21 July 1916, IOR/L/PJ/6/1435, BL.

66 Letters from the colonial governments of Ceylon, Sierra Leone, Jamaica, British Guiana, 9-22 December 1915, CO 323/662, TNA.

67 Reginald Stubbs, Acting Governor of Ceylon, to A. Bonar Law of Colonial Office, 9 December 1915, CO 323/662/75, TNA.

Incidents in the Gold Coast

The Gold Coast was the last colony to respond to the Colonial Office's dispatch. This was not surprising, as its government had been reluctant to interfere in the activities of German missionaries ever since the outbreak of the War. This was due, in part, to the long history of service and the considerable influence of German missionaries in the colony. The Basel Mission had initially arrived in the Gold Coast in 1828. They established a large Christian community of 30,000 members, and operated 128 schools, with almost 5,000 students. More importantly, their associated trading company, the BMTC, ran a thriving and profitable trading and transportation business in inland areas, as well as between Gold Coast cities and Europe. The Gold Coast reported some incidents related to German missionaries in the early days of the War. In November 1914, a Basel Mission staff member was seen firing signal rockets from the beach, shortly after a German cruiser had been spotted.[68] Later that month, a German was found trespassing in the governor's house, examining the water tank.[69] However, the governor, Hugh Clifford, did not propose any immediate action against the Basel Mission, concerned that it would cause a 'severe blow to the trade of the colony' and the possible emergence of 'a great deal of discontent' among the public. He allowed German missionaries to stay in their isolated stations to carry on their ministry as usual, provided they did not venture beyond a five- mile radius from their station without the express permission of the district commissioner.[70]

The Gold Coast government's tolerant policy began to tighten in 1916. In his belated reply to the Colonial Office, Clifford agreed to follow the Indian government's policy of expelling all German missionaries from its territories.[71] However, concerned about the colony's trade, Clifford allowed the Basel Mission and the BMTC to stay in the Gold Coast, provided they staffed their operations with non-Germans. But in late 1917, the Gold Coast government suddenly

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68 H. J. Read for Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, to Under Secretary of State for India, "Memorandum of Basel Mission in the Gold Coast", 11 November 1915, FO 383/49, TNA.

69 Hugh Clifford, governor of the Gold Coast, to Lewis Harcourt, Colonial Office, 10 January 1915, FO 383/105, TNA.

70 Hugh Clifford, governor of the Gold Coast, to Lewis Harcourt, Colonial Office, 10 January 1915, FO 383/105, TNA.

71 Governor of the Gold Coast, to A. Bonar Law, Colonial Office, 20 January 1916, CO 323/687, TNA.

informed the Colonial Office that it had ordered the expulsion of all the Basel Mission's remaining European staff.[72] The order was provoked by a report that four young Swiss-German employees of the BMTC had 'noisily celebrated the sinking of the *S.S. Apapa* in a room opening to the High Street of Accra'. The *Apapa*, an ocean liner travelling from West Africa to Liverpool, had been sunk by German U-boats on, 28 November 1915, the day before the alleged 'celebration'. Seventy-seven lives were lost, including those of some government officials.[73] In his report, Clifford attached a witness statement by Oliver Charles Arthur, an American dental surgeon from Accra. However, in his witness statement, Arthur denied being present in Accra on 29 November at all, stating that he was at a different place when the *Apapa* news arrived, and therefore 'didn't hear anything' on 29 November. But he had witnessed 'great rejoicing by these employees' at the Basel Mission compound in the past, 'whenever there was any sinking of local shipping or an Allied reverse reported'.

The BMTC vehemently rejected the Gold Coast government's allegations about its staff. Its President, W. Preiswerk-Imhoff, filed a formal complaint letter with the British government against the expulsion of BMTC staff from the Gold Coast. He enclosed statements made by the four accused BMTC staff before a notary public in Basel, to the effect that, on the night in question, there was no singing, no drinking, and mention of the '*Apapa*' misfortune.[74] The four men were, in fact, having a birthday celebration.[75] Preiswerk-Imhoff argued that the Gold Coast government had been 'under a perfect misapprehension in consequence of base denunciations, not founded on facts'. The BMTC did not know the sources from which the Gold Coast government had its information, but it was told that, 'wild rumours have repeatedly been spread with the intention to throw suspicion' on the BMTC. Another letter, written by Edouard Naville, a French-Swiss heavily involved in the negotiations between the BMTC and the British government on the Gold Coast issue, claimed that the allegation was 'a

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[72] Hugh Clifford, governor of the Gold Coast, to Walter H. Long, M.P., 14 December 1917, IOR/L/PJ/6/1518, BL.

[73] Information about *S.S. Apapa*, the webpage of the U-Boat Project 1914-18, accessed 11 November 2022, https://uboatproject.wales/wrecks/apapa/.

[74] W. Preiswerk-Imhoff, President, Société Commerciale des Missions, to Political Department, Bern, 30 January 1918, IOR/L/PJ6/1518, BL.

[75] Gustof Adolf, *Die Basler Handels-Gesellschaft, A.G. 1859-1959* (Basel: Handels-Gesellschaft, 1959).

calumny from a commercial competitor'.[76] In his letter, Naville also drew attention to a very important difference between the Basel Mission and the BMTC:

> [The BMTC] cannot be called a German society, especially since it has adopted its new form, which cuts off entirely all connection with the Basel Mission. The capital, as can be seen in the list of shareholders, is entirely in Swiss hands; the directors and managers are all Swiss.

This message failed to resonate with British government officials, however. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the erroneous impression that the BMTC was a German entity had serious consequences, and the British government, together with the colonial governments in the Gold Coast and India, had to pay a very high price for this error of judgement.

Clifford also put forward other evidence to question the political neutrality of the Basel Mission.[77] He alleged that the Basel Mission schools did not include any statement of gratitude to the British government in its Jubilee celebration pamphlet, which was a violation of the duty and loyalty the Basel Mission owed to 'His Majesty the King and to His Majesty's Government'. There was also a rumour that 'some of the reverend gentlemen have been accustomed to speak of the British in a contemptuous and derogatory fashion in the vernacular in the presence of the natives'. Last but not least, a Basel Mission medical doctor failed to report his presence to the commissioner of the district he had arrived in, although he did report his departure to the commissioner of the district he left. In his letter, Clifford described the Basel Mission's remaining European staff in the Gold Coast as either 'strongly pro-German', having 'very strong German proclivities', being of 'German descent and parentage', or being 'German-Swiss'. They should all leave the colony, he insisted.[78]

The sudden change in Clifford's attitude towards the Basel Mission was perhaps rather surprising. His allegations towards the Basel Mission schools' textbooks, the Basel Mission staff and doctor were either trivial, based on anonymous hearsay or on so-called witness statements by a non-witness. These

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[76] Edouard Naville, Geneva, to Sir Horace Rumbold, British Ambassador to Bern, 31 January 1918, IOR/L/PJ6/1518, BL.

[77] Hugh Clifford, governor of the Gold Coast, to Walter H. Long, M.P., 14 December 1917, IOR/L/PJ/6/1518, BL.

[78] Ibid.

issues did not appear to be the true causes of the Gold Coast government's change of heart. Clues to other possible causes can be found in the letter written by the Gold Coast governor, Clifford, about his sweeping expulsion order.[79] The beginning and the ending of the letter both allude to the Empire's intention to liquidate the trade societies associated with German missions. The governor even suggested that the estimated value of property held by the Basel Mission and the BMTC in the Gold Coast was around £1 million. He also proposed different approaches for the disposal of these assets. In view of the BMTC's statement that, behind the *S.S. Apapa* incident, there might be a malicious slander by a commercial competitor, it appears more likely that the change of the governor's heart in late 1917 was motivated less by any wrongdoings of the German missionaries, than by the need to support the Empire's declared policy towards German missions and the commercial interests resulting from the liquidation of the Basel Mission's and BMTC's assets in the colony. As will be argued in the case of Hong Kong in chapters 4 and 5, economic factors were a significant influence on government policy towards German missions.

To sum up, none of the above colonial records cited offer indisputable evidence of any German missionaries' wrongdoings going against the interests of Britain or its colonies. Except for those incidents which occurred in former German territories, the allegations made by other colonial governments appear to have been based on suspicion rather than fact. In some cases, the allegations seemed to have been stirred up by German missions' business competitors. The issue of the political neutrality of German missionaries is addressed by other government records. In 1919, when the Colonial Office was asked to provide information and proof on this subject (political neutrality) to the British delegation to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, Sir Gilbert E. A. Grindle provided a summary of the reports received by the Colonial Office and concluded that the correspondence 'pointed only to suspicion, there were no proof or specific instances ever given.'[80]

In another document, the India Office also quoted the Viceroy's remarks that the grounds for dealing with German missions 'were largely matters of

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79 Ibid.

80 G. Grindle, Colonial Office, to Foreign Office, 13 June 1919, CO 323/800, pp 658-663, TNA.

probability and inference since none of their members could be accused of any overt act or known pronouncement of hostility'.[81] It was believed that enemy missionaries had, at any rate, 'ample opportunity of spreading alarm and generally exerting a harmful influence'. The Indian government advised that, given the hostile feelings held by German missionaries towards the British, there was 'every probability of their acting on such opportunities'. In other words, British policies towards German missions represented merely preventive measures or a type of risk management in a hostile environment. As the Secretary of State for the Home Department said during the debates on Aliens Restriction Bill, 'A man in time of war can take no risks … It was impossible to give to any enemy alien the benefit of the doubt'.[82] Commercial interests also fed into British policy, as exemplified in the case of the Gold Coast. Peter Cline suggests that, during the War, German industrial, trading and financial enterprises abroad were perceived by the British government as 'the cat's paw of the aggressive German state'.[83] There was fear among British officials that Germany might start a trade war after the end of the War. Such fear may explain why British officials were keen to remove the BMTC from the Gold Coast and India. Further discussion of the BMTC case is placed at the end of this Chapter.

Lobbying by Christian Mission Leaders

In addition to military leaders, politicians, and businessmen, the British government also came under the influence of religious leaders as it developed its policy towards German missions. In the early stage of the War, the British government did not differentiate between Roman Catholic and Protestant missions in their implementation of their policies. However, at the later stage, British policy towards German missions did distinguish between the two. The main reason for this was because of their different representative bodies. All Catholic

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81 M.C. Seton of India Office to Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 5 June 1919, pp 581-582, FO 608/160, TNA.

82 'Alien Restriction Bill, House of Commons Debates, 15 April 1919, vol. 114, cc2745-818,' Parliament's official website, accessed 28 September 2020. https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1919/apr/15/aliens-restriction-bill.

83 Peter Cline, "Winding Down the War Economy: British Plans for Peacetime Recovery, 1916 - 1919," in *War and the State - The Transformation of British Government 1914-1919,* ed. Kathleen Burk (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 157-182.

German missions and their missionaries were overseen by the Holy See. Politically, the Roman Catholic Church was represented by the Vatican City, the smallest independent state in the world. The Vatican's centralised form of government allowed the German Catholic mission matters to be resolved quickly and efficiently as a foreign policy matter between Britain and the Vatican. Protestant missionary societies on the other hand, were disparate, individual, independent religious entities. There was a quasi-representative body — the Continuation Committee which was established to follow up issues agreed at the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh.[84] However, the difference of political opinion between its German and Allied members and the difficulty of communication during the War made the Continuation Committee no more than 'a shadow body' with no real authority or power to act.[85] It was therefore a great relief to British government when J. H. Oldham showed up on behalf of the War and Missions Committee, CMSGBI. Instead of some forty different bodies, they could deal with only one body to represent the world's Protestant missionary societies.[86]

Oldham possessed attributes that were helpful in addressing the German mission crisis during the War. He was a widely recognised leader in the international mission circle. He possessed good knowledge of German language and culture, which was acquired during his study at the University of Halle.[87] Through his work at the 1910 Edinburgh Conference, Oldham built up good relationships with German mission leaders.[88] As the editor of *International Review of Missions*, Oldham had Christian mission statistics at his fingertips, as well as information which was important to government officials for policy development. And probably most importantly, he was a British subject which made him easier to earn the trust and to negotiate with the British government. Also, unlike the direct, confrontational approach of the Basel Mission leaders, Oldham was much gentler and more constructive in his interactions with British government officials. He understood their needs and was willing to make counter

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84 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 97.
85 C. Howard Hopkins, *John R. Mott, 1865-1955 - A Biography* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1979), 432.
86 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 152.
87 Ibid, 58-63.
88 Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations*, 144-145.

proposal for their consideration. Oldham's secretary, Katherine Bliss, summed up Oldham's advice on mission-government relations:

> Missions have a spiritual take but … 'the first duty of government is to govern', a maxim often ignored by protestors, to their own disadvantage. If you *have* to negotiate, act together, prepare and know your facts, be consistent in what you are asking, listen to how the government's spokespersons see things (and it will be a help if, in general, missions have been appreciative of any government actions that have been on the side of justice and the welfare of the governed). Lastly, know your officials and let those who have an underlying sympathy with the Christian cause do some of your work for you.[89] (italic as in original)

Throughout the German mission crisis, Oldham was treading a thin line between his loyalty to both Britain, his country, and his faith, of which the international missionary movement was a 'concrete and visible' expression.[90] Keith Clements, Oldham's memoirist, suggests that with integrity, Oldham was 'largely' able to maintain both loyalties and made 'an essential contribution to the ecumenical movement'. The rest of this chapter will discuss how Oldham steered the course of British policy in two important areas which directly affected German missions' missionary freedom and their property in British territories.

Restrictions on the Admission of Foreign Missionaries

The first policy driven by Oldham which had significant impacts on German missions' interests was the restrictive control on the admission of alien missionaries, which was first implemented in India and later implemented in the rest of the Empire. In 1917, as previously discussed, India proposed restricting the entry of alien missionaries into the country. It planned to require every foreigner wishing to engage in philanthropic, educational, or medical activities to apply for and have a permit authorising him/her to carry out his/her work in India. This proposal, had it come to fruition, would have significantly threatened missionary freedom in India.[91] In March 1917, Oldham reported on it at the CMSGBI War and Missions Committee meeting and offered to draft a memorandum on the

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89 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 153.
90 Ibid, 122.
91 Minutes of Meeting of the Committee on the War and Missions, 3 November 1917, CBMS/01/C/02/02, Box 512, folder 22-23, SOAS.

matter and to visit the India Office to enquire unofficially.[92] It was this visit which led to the inter-departmental meetings between government officials of the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, India Office and the representatives of British Protestant and Catholic missionary bodies on 12 and 14 December 1917 respectively.

At these meetings, the Catholic and Protestant delegations put forward very similar arguments against the government's original idea of a missionary licensing system. Some kind of coordination must have been conducted between the two. They pointed out that the proposed permit system would be perceived as a violation of the spirit of mission freedom. It might even provoke a reciprocal policy by Japan and China to restrict British missions in their territories, and the possibility of alienating Americans who were strong supporters of mission work.[93] Both argued that instead of introducing a wholesale policy targeting missionaries as a group, the Indian government should consider a control scheme which could distinguish independent, individual missionaries from the agents of recognised missionary societies. While the former acted 'on their own hock', the latter were subject to real authority in their home missions.[94] The Indian government could address the risk of alien missionaries by requiring well-established missions to make an undertaking to guarantee the loyalty of their agents and to accept full responsibility for their workers' actions in the British territories. The Catholic missionaries were ultimately subject to the control of the Vatican, who was held responsible for the actions and even the political views of their missionaries. For the Protestant missionaries, Oldham suggested that the guarantee could come from representative bodies of missionary societies in Britain and North America.[95] Cooperation with these representative bodies could generate moral support for the

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92 Minutes of Meeting of Committee on the War and Missions, 29 March 1917, CBMS/01/C/02/02, Box 512, folder 22-23, SOAS.

93 Minutes of Proceedings of a Conference of Representatives of the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, and India Office, with Representatives of Protestant Missionary Bodies, 12 December 1917; Proceedings of a conference between Representatives of the India Office, Foreign Office and Colonial Office and Representatives of Roman Catholic Missionary Bodies held at the India Office, 14 December 1917, IOR/L/PJ/6/1518, File 191, BL.

94 Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on the War and Missions, 29 March 1917, CBMS/01/C/02/02, Box 512, folder 22-23, SOAS.

95 Private letter of J. H. Oldham to Lord Islington, India Office, 21 December 1917, CBMS/01/C/02/02, Box 512, folder 22-23, SOAS.

new regime and would prevent the controversy which might stem from a policy appearing to subject Christian ministry to control by state officials. The alternative control scheme suggested by the Protestant and Catholic missions, which were apparently the brainchild of Oldham, were eventually accepted by the Indian government without any major modifications.[96]

In 1919, the Indian government released a policy 'Admission into India of Aliens Desiring to Undertake Missionary, Educational, or other Philanthropic Work in India after the War', commonly referred to as 'Memorandum A, B and C'. It allowed agents of missionary societies recognised by the Vatican, the CMSGBI, or the Foreign Missions Conference of North America (FMCNA) to be granted admission to India without license or permit.[97] The entry of non-recognised individuals to India would require permits issued by the British authority in those individuals' country of residence, this being the respective British embassy or other authorised representative office of the British government. The successful collaboration of Protestant mission leaders and British government officials in developing 'Memorandum A, B and C' set a positive precedent for collaboration in any future policy governing German missions. Even more importantly, the new entry-control regime was the model ultimately adopted by all British colonies, dependencies, and protectorates vis-à-vis the return of German missions to their pre-War mission stations.

Trusteeship of German Mission Property

The second British policy resulting from lobbying by Oldham related to how German mission property in British territories should be handled after the War. During the War itself, there was no clear directive from the Colonial Office regarding how to deal with German mission property. After the expulsion of German missionaries from British colonies or mandated territories, most of their property was looked after by indigenous Christians, with or without the help of non-German missionaries. In some cases, the property was simply abandoned or sold, one example being the property of the Leipzig Mission in East Africa, which

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96 Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on the War and Missions, 9 March 1918, CBMS/01/C/02/02, Box 512, folder 22-23, SOAS.

97 Under Secretary of State, India Office, to Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 3 February 1919, CO 323/804, TNA.

was sold by the local government 'to prevent its loss by deterioration'.[98] In Hong Kong, where there was a severe housing shortage, the CMS requested to acquire a Rhenish Mission property but its proposal was considered premature and turned down by the Colonial Office.[99]

In the last year of the War, the British government considered that, in the interests of state security, German missions should be permanently banned from all British territories, and their work taken over by British missions or other Allied missions. The Gold Coast governor supported this proposal and also suggested selling the Basel Mission's associated trading businesses through local public auction.[100] At that time, Oldham had just persuaded his own church, the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS), to assume the Basel Mission's evangelical work in the Gold Coast. The UFCS's leader, A. H. L. Fraser, therefore, wrote to the Colonial Office opposing the idea. He argued that the loss of German mission property would jeopardise the continuous operation of the Basel Mission's work there, which had proven to be beneficial to the indigenous population in the colony. He requested that the Basel Mission property in the Gold Coast should be retained and utilised for its original purpose.[101] There was a possibility, Fraser argued, that German missions 'might be willing to transfer the property if not to a British society, at any rate to the native Church'. Fraser also raised a bold idea for consideration by government officials: "whether it is considered possible in liquidating the Basel Trading Society to take steps to conserve its philanthropic aims, and reconstitute it as a British organisation carried on for the benefit of the native population in the Gold Coast".[102]

In late May 1918, Oldham, on behalf of the CMSGBI, wrote to the British government, officially asking for any liquidation of German mission property to

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98 Grindle to Oldham, 15 January 1919, IMC file 26.14.01, WCC.

99 Grindle to the Lay Secretary of Church Missionary Society, 16 Sept 1916, CO 129/434, pp 354-358, TNA.

100 Hugh Clifford, governor of Gold Coast, to Walter H. Long, 14 December 1917, IOR/L/PJ/6/1518, BL.

101 A. H. L. Fraser, Foreign Mission Offices of the United Free Church of Scotland, to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 2 January 1918, IOR/L/PJ/6/1518, BL.

102 Minutes of the Foreign Missions Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland. Enclosure to the letter from A. H. L. Fraser to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 2 January 1918, IOR/L/PJ/6/1518, BL.

be delayed until the War was over.[103] He based his argument on the concept of 'trusteeship', which had been gaining increasing momentum in British politics at that time. This concept suggested that there was a 'sacred trust' between the British imperial powers and the indigenous populations in their territories, under which Britain had a moral responsibility to take care of the general wellbeing of the indigenous people until such time as the colony were mature enough to govern themselves.[104] Oldham argued that German mission property acquired 'for the moral and spiritual benefit of native populations' was significantly different from private enemy property and deserved separate and special consideration.[105] If Allied missions were to assume responsibility for work previously performed by German missions, they had to be able to rely on the continued availability of German mission property. Strategically, Oldham also suggested that the British government should consider the issue of the disposal of German mission property 'as a whole', and that 'definite principles should be laid down in the light of which each particular case might be dealt with by local governments'. In other words, not only German mission property in the Gold Coast would be saved, but also other property in British territories which belonged to German missions. Oldham estimated that the total value of German mission property in India and the Gold Coast 'should moderately exceed £1 million'.

Later, as Oldham requested, the Colonial Office undertook a stocktaking exercise to ascertain the value of German mission property in the colonies under its governance.[106] Figure 11 shows the estimated values provided to the Colonial Office by various colonial governments.[107] To provide a full picture, Figure 11

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[103] Oldham to Arthur Balfour, Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 30 May 1918, CO 323/788/3, pp 39-45, TNA.

[104] Ralph Wide, *International Territorial Administration: How Trusteeship and the Civilising Mission Never Went Away* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 319.

[105] Oldham to Arthur Balfour, 30 May 1918, CO 323/788/3, pp 43-45, TNA.

[106] Oldham to W.R.S. Hewins, Colonial Office, 31 August 1918, CO 323/788/66, pp 613-614, TNA.

[107] Acting governor of the Gold Coast and Togoland, to Viscount Milner, 8 July 1919, CO 323/794; Claud Severn, acting governor of Hong Kong, to Viscount Milner, 7 April 1919, CO 323/793/33; acting governor of Nigeria & Cameroons to Viscount Milner, 31 May 1919, CO 323/793/82; Secretary of the British Borneo Company to Under Secretary of State, 1 May 1919, CO 323/813/74; deputy governor of Uganda to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 16 July 1919, CO 323/794, TNA.

also shows the data for India as provided by the India Office for the estimated value of the property of the Basel Mission and the BMTC in 1919.[108]

The stocktaking exercise indicated that the total estimated value of German mission property in various British colonies exceeded £1.36 million. The Gold Coast possessed the highest-valued German mission property (£599,352), followed by India (£510,440). Hong Kong ranked third, its government estimating that the value of German mission property in Hong Kong was £162,529. Other colonies reported significantly smaller figures. How BMTC property was handled by the British government is extremely important in terms of how British policy governing German missions developed. For example, it established the trusteeship principle, which eventually developed into an Empire-wide policy and also an international agreement, namely Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, which dictated how German mission property in Allied territories should be handled. Before discussing the details of policy development, a quick review of the BMTC and its status at the outbreak of the War is useful as background.

Figure 11: Estimated Value of German Mission Property, 1919

British Colony / Protectorates	Estimated Value	Percentage of Total
Gold Coast^	£599,352	44
India	£510,440	37
Hong Kong	£162,529*	12
Togoland	£59,072	4
Cameroons	£26,363	2
British Borneo	£4,000	Less than 1

^ This is the total sum of 1) estimated value of the property of the Basel Mission and the Basel Mission Trading Company (£596,000) and 2) estimated value of the Bremen Mission property (£3,352).
* The reported figure was $612,734. Conversion rate $3.77 per Sterling Pound, taken from *Administrative Reports for 1919*, Hong Kong Government.

[108] India Office to Oldham and Charles Roberts of The Round Table, 29 April 1919, IOR/L/PJ/6/1576, File 1612, BL.

The history of the BMTC can be traced back to 1855, when the Basel Mission sent a young missionary to the Gold Coast to manage the supply of Gold Coast missionaries with the European goods they needed. This small trading venture eventually grew into a significant import-export business. It was separate from the mission work per se and was given the organisational structure of a shareholding company in 1859.[109] New shareholders and bondholders were brought into the company, resulting in a significant reduction in the Basel Mission's stake. All shareholders agreed to receive only a small, fixed percentage of the company's annual profits and donate the rest to support the Basel Mission work. At the outbreak of the War, the BMTC had a large and profitable plantation and trading operation in the Gold Coast. It employed 634 Europeans and 566 Africans in 1912.[110] The total volume of cocoa produced by the BMTC's associated African small farmers reached 40 million kilograms in 1911. The BMTC also operated seven weaving establishments and seven tile factories in India, employing between them 3,500 workers. Between 1910 and 1913, BMTC shareholders donated 1.8 million Swiss francs of the company's profits to support the Basel Mission's evangelical work in Africa, India, and China.[111] As a last-minute attempt to avoid any negative impact of the War, the BMTC undertook a restructuring in November 1917, whereby it separated itself entirely from the Basel Mission. The Basel Mission sold all 120 shares it owned to Swiss investors, making the BMTC a purely Swiss enterprise.[112] Its new statutes clearly stated that: 'Any support of societies whose leaders are citizens of countries with which Great Britain and its Allies are at war is out of the question.'[113] Furthermore, the BMTC chairman relinquished his place on the board of the Basel Mission. However, none of these actions deterred the British government from expelling the BMTC from its territories.

It was Oldham's argument regarding the principle of 'trusteeship' that eventually convinced the British government officials that German mission

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[109] Veit Arit, "The Union Trade Company and Its Recordings: An Unintentional Documentation of West African Popular Music, 1931-1957," *History in Africa*, issue 31 (May 2014): 393-405.

[110] Danker, *Profit for the Lord*, 97-98.

[111] Ibid, 106.

[112] Margaret Gannon, "The Basle Mission Trading Company and British Colonial Policy in the Gold Coast, 1918-1928," *Journal of African History*, vol. 24, no. 4 (1983): 504.

[113] Danker, *Profit for the Lord*, 115.

property should be treated differently. The Gold Coast Legislative Council unanimously passed legislation on 4 February 1918, placing the property of the Basel Mission and the BMTC under the supervision of the Controlling Officer of Enemy Property.[114] To prevent the sale of the BMTC assets as enemy assets, Oldham recruited humanitarians and Christians with business interests in Africa to establish a new business entity, the Commonwealth Trust Company (CTC), to acquire and continue the activities of the BMTC in the Gold Coast along the original philanthropic lines. The CTC adopted many precepts of the BMTC, including a promise that it would not trade in liquor and limit its dividend distribution to the lowest fixed percentage.[115] Any surplus would be handed over to a board of British-government-appointed trustees in London for the advancement of the moral, religious, and educational betterment of Gold Coast indigenous communities.

In late November 1918, Oldham and other representatives of the CTC met with officials from the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, and the India Office to discuss the possible acquisition of the BMTC.[116] During negotiations, the CTC repeatedly argued that selling BMTC assets to powerful trading companies in the Gold Coast would be 'entirely inconsistent with declared policy of His Majesty's Government of trusteeship of native races and British war aims'.[117] These trading companies would fully control prices and very likely sell liquor. Both would be detrimental to the general wellbeing of indigenous people, it argued. Lionel George Curtis, the founder of the Round Table, a movement designed to promote closer union between the Empire and its self-governing colonies, was a keen supporter of Oldham's CTC proposal. Curtis wrote a letter to the British government, arguing that the Basel Mission and its trading society (the BMTC) in the Gold Coast — with an estimated value of £596,000 and a cash sum of £250,000 held in London — could legitimately be liquidated with their assets given to the CTC for continuous operation, as long as the share capital of £120,000 was returned to BMTC shareholders and bondholders:

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114 Gannon, "The Basle Mission Trading Company": 506.

115 Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, to Under Secretary of State, India Office, 10 December 1918, IOR/L/PJ/6/1518, File 191, BL.

116 Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, to Under Secretary of State, India Office, 3 December 1918, IOR/L/PJ/6/1518, File 191, BL.

117 Gannon, "The Basle Mission Trading Company": 508.

> [T]he only private claim for compensation created by the sequestration of the assets, so far as I can see, is in respect of the £120,000 of shares and bonds upon which no more than £6,000 per annum is due. That claim can be met by the repayment of the original £120,000, not only in a final manner, but also generously owing to the decline in value of investments due to the war. The share and bond holders when repaid can do better with their money. … If this repayment is guaranteed, I fail to see what further claim for compensation the Swiss Government can advance provided that provision has already been made to administer the assets in the Gold Coast with the same restrictions, and so nearly as may be, with the same philanthropic objects as those for which the Basel Company was created.[118]

As will be discussed later, Curtis' argument proved to be erroneous, and would later cost the British government dearly. However, at the time, the British officials accepted his argument. Apparently, it was the last paragraph of Curtis' letter, about the benefits of the trusteeship-based acquisition, that persuaded them. He argued that the CTC project would enable British government to add a new and important feature to its governing of 'the tropics'. British investors would be able to engage in trade with the inhabitants without the fears that they would create local problem of liquor consumption or earn excessive profits from the exploitation of helpless peoples. It was because the profits 'would be returned by the trustees in the form of education to the indigenous populations'. The public would understand that 'His Majesty's Government have brought into being an agency by which trade and civilisation may be harmonised and made without question to promote each other.'[119] Oldham also put forward similar argument in his private letter to C. J. B. Hurst of Foreign Office. He even suggested that the CTC venture could become a new model for the British Empire to transform itself into 'a fair and generous partner in trading with peoples in tropical areas'.[120]

In December 1918, arrangements for the sale of BMTC assets to the CTC were finalised.[121] The Gold Coast government passed an ordinance allowing itself to appropriate all property belonging to the Basel Mission and the BMTC under the auspices of a board of trustees. The Basel Mission's property was then

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[118] Lionel George Curtis to W. A. S. Hewins, 4 November 1918, CO 323/789/79, pp 566-575, TNA.

[119] Ibid, 574.

[120] Oldham's private letter to C. J. B. Hurst, Foreign Office, 26 November 1918, IMC file 26.14.01, WCC.

[121] Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, to Under Secretary of State, India Office, 3 December 1918, IOR/L/PJ/6/1518, File 191, BL.

transferred to the UFCS, the united body of the free churches in Scotland, which had sustained the Basel Mission's work in the Gold Coast. The BMTC assets were transferred to the CTC, which would continue the trading business in the colony along philanthropic lines. Employing similar arrangements, the Indian government later also acquired the property of the Basel Mission and the BMTC in its territory. The mission work of the Basel Mission was transferred to the National Missionary Council of India, while the business assets of BMTC were transferred to the CTC. The officials in the India Office did not find the arrangement completely convincing, however. One of them wrote:

> The more I think of it, the more I feel that H.M.G. have not given the Basel Mission a fair chance, and that we in this office have allowed ourselves to be rushed by the hasty stupidity of the C.O. No one has seriously attempted to show that there is any urgent necessity for closing down in the Gold Coast, and Sir H. Clifford's last [telegram], if it ever had to be published, [would] be very awkward for the C.O. We cannot interfere in these affairs, but so far as India is concerned there is no urgency at all.[122]

In its transactions with the British government and the colonial governments of the Gold Coast and India, the CTC obtained free of charge the Gold Coast BMTC property valued at £558,017, and property valued at £254,383 in India, as well as a cash sum of £236,493 held by BMTC in London.[123] However, ironically, the CTC failed to generate any income in the first nine years of its existence, which meant that no payments were made to support mission work in the Gold Coast and India. Also, the forced acquisition of the BMTC was dramatically reversed in the late 1920s, when the British government realised that it had been mistaken about the nature of the BMTC, leading to illegal liquidation of a neutral nation's company. The Gold Coast government had to compensate the BMTC to the tune of £250,000, which it paid out of its own coffers. Settlement with the Indian government regarding the return of BMTC property did not come until as late as 1952. At that point, the BMTC received back some of its former property, as well as compensation amounting to £125,000 from the Indian government and £1,050 to cover its legal costs.[124]

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[122] Handwritten comments of T. W. Holderness, Under Secretary of State for India, India Office, Minute Paper, Basel Mission and Trading Society, 8 January 1918, IOR/L/PJ/6/1518, BL.

[123] Gannon, "The Basle Mission Trading Company": 509.

[124] Danker, *Profit for the Lord*, 118-119.

To all parties involved, the CTC was a failure. For the British government, instead of being credited with the establishment of a new, harmonised model of colonial administration, its reputation was damaged locally and internationally by the legal dispute with the Swiss. The BMTC shareholders and bondholders had to endure the confiscation of their assets as an act of injustice. However, they blamed the colonial governments, not Oldham and his CTC colleagues. As the Bishop of Southwark pointed out, the formation of the CTC was a public-spirited action which gave the impetus for the continuation of German mission work.[125] For German missions, however, although the actions of the CTC did not actually help generate income for their mission work, it established important precedents and principles for future policies governing German mission property: the property should not be confiscated as enemy assets for sale, but should be placed under a trusteeship composed of members of the same religious faith; and it should continue to be used for missionary purposes.

In early 1919, Oldham succeeded in persuading the British government to apply the trusteeship principle established under the CTC case to Hong Kong, British Borneo, and East Africa.[126] A uniform policy for dealing with the property of enemy missions, he argued, would be much easier for the British government to defend in the face of public opinion in North America and elsewhere. Furthermore, it would reassure British missions in those territories that the property needed for the continuation of German mission work would be available. Oldham's proposal met with a positive response from the Colonial Office.[127] In 1919, these principles were further endorsed by the Allied and Associated Powers, and eventually incorporated into the Treaty of Versailles:

> Article 438: The Allied and Associated Powers agree that where Christian religious missions were being maintained by German societies or persons in territory belonging to them, or of which the government is entrusted to them in accordance with the present Treaty, the property which these missions or missionary societies possessed, including that of trading societies whose profits were devoted to the support of missions, shall continue to be devoted to missionary purposes. In order to ensure the due execution of this undertaking, the

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125 Ibid, 120.

126 Oldham to Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 20 January 1919, CBMS/01/C/02/02, Box 512, folder 22-23, SOAS.

127 Grindle to Oldham, 31 March 1919, CBMS/01/C/02/02, Box 512, folder 22-23, SOAS.

> Allied and Associated Governments will hand over such property to boards of trustees appointed by or approved by the Governments and composed of persons holding the faith of the Mission whose property is involved.
>
> The Allied and Associated Governments, while continuing to maintain full control as to the individuals by whom the Missions are conducted, will safeguard the interests of such Missions.
>
> Germany, taking note of the above undertaking, agrees to accept all arrangements made or to be made by the Allied or Associated Governments concerned for carrying on the work of the said missions or trading societies and waives all claims on their behalf.[128]

A private note sent by Sir C. J. B. Hurst, the Foreign Office's representative at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, to Oldham after the incorporation of Article 438 best illustrated the deep involvement of Oldham in the initiative:

> It may interest you to see the annexed copy of the Article dealing with the position of German Christian missions which has been inserted in the Draft Treaty of Peace with Germany. It provides, I think, the fullest satisfaction for the aims which you and your colleagues have been pursuing upon this subject. As you know, the terms of the Treaty are not yet public property but there is no reason why you should not communicate it privately to those with whom you have worked.[129]

The Vatican aired several comments on Article 438 during the drafting process. This led to the issuance of a circular dispatch by the Allied Powers to ensure that any property of missions under the Holy See would be placed at the disposal of authorised persons of the Roman Catholic Church.[130] However, another concern raised by the Vatican was never addressed. This concerned the authority to which appeals might be made if boards of trustees failed to fulfil their trusteeship obligations. The fact that Article 438 did not address this issue created a major problem in the implementation of that system in Hong Kong, as will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

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[128] "Part XV. Miscellaneous Provisions. Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919", The Avalon Project, Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library. Accessed 31 December 2022. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/partxv.asp.

[129] C.B.J. Hurst of the British Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, to Oldham, 8 May 1919, CBMS/01/C/02/02, Box 512, folder 22-23, SOAS.

[130] Enclosure 2 in a circular dispatch of Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, 17 October 1919, CO 323/801/19, TNA.

The End of British Discriminatory Policy

After the end of the War, for the sake of national security, Britain and her colonies introduced legislation which extended for three years the wartime restrictions governing the admission of former enemy nationals to British territories.[131] In March 1922, Protestant mission leaders in Britain learnt that the Colonial Office had written to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, indicating that this legislation would expire on various dates in August and September 1922.[132] With the help and support of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Protestant mission leaders approached the British government to ask if it was, indeed, the intention of the Colonial Office to allow this legislation to expire. British government officials confirmed that the colonies' restrictive legislation would be abandoned after its expiry, but the return of German missions would still be subject to 'Memorandum A, B and C', under which the approval of individual colonial administrations was required.[133]

At the same time, there were other appeals for the termination of British discriminatory policy against German missions, including a letter from Rev. Francis. C. Kelley, the editor of a widely circulated U.S. Catholic magazine, to the Prime Minister in February 1922.[134] His letter was forwarded to the Colonial Office by the London correspondent of an American newspaper, which described the Catholic editor as 'the most influential and best known Roman Catholic clergyman' in the U.S. In his letter, Rev. Kelley suggested that it was the time for Britain to terminate its discriminatory policy against German missions and German missionaries. Referring to the recent settlement regarding Irish independence, he suggested, 'why not now add to your triumph' by removing a policy that had caused ill-feeling in religious circles in the U.S. The abolition of

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131 Mark Pearsall, "Enemy Aliens in Great Britain, 1914-1919," the website of the National Archives, last modified 24 March 2017, accessed 28 September 2020, https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/enemy-aliens-great-britain-1914-1919/.

132 A. L. Warnshuis, IMC, to Rev. Frank Aschroft, United Free Church Offices, 31 March 1922, IMC file 26.15.10, WCC.

133 Memorandum by Mr. Maclennan on meeting at the Colonial Office with Sir Herbert Read and Mr. Batterbee, with regard to exclusion of German missionaries from British colonies, 23 June 1922, IMC file 26.15.10, WCC.

134 John S. Steele, London correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, to Winston Churchill, Colonial Office, 6 July 1922, CO 323/899, 418 - 464, TNA. It forwarded a letter from Rev. Francis C. Kelley, President of the *Extension* magazine to David Lloyd George, Prime Minister, 24 February 1922.

the discriminatory policy against German missions would be 'small in the eyes of the politicians, but great in the eyes of the future historian'. The policy could not be defended 'on moral or even political grounds', he added, especially now that the War was over. Rev. Kelley ended his appeal with a question:

> A great empire that is just need have no fear. How can anyone fear a handful of men and women whose one business is to preach and teach the things that have made empires possible?[135]

Under such pressure, both locally and abroad, the Colonial Office finally notified the CMSGBI on 1 July 1924 of the removal of all discriminatory measures towards German missions in the colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories under its supervision, apart from Palestine and Iraq where no such measures existed.[136] German missions would be treated in a manner similar to that enjoyed by non-enemy missions from other European countries. It would be at the discretion of the CMSGBI to recommend any German mission for recognition by the British government under 'Memorandum A, B and C', subject to the approval of the respective colonial administration. A Committee on Relations with Governments was established within the CMSGBI, its purpose being to follow the progress of the return of German missions to various colonies. Three months later, the CMSGBI recommended the first group of German missions for recognition by the British government. The Basel, Rhenish and Hildesheim missions in Hong Kong were included in this 1924 list of recommendation, together with the Berlin, Bielefeld and Leipzig missions in Tanganyika; Neukirchen mission in Kenya; and the Basel and Bremen missions in the Gold Coast.[137] The recommendation represented a new and final chapter in the British government's policy towards German missions. However, because of the new British restrictions governing the admission of foreign missionaries to British territories under 'Memorandum A, B and C', their return was by no means straightforward. It required the consent of respective colonial governments and the assistance from the Allied Protestant missions and indigenous churches, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

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135 Ibid.

136 Grindle to the Secretaries of the CMSGBI, 1 July 1924, IMC file 26.15.10, WCC.

137 Minutes of meeting of the Committee on Relations with Governments, 10 October 1924, CBMS/01/C/02/02, Box 512, folder 22-23, the Committee on War and Missions, SOAS.

Conclusion

Before the outbreak of the War, a large portion of German Protestant mission work was located in the British territories, including India and West Africa. With the support of colonial governments, German missions established and operated many churches, mission schools, hospitals and benevolent institutions in these places. However, the War changed this harmonious state-mission relationship fundamentally. Anti-German propaganda, change of public sentiment and allegations towards German missionaries' suspicious actions aroused the concerns of the imperial and colonial governments. The influence of German missionaries on indigenous populations was perceived as a potential threat to the Empire's national security. But there was never any specific evidence showing that German missionaries in the British territories had actually done anything against the interests of Britain or the respective colonies.

Allied Protestant missions were important parties in the development of enemy mission policy. In particular, J.H. Oldham succeeded in gaining the trust of the imperial and colonial governments and driving the policy towards a direction that would minimise the damages to German missions. The introduction of the 'Memorandum A, B and C' regime and Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles established a feasible route for the resumption of German mission work in the British territories in 1920s. During the time of aggression, it was the unity among Protestant mission leaders that ultimately salvaged the century-old German mission work, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3:
International Missionary Cooperation

In January 1924, John Howard Cook, Secretary to the Medical Committee of the CMS, consulted Oldham on a referral of two candidates for medical missionary work in China, where doctors were urgently needed.[1] His concern was that both candidates were German, former enemy nationals of the Empire. Although the War had ended in late 1918, the British government's discriminatory policy towards German missionaries was still in force. Like many others, Cook felt that it would be wrong to refuse otherwise suitable missionaries because of their nationality. However, he was worried about the political barriers he and they might encounter and possible friction within mission circles. Oldham assured him that there was no restriction on admission of German missionaries in China. In respect of the relationship between German and British missionaries, it would depend entirely on the individuals involved. Among Germans and British, there were people who made no difficulty, but there were also others with whom it would not be easy to work. However, with the right people on both sides, the arrangement could work successfully.[2]

There is no record of whether the two German doctors were finally sent to China. However, this minor incident illustrates how the relationship between German and British missionaries was still in disarray, even five years after the end of the War. The present chapter explores this issue, in particular in respect of the efforts of Allied missions to salvage German mission work in British territories. This topic has been covered by many studies about the wartime experience of German mission, including those by Kathleen Bliss, Richard Pierhard, Samuel Prempeh, Michael K. Lang, Adam Jones, and Jayabalan Murthy.[3] But

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[1] J. H. Cook to Oldham, 8 January 1924, IMC file 26.15.10, WCC.
[2] Oldham to J. H. Cook,14 January 1924, IMC file 26.15.10, WCC.
[3] Kathleen Bliss, "The Legacy of J. H. Oldham," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol.8, no. 1 (January 1984),18-24; Richard V. Pierhard, *International Bulletin,* vol. 22, no. 1 (1998): 13-19; Samuel Prempeh, "The Basel and Bremen Missions,", University of Aberdeen, 1977; Michael Kpughe Lang, *Contemporary Journal*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2017): 37-65; Adam Jones, "The Leipzig Mission in East Africa, 1914-1925", in *The First World War as a Turning Point*, 129-136; Jayabalan Murthy, "The First World War and Its Impact on the Leipzig Mission Society in India,", 199-212.

international relief work is not the focal point of these studies, and, furthermore, the studies focus on specific German missions, geographical areas, or church denominations. Broader coverage of the topic is offered by Hogg and Clements in their accounts of the IMC and J. H. Oldham respectively. Hogg described how the War rocked, indeed almost destroyed, the newly formed world Christian community after the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (the 'Edinburgh Conference'). However, he asserts that the fellowship among Protestant missions 'not only weathered the storm, but emerged from it stronger than before'.[4] Clements discusses the wartime relationship between Oldham and his German friends, as well as their interesting dialogues on the unity of Christianity, mission supra-nationality, and Christians' views on war and reconciliation. Yet international relief work is not addressed.

Building on the work of previous scholars as well as materials from German mission archives, this chapter examines the role of Allied mission leaders in the story about the German mission crisis in and after the War. It looks at changes in the fellowship between German and Allied mission leaders during the War. It discusses the three issues at the heart of their disputes, these being mission supra-nationality, dual loyalty, and the trusteeship of German mission property. Last but not least, it examines the various initiatives undertaken by Allied missions to support the orphaned German mission work in British territories. Such information provides important background for the understanding of Chapter 5, which explores the Hong Kong story of missionary relationships.

The Edinburgh Conference of 1910

Before discussing the international relief work undertaken by Protestant missions can proceed, it is important to examine how the Edinburgh Conference established a solid foundation for such collaboration. The Edinburgh Conference was the product of the centuries-long practice among Protestant missions to seek collaboration by sharing ideas. In foreign mission fields, over the years, missionaries from different missions had gathered to exchange information and explore joint initiatives of mutual interest. The first gathering of this type was held in Calcutta (now Kolkata), India, in 1855, followed by similar gatherings in

[4] Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations*, 143.

China and Japan, as well as in Africa and Latin America.[5] In their home bases, mission executives from the same geographical region also met regularly to discuss missionary problems and possible joint solutions. The Continental Missions Conference first took place in Bremen in 1866.[6] It was followed by the German Evangelical Missions Committee in 1885, and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America (FMCNA) in 1892. In Britain, there existed no body of this kind before the Edinburgh Conference. However, an informal missionary body, the London Secretaries' Association, had been formed as far back as 1819. The London-based secretaries of foreign missions met every month 'for a cup of tea and an informative evening of discussion'.[7] The British and American Protestant missions had their own regular inter-denominational city conferences. The initial events were held in 1854 in New York and London respectively. Thereafter, they joined forces and held joint conferences in Liverpool (1860), London (1878), London (1888) and New York (1900). The Edinburgh Conference was supposed to be a follow-up meeting of the New York Conference (1900). However, the changing environment, including rising conflicts with governments and the increasing calls for indigenous churches' autonomy and self-governance, called for the transformation of that event into a new type of international missionary meeting.

In the 1900s, the world witnessed student Christian movements spreading rapidly from one place to another.[8] These student movements resulted in a religious awakening everywhere, and attracted a veritable army of young missionaries from universities in Britain, North America, Germany and Scandinavia. John Raleigh Mott, the chairman of the Edinburgh Conference and its extension institutions including the Continuation Committee and the IMC, was the man who had pulled these student movements together to form the World Student Christian Federation in 1895.[9] An influential global Christian leader, he had many friends around the world, including US President Woodrow Wilson.[10] The secretary of the Edinburgh Conference, J. H. Oldham, was also nurtured by

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5 Ibid, 35.
6 File on the Continental Mission Conference Bremen, 1866, RMG 868, AMS.
7 Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations*, 51.
8 Ibid, 51.
9 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 31.
10 Hopkins, *J. R. Mott*, 437.

the student Christian movement and continued to work for it. The Edinburgh Conference, under the leadership of these men, was transformed into a global event with the objective to foster the unity and cooperation of all Christians for the evangelisation of the world.[11]

The Edinburgh Conference has been widely considered a great success and as the birthplace of the modern ecumenical movement, even though, as Brian Stanley points out, the conference failed to address some of the important challenges of the era.[12] The event was mainly Anglo-American. The decision to allocate the conference seats strictly on the basis of a mission's financial muscle resulted in the great domination (over 80 percent) of the Anglo-American missions. Only eighteen out of the 1,215 official delegates came from non-western Christian communities.[13] Although Anglicans were invited for the first time, their limited numbers and the almost total absence of Roman Catholics made the Conference far from 'ecumenical' in the modern sense.[14] The conference was also reluctant to discuss sensitive but important issues such as the political liberalisation movement in foreign mission fields or the development of church autonomy.[15] The Edinburgh Conference nevertheless broke new ground, as Stanley suggests, by incorporating missionary cooperation in a structured form and on a global scale.[16] As this thesis demonstrates, this 'structured' and 'global' platform of missionary cooperation was critical to the salvaging of German mission work in and after the War.

The conference left as its legacy a Continuation Committee and a small but efficient Secretariat to support international missionary cooperation. The idea of a continuing agency for the promotion of missionary cooperation was first mooted by German missiologist Gustav Warneck as early as 1888, at the London

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11 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 73-78.

12 Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2009), 12-23.

13 Ibid, 97-102.

14 Ibid, 7-11.

15 Brian Stanley, "Church, State, and the Hierarchy of 'Civilisation': The Making of the 'Missions and Governments' Report at the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910," in *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions 1880-1914*, ed. Andrew Porter (Grand Rapids, Michigan.: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), 58-84; Brian Stanley, "The Church of the Three Selves: A Perspective from the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 36, no. 3 (2008): 435-451.

16 Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 278.

Missionary Conference.[17] The idea was too progressive for people at that time, and it was merely read and filed. During preparations for the Edinburgh Conference, German missions had pushed hard to have the idea aired at the conference itself.[18] They did so partly because of Warneck's vision, but also because of their unsuccessful attempt to seek damages against the British government over their own severe losses during the South African War of 1899-1902, which they felt a continuing agency could have helped with. Their push was well received by British and American missions. At the end of the Edinburgh Conference session on 'Cooperation and the Promotion of Unity', the recommendation for a continuation committee was moved and passed unanimously, and resulted in the formation of the Continuation Committee.[19] The Continuation Committee had thirty-five members, ten of which represented Great Britain, ten of whom the European Continent, ten North America, and one each South Africa, Australasia, Japan, China and India.[20] Although the Continuation Committee was short-lived due to the War, it spawned the Emergency Committee of Cooperating Missions and, ultimately, the IMC, both crucial players in the resolution of the wartime crisis of German missions.

Another equally important structure created by the Edinburgh Conference was the full-time executive arm of the Continuation Committee. The delegates understood that the Continuation Committee would remain a committee on paper only without its own budget and a secretariat. They therefore unanimously agreed to appoint Oldham as the full-time secretary for the newly formed Continuation Committee. He was later joined by Kenneth Maclennan, then general secretary of the Laymen's Missionary Movement in Scotland, who was appointed as full-time associate secretary at the Continuation Committee's Hague meeting in December 1913.[21] Betty Gibson, another assistant deeply involved with the German

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17 Hans Kasdorf, "The Legacy of Gustav Warneck," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol. 4, no. 3 (July 1980), 102-107. For more, see "Warneck, Gustav (1834-1910) : Pioneer of missiology as an academic discipline," the webpage of School of Theology, Boston University, accessed 7 November 2022, https://www.bu.edu/missiology/missionary-biography/w-x-y-z/warneck-gustav-1834-1910/.

18 Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 285.

19 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 97.

20 Hopkins, *J. R. Mott*, 360.

21 Ibid, 162.

missions issue, joined Oldham's team in 1916.[22] These three people coordinated international relief work for German missions through numerous meetings, travels and correspondence relating to multiple parties in Germany, Britain and Allied nations. From January 1912, the Secretariat published a periodical called the *International Review of Missions* (*IRM*), with Oldham as its editor.[23] During the War, the periodical facilitated information exchange among Protestant missionary societies around the world, particularly through the series of papers it published called 'The War and Missions'.[24]

With regard to the global legacy of the Edinburgh Conference, one must refer to Mott's extensive tour in Asia after the Edinburgh Conference. Mott was very keen to see good representation of indigenous churches at the Edinburgh Conference. When this did not materialise, he made the effort of organising a trip between November 1912 and April 1913 to visit Ceylon, India, Burma, Malaya, China, Manchuria, Korea, and Japan.[25] In each country, Mott organised large-scale national conferences for students, church leaders, and missionaries. His tour made the world's ecumenical movement more clearly understood and supported by indigenous churches in Asia. In China, Mott's visit created such a strong sense of unity among the young Chinese churches, that all Chinese churches of various denominations agreed to adopt the use of the designation 'The Christian Church of China' (Zhonghua jidujiao hui 中華基督教會).[26] The feeling of unity was critical to subsequent international missionary cooperation for supporting the orphaned German mission work in Asia.

The other 'global' legacy of the Edinburgh Conference was the establishment of national missionary bodies around the world. The most crucial one was the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland (CMSGBI). This was established in June 1912, with J. H. Ritson a Methodist minister and senior secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as its chair.[27] After the outbreak of the War, Oldham and Maclennan became joint secretaries of the CMSGBI as a calculated move to address the foreseeable

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22 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 156.
23 Ibid, 106.
24 Ibid, 125.
25 Ibid, 111.
26 Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations*, 153-154.
27 Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 318-320.

difficulty with the Continuation Committee.[28] The CMSGBI provided a platform from which Oldham and Maclennan could lobby the British government and organise relief work to benefit German missions.[29] The Edinburgh Conference also gave rise to the formation of national missionary bodies in India and China, namely the National Missionary Council of India and the China Continuation Committee. The China Continuation Committee was established in Shanghai and managed by Rev. E. C. Lobenstine an American Presbyterian missionary and Rev. Cheng Jingyi (誠靜怡), an independent Chinese church's pastor. As will be described in Chapter 5, Lobenstine was the key person gathering international financial aid for German missions in China. In India, the National Missionary Council of India steered negotiations with the Indian authorities over German mission affairs and took care of the orphaned German mission work across the subcontinent.

Nonetheless, the most important legacy left by the 1910 Edinburgh Conference was the international fellowship and unity established between German and Allied mission leaders. As cited in a letter from Oldham to his German friends at the outbreak of the War:

> We all thought that the Edinburgh Conference and the Continuation Committee were a preparation for a great missionary advance. We see now that God has been preparing us for something wholly different. We believe, however, that the events of the past few years were nonetheless His preparation and that He intends the bonds of international fellowship and love which were forged at Edinburgh to be maintained unbroken.[30]

It was on the basis of this international missionary fellowship that the German mission work across the world survived the War.

The War and International Missionary Relationships

It was not easy for the trust between German and Allied mission leaders to be maintained during the War. Inflammatory news reports and patriotic announcements issued by both sides, misinterpretation of speeches or actions and the increasingly restrictive measures against German missions in British territories

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28 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 124.

29 Bliss, "The Legacy of J. H. Oldham", 20.

30 Oldham to Frohnmeyer, Inspector of the Basel Mission, 22 August 1914, QK-4, 3 (46), BMA.

constantly tested their relationship. At the last stage of the War, the relationship between German and Allied mission leaders was held together only on grounds of their faith and their common goal concerning global missionary work. If either side had ever given up trusting the other, the return of German missions to their former fields in British territories in the 1920s would not have been possible.

When the news of the War broke in August 1914, Mott received cables from all over the world, seeking his assistance or expressing deep sorrow for what had happened.[31] One of the first was a cable from the China Continuation Committee asking for financial aid for the 'orphaned' German mission work in its country. Some Japanese also sent a telegram to ask whether Mott could inspire action to stop 'this barbarous murdering of Christians by Christians'.[32] On the continent of Europe, Friedrich Würz, director of the Basel Mission alerted other members of the Continuation Committee to the suffering of all continental missions, German or neutral, operated in German colonies or in British-controlled territories.[33] He urged the North American members to render financial help to some of these missions. For the British members, Würz asked them to approach their government to ensure the friendly treatment of German missionaries in British territories.

In Britain, Oldham and other British mission leaders in London met immediately after the declaration of the war. They unanimously agreed that CMSGBI should take any measures in its power to assist German missions.[34] The first action, the offering of financial aid to meet the temporary distress of German missions, was declined by German missions because of anti-British feelings in Germany.[35] Two other measures yielded significant results. On 27 August 1914, British mission leaders initiated a discussion in the House of Commons, which led to the government's assurance that German missions in British colonies, dominions and protectorates would be free to carry on their work on condition of

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31 Hopkins, *J. R. Mott*, 431.
32 Ibid.
33 Würz to the members of the Continuation Committee, 12 August 1914, QK-4, 3 (46), BMA.
34 Oldham to Frohnmeyer, the Basel Mission, 22 August 1914, QK-4, 3 (46), BMA.
35 Frohnmeyer to Oldham, 17 September 1914, QK-4, 3 (46), BMA.

strict neutrality.[36] This action marked the beginning of a decade-long lobbying effort by the CMSGBI to influence British government policy concerning German missions in its territories. The third measure was a request sent to the national missionary bodies of India and China, seeking their help for German missionaries there. The two bodies rendered 'incalculable service' to German missions in their respective countries, including lobbying their governments, arranging temporary care for the orphaned German mission work, and giving help to interned missionaries.[37]

The War brought tensions and uneasiness to the Christian community in both sides. Like many intellectuals across Europe, Protestant mission leaders became involved in a cultural war in which they were obliged to defend their national course and to denigrate the enemy.[38] As the head of the established church of a nation at war with Germany, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davison, halted his correspondence with German churchmen immediately after the declaration of the War. The correspondence did not resume until November 1918, when a German professor from Berlin wrote to seek his help. Davison turned down the German professor's request and later explained to a friend that until the determination and acceptance by Germany, he could not 'confabulate with Germany on mere terms of Christian amity.'[39] Frank Lenwood, the LMS Foreign Secretary, also noticed how quickly some people turned on their nationalist mode:

> In some quarters it is unwise to say anything but "Damn the Germans!" ... some of our ministers are in the most extraordinary Old Testament conditions and in some quarters we are beginning to foam at the mouth whenever anybody starts with anything so unpatriotic as "There are two sides to the question".[40]

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[36] "Parliamentary Notice, House of Commons, Answer to Colonel Williams' Questions, Nos. 9 and 121 and to Mr. Edmund Harvey's Questions, Nos. 10 and 122", 27 August 1914, IOR/L/PJ/6/1 326, BL.

[37] Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations*, 167.

[38] Tomás Irish, "Petitioning the World: Intellectuals and Cultural Mobilisation in the Great War," in Catriona Pennell and Filipe Ribeiro De Meneses (eds.), *A World at War, 1911-1949: Explorations in the Cultural History of War* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 46-60.

[39] Peter James Howson, "British Anglicans and German Evangelicals: the search for reconciliation in the years after World War Two," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, vol. 20 (2002): 156-170.

[40] Lenwood to F. K. Evans, 18 September 1914, CWM/LMS/01/06/16, 275-276, SOAS.

As a pacifist, Lenwood was concerned about the growing hostility towards Germany and its impact on Christian unity. He warned his friends that there was a tendency to 'make the other fellow out as bad as we can, in order to justify our fighting him, and love of our country makes us represent everything English as ideal'.[41] Lenwood was not exaggerating; as events unfolded, the tensions between Protestant missions in Germany and Britain grew ever stronger. In September 1914, twenty-nine German theologians and mission leaders published an open letter entitled 'Appeal to the Evangelical Christians Abroad', which condemned 'a systematic network of lies' against Germany's role in the outbreak of the War.[42] Würz fully appreciated the negative impact of this open letter. He wrote a soft-toned letter to his British friends, preparing them for the surprising contents of the open letter, while at the same time reassuring them of their mutual friendship:

> I confess that in my personal conviction I am on the side of my German native country, where I am deeply rooted even after 26 years spent in hospitable Switzerland. On the other hand, I fully acknowledge the good faith of my British friends, whose political convictions so widely differ from ours, but with whom we have the common task of overcoming national enmity and hatred by unwavering trust in each other and persevering prayers. I believe that we cannot fulfil this task without suffering, but our unity in Christ will be a great comfort.[43]

The same kind of belief in the power of Christian unity also existed on the British side. The Archbishop of Canterbury led a group of academics – including the veteran CMS secretary Eugene Stock – to publicly respond to the Germans' Appeal Letter in October 1914.[44] Their response did present evidence of German wrongdoings, but it also expressed the signatories' concern for the Germans' suffering and dismay at the situation, as well as their wish to stand with the Germans for 'international good faith' and the 'essential conditions of

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41 Lenwood to 'My dear People', 17 September 1914, CWM/LMS/Home Personal, F. Lenwood Papers, Box 2, SOAS.

42 Tomás Irish, "Petitioning the World: Intellectuals and Cultural Mobilization in the Great War," in *A World at War, 1911-1949: Explorations in the Cultural History of War*, eds. Catriona Pennell and Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 50.

43 Friedrich Würz to R.W. Thompson, LMS, 19 September 1914, CWM/LMS/Home Incoming Correspondence Box 15, 1913-1915, SOAS.

44 Michael Snape, "The Great War," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume 9, World Christianities c. 1914 - c.2000*, ed. Hugh McLeod (Cambridge: University Press, 2006), 131-150, 141.

brotherhood among the nations of the world'.[45] At least up to that point, the trust and faith in each other still survived among the German and Allied mission leaders.

German and British Protestant leaders gave practical assistance to each other. They helped locate the whereabouts of missing persons on the battlefield.[46] They shared information about the treatment of missionaries in their own territories.[47] They found out for each other information about the status of individual missionaries who were prisoners of war and gave these prisoners the help they needed.[48] Aware of the growing hostility between Britain and Germany, Protestant mission leaders encouraged each other to maintain hopes of reconciliation after the war. Würz wrote to Ralph W. Thompson, the LMS secretary:

> Do not think[for] one moment that what you have written in your first letter hurt me. We must be strong enough in this time of trial to resist the divergence of judgement and to maintain Christian fellowship in spite of it …. I shall venture to send you, in a few days, the January number of the Evan. Missions-Magazine. The magazine is bound to reflect the deep agitation of the German people, but you will see that after all I am striving for peace and good will between your nation and mine. It is hard work sometimes.[49]

The fellowship between some Protestant mission leaders continued throughout the war, even when suffering was very close to home. When Dr. L. J. Frohnmeyer, the inspector of the Basel Mission, lost his son at the front shortly after the outbreak of the War, Oldham was not backward about expressing his condolences.[50] The LMS foreign secretary, F. H. Hawkins, also lost his son in France in September 1915.[51] However, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, it did not seem to affect Hawkins as far as his involvement in the rescue of German

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45 Kevin Ward, "The First World War and Mission in the Anglican Communion," in *The First World War as a Turning Point*, 105-128, 110.

46 Würz to Thompson, 14 December 1914, CWM/LMS/01/06/01, Home Incoming Correspondence Box 15, 1913-1915, SOAS. See also Würz to Thompson, 4 January 1915, and Würz to Thompson, 18 June 1915 in the same file.

47 Würz to Thompson, 23 January 1915, CWM/LMS/01/06/01, SOAS.

48 Würz to Thompson, 2 September 1914, CWM/LMS/01/06/01, SOAS.

49 Würz to Thompson, 30 October 1914, CWM/LMS/01/06/01, SOAS.

50 Oldham to Frohnmeyer, 3 December 1914, QK-4, 3, BMA.

51 Minutes of the Board Meeting, 28 September 1915, CWM/LMS/01/01/1, Home Board Minutes, Box 54 (1914-1919), SOAS.

missions in Hong Kong was concerned.[52] In late 1915, the LMS Board sent a congratulatory message to the Basel Mission on its 100th anniversary, in which the LMS directors mentioned the connection between the two societies in the evangelical movement, and with Rev. Karl F. A. Steinkopf, one of the founders of the Basel Mission and one-time pastor of the German Lutheran Church Savoy, London.[53]

At the request of Oldham, Würz who was based in Basel, in neutral Switzerland, mediated between the British and German missions.[54] His regular correspondence with Oldham (sometimes several times a week) was particularly important for maintaining unity and understanding between German and British missions. Through Würz, Oldham learnt of the views of German mission leaders and could offer appropriate advice based on his privileged knowledge of the British government's concerns. Clements describes Oldham and Würz 'as the remnant-symbol' of the Continuation Committee:

> They knew they would be carefully watched, especially on the German side. Each had to trust, encourage, and be prepared at times tactfully to warn the other about how their actions might be seen and interpreted. They generally took each other's advice.[55]

The two men exchanged views honestly and openly. Oldham earnestly wished to know what German Christians were actually thinking and feeling. He believed the only way of achieving this was to face facts fearlessly. The two did not allow their political differences and nationalities to affect their communication, which continued until mid-1926, when Würz died. Oldham recalled their unique wartime experience and friendship in his obituary for Würz:

> Notwithstanding his unswerving loyalty to the German national cause during and after the War, which he made no attempt to conceal, he did, I think, more than anyone else to maintain the bonds of friendship with Christians in the allied countries and in this respect rendered a lasting service for which we can never be too grateful. The power of sympathy which enabled him to exercise so helpful a reconciling influence in the wide circle of international fellowship found its strongest and most complete expression in the intimacies of personal

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52 Thomas Pearce, LMS, to Archbishop Barnett, 28 February 1922, CWM/LMS/16/02, South China incoming correspondence, Box 22 (1920-1922), SOAS.

53 Minutes of the Board Meeting, 14 December 1915, CWM/LMS/Home Board Minutes, Box 54 (1914-1919), SOAS.

54 Oldham to Würz, 28 August 1914, QK-4, 3, BMA.

55 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 136-137.

> friendship. Those who, like myself, had the privilege of enjoying this friendship know how loyal and affectionate a nature he possessed.[56]

Nonetheless, it would be unrealistic to think that the relationship between Protestant missions in Germany and Allied nations was always trusting and united. As the War progressed, distrust and ill feeling mounted, particularly after Germany sank RMS *Lusitania* in May 1915. When John Mott visited London and continental Europe in mid-1916, he told his friends about 'an alarming development of distrust, bitterness and hatred' in every place he went.[57] A few incidents severely threatened the relationship between German and British mission leaders, and it almost came to an end. This thesis will not go into detail about the changing relationship between German and Allied mission leaders during the War. It is clearly described by Hogg and Clements. It is, however, helpful to discuss their three main points of conflict and disagreement: missionary supra-nationality, dual loyalty, and the trusteeship of German mission property. All three are relevant to the discussion of the Hong Kong case.

The principle of 'missionary supra-nationality' was the main theological and ethical issue dividing German and Allied mission leaders.[58] Although both wholeheartedly supported the supra-national character of the Church, their interpretations of how the principle applied to missionary work were at considerable variance. In the view of German missions, missionary work was the responsibility of the supra-national Church and should therefore not be associated with any particular nation or country. They therefore viewed it as very wrong for the British government to expel German missionaries or to restrict their admission to its territories because of a war with Germany. As a result, they demanded strong public condemnation from British and American missions of such obvious violation of missionary supra-nationality. However, British mission leaders as represented by Oldham adopted a more pragmatic attitude. While they fully embraced the concept of missionary supra-nationality, they were willing to accept that there might be exceptions to this concept. They conceded that, in a crisis of war, the subjects of any government were obliged to accept measures which the

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[56] An obituary sent from Oldham to Burckhart, President of the Basel Mission, 15 June 1926, QK-4, 4, BMA.
[57] Hopkins, *J. R. Mott*, 466.
[58] Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 145.

government deemed necessary for the safety of the State.[59] However, Oldham emphasised that this only applied to a temporary crisis. As he told Würz:

> The German missionaries are Christian brethren, and we desire to recognise this without reserve. But they are not only Christians but also Germans, and as such are subject like other German citizens to the military and political measures which have to be taken under war conditions. [60]

As events unfolded, the pragmatic approach of British mission leaders proved more effective than the Germans in negotiations with government officials on matters of missionary freedom. They understood that missionary supra-nationality did not imply that German missionaries should enjoy greater privilege than their ordinary compatriots. They were thus able to communicate with government officials and put forward counter-proposals to meet the authorities' demands without doing permanent damage to missionary freedom.

The second point of disagreement between German and Allied mission leaders was the matter of Christians' dual loyalty to the Church of Christ on the one hand and their country on the other. In 1917, soon after the US entered the War in April of that year, Mott was part of a diplomatic mission to Russia whose purpose was to ensure its continuous enmity towards Germany after the Russian Revolution of that year.[61] Although Mott insisted that he was participating in the diplomatic mission in a strictly religious capacity, his participation nevertheless displeased German mission leaders. They thought that a man working for the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ should not be involved in any political mission. For similar reasons, German missions also accused J. N. Ogilvie, a British member of the Continuation Committee, of making remarks in public which appeared to suggest that German missionaries were involved in political agitation and had not been true to their profession.[62] German mission leaders were so concerned, that they sent a letter to Oldham demanding Mott's and Ogilvie's resignation from the Continuation Committee. Apparently, German missions considered it impossible for Christians to be loyal to both the Church and their countries at the same time.

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59 Oldham to J. Frohnmeyer, 30 July 1915, QK-04-03, BMA.
60 Oldham to Würz, 12 September 1917, QK-4, 3, BMA.
61 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 144.
62 Samuel Prempeh, "The Basel and Bremen Missions", 148-153.

Oldham had a different view. He did not see the two loyalties as incompatible. He confessed to Würz in frankness that if he had been a younger man, he would have been 'serving with the King's forces'.[63] With Oldham's consent, a subordinate had already accepted a summons to national service. Oldham was therefore not surprised by Mott's acceptance of the US government's invitation to him to be part of the diplomatic mission. In his view, any reconciliation after the War could not be built on asking anyone to suppress his/her allegiance towards his/her own nation. It could only be on grounds of 'the unity that binds us together in Christ', which he viewed as deeper than any radical differences in terms of political matters.[64] In another letter, Oldham told Würz that the issue of the two men's resignation had to be dealt with by the Continuation Committee as a whole, and this could only be done after the War was over.[65] The dispute about dual loyalty reflected the different approaches of German and Allied mission leaders towards what they saw as a life of faith. Oldham and Mott did not see the loyalty to one's nation blocking their pursuit of the duties to the Church. Far from keeping at arm's length from political activities, Oldham and Mott chose to be involved and to exert their influence. It was this proactive mindset that was eventually successful in the resolution of German missions' wartime crisis.

The other issue which caused disagreement between German and Allied missions was the trusteeship of German mission property after the rollout of Article 438 of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. Although it successfully exempted German mission property from appropriation as ordinary enemy assets, the placing of these assets in the hands of British missions was seen by German missions as 'daylight robbery'. Karl Axenfeld, Mission Director of the Berlin Mission, described Article 438 as the 'outraging' of German missions, and the most immoral demand ever made by any government.[66] German missions accused British mission leaders of disloyalty to the Church of Christ for supporting their authorities in disallowing the resumption of German mission work after the War. In response to the German allegations, Oldham sent a lengthy letter to Würz, explaining that the belief in the unity of Christianity did not suggest that demands

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63 Oldham to Würz, 14 July 1917, QK-4, 3, BMA.
64 Ibid.
65 Oldham to Würz, 15 October 1917, QK-4, 3, BMA.
66 Clements, Faith on the Frontier, 167.

should be made of a government to permit German missionaries to resume their work immediately in British territories after the end of the War.[67] Oldham wrote to Würz that:

> … we cannot as a whole sweep away the fundamental differences of judgement and feeling which the war has evoked. The restoration of fellowship and understanding must inevitably be a slow growth. It will require time. The bridges will need to be built stone by stone.'

In a later letter, Oldham further explained the practical barriers for the return of German missions to British territories. The War's bitterness would take time to heal, and the relations could not be resumed immediately on the former footing.[68] After making 'utterance sacrifices' for a cause which appeared to be just and true, Oldham stated, it would not be reasonable to ask British people to open their doors at once to those who had opposed that cause. Also, the re-admission of German missionaries was a political question which could not be judged solely on the strength of the views of British Christians, but, rather, on a growth in understanding between peoples. Without deep and far-reaching change in public opinion, no government would accept the resumption of German mission work in its territories.

Regarding Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, Oldham pointed out that no one within British missionary circles considered it was an opportunity for expansion. Instead, it was recognised everywhere as a burden to be rejected because of British missions' own struggle. Oldham certainly over-generalised the picture because, as shown in the Hong Kong case described in Chapter 5, there were some British missionaries who did see the trusteeship of German mission property as a means of expanding their ministries. Oldham told Würz that when any bitterness of feeling was over, German Christians would appreciate the value of Article 438 in saving the legacy of their missionary work from permanent loss.[69] It would require some broad-minded people with a good understanding of life and its complexities to appreciate the difficult situation. What Oldham said did not convince Würz, who wrote his feedback on the edges of Oldham's letter: 'for

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[67] Oldham to Würz, 5 February 1918, QK-4, 3, BMA.
[68] Oldham to Würz, 3 December 1918, QK-4, 3, BMA.
[69] Oldham to Würz, 3 December 1918, QK-4, 3, BMA.

reasons of self-respect, we can hardly continue this discussion. Now God has to act for us.'[70]

As events unfolded, in some areas, Article 438 did turn into a means for the colonial authority or local British missions to acquire the properties owned by German missions. At least this was true of Hong Kong, for example, as shown in chapters 4 and 5. Oldham's confidence may have been built on his understanding of British mission leaders in London, rather than of all British missionaries in foreign fields. Even Oldham's allies in British Protestant missions questioned his position on post-War policies. For instance, Frank Lenwood sent a personal letter expressing his great disappointment at Oldham's decision to support the government's expulsion policy. Perplexed and angered, Lenwood ended his letter with the forceful words, 'I am prepared to take risks for a higher thing than the British Government'.[71] As a man of action, Lenwood sent a personal letter to members of the LMS board, expressing his deep concerns about the silence of the Church of England regarding the British government's attempt to remove German missions from Allied territories for an unspecified period.[72] He described the silence as a sin, and volunteered to take the lead in encouraging Christians in Britain and North America to protest the British government's policy. He wrote:

> [The Church] is in danger of implicating herself in a great sin against the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ our Lord. As I think of any historian of the Church or the nations dealing impartially with this silence from the vantage-ground of coming centuries, I am filled with humiliation. There are many who feel with me and, as the facts become known, there will be many more.

Lenwood asked the LMS Board to give him freedom to speak, write, and act against the idea of permanent exclusion of German missionaries from British territories. In the same letter, Lenwood named the Society of Friends and the Moravians as other lonely voices protesting against the policy outlined in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles.[73] Lenwood's remarks confirmed Oldham's suggestion

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[70] Würz's handwritten German remarks on the letter from Oldham, 3 December 1918, QK-4, 3, BMA.

[71] Lenwood to Oldham, 21 June 1919, CWM/LMS /Home Personal, Box 8, Folder 7, F, SOAS.

[72] Lenwood to Dr. Garvie, Chairman of the LMS Board, copied to members of the Consultative Committee, 4-5 September 1919, CWM/LMS/Home Personal, Box 8, Folder 7, F, SOAS.

[73] Lenwood to Dr. Garvie, 4 September 1919, CWM/LMS/Home Personal, Box 8, Folder 7, F, SOAS.

that British Protestant mission circles, to a large extent, accepted the British government's decision to expel German missions from its territories for an unspecified number of years, and accepted Article 438.

No direct reply from Oldham can be found in Lenwood's personal file. However, Oldham must have convinced Lenwood somehow, as mission records show that Lenwood joined Oldham and two other CMSGBI delegates, Kenneth Maclennan and Betty Gibson, in a meeting with German mission leaders for the first time since the War, in Leiden, Holland in April 1920.[74] The meeting was an ice-breaker in the reconciliation between Protestant mission leaders on both sides. German mission leaders for the very first time learnt about the important work carried out by British missions on their behalf during the War. One of the German attendants recalled the meeting years later, saying, 'We had lacked communication …. It was wonderful. Lenwood and I went home as if there had never been a war.'[75] Following that meeting, a few Germans, as individuals, attended the international missionary conference in Crans two months later.[76] At that conference, apart from the important decision to establish a permanent international missionary organisation, the delegates agreed on a nine-point statement emphasising the need for understanding on all sides and for national missionary bodies to work together to accelerate the return of German missions to their fields. From that point onwards, German and Allied missions resumed their cooperation in world evangelism. Step by step, they made progress in forming the International Missionary Council, terminating the British enemy mission policy and supporting German missions in their efforts to return to their former fields.

International Efforts to Rescue German Missions

International missionary cooperation was pursued by Protestant missions in Allied or neutral nations to support German missions during and after the War. These actions can be grouped into four main categories: providing financial aid; supervising and caring for the orphaned German mission work; lobbying governments; and sponsoring the return of German missions to their foreign

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74 Lenwood to 'friends', 22 April 1920, CWM/LMS/Home Odds, Box 24, Folder 3, Relations with German missionaries: papers and correspondences (1920-1921), SOAS.
75 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 171-172.
76 Ibid, 173-175.

mission fields. These actions varied significantly in their nature, scope, magnitude, and timeframe. Each made a difference at a specific time and place. As a Basel Mission executive expressed, 'it is quite possible ... there are far more precious acts of fraternal faithfulness, performed by individuals or small groups, known or unknown, who with word, sacrifice and prayer stood by the persecuted German missionaries or took care of their work'.[77] The four groups of supportive actions will be dealt with individually as follows.

Providing Financial Aid

The War's immediate and grave damage to German missions was reflected in their financial accounts. The dwindling contribution from their loyal supporters was not the main issue. It was the blocking of finance to their foreign mission stations around the world which caused the greatest consternation and suffering. During the War, fund transfers between warring nations was prohibited by law. German mission work that had been established and nurtured for over a hundred years faced the risk of becoming redundant. The last thing they wished to see was those under their care revert to traditional religions or become Roman Catholics, who, at that time, were deemed almost as non-believers. As a result, the supply of financial aid to the orphaned churches or institutions associated with German missions was considered an immediate priority for international missionary collaboration.

Soon after the outbreak of the War, as discussed previously, British missions offered to provide financial support but such aid was declined because of the Germans missions' concern about public reaction at home. Nonetheless, German missions were willing to accept financial aid from the U.S. which, up to that point in time, was still not engaged in the War. As a result, Mott utilised his political network, YMCA contacts, and the World Student Christian Federation to arrange at short notice a visit to continental Europe in the autumn of 1914.[78] The discussion with German mission leaders led him to establish a centrally managed mission relief fund in the U.S. to raise money from American Christians to help the continental missions in distress. According to Hopkins, this fund raised and disbursed $27,500 in 1915, mainly to the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society for

[77] An unsigned letter to John Mott in carbon copy, 2 April 1921, QK-04.05, BMA.
[78] Hopkins, *J. R. Mott*, 437-438.

its mission in Africa, but also, in smaller measure, to the China Continuation Committee for the orphaned continental missions in China.[79] German missionaries in South China were immensely relieved when they received the money from Lobenstine, the secretary of the China Continuation Committee. They described it as 'a pleasant sign of brotherly love'.[80] However, the money raised by Mott declined year on year, probably affected by the participation of the U.S. in the War from April 1917. In 1916, the fund distributed $16,200 towards the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society's German mission relief work in Cameroons, and the German mission work in China and India.[81] The record for 1917 indicated that only $9,500 was budgeted for the Continuation Committees of China and Japan and the National Missionary Council of India.[82]

Fortunately, beginning in 1921, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America and the CMSGBI successfully organised a joint financial aid project for the relief of German missions in South India. The American Madura Mission and the Arcot Mission from North America partnered with the LMS and the UFCS to provide regular funding for five years to support former German churches in Malabar, South India.[83] With the approaching great economic recession, the FMCNA initially hesitated to join the five-year scheme. Their leaders were only moved to do so because of the example of the British missions, whose financial conditions were more serious than theirs.[84] Under the scheme, the four missionary societies each contributed a grant of $2,500 and, in rotation, supplied a

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79 Ibid, 447.

80 Rev. Ziegler to Inspector of the Basel Mission, 3 June 1915, A-3-9, 1, BMA.

81 *The Report of Foreign Mission Conference of North America*, Twenty-fourth Conference, 1917 (New York: Foreign Missions Conference, 1917), 199. Hathi Trust Digital Library, accessed on 21 June 2021. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah3ivp&view=1up&seq=201&q1=German%20missions.

82 *The Report of Foreign Mission Conference of North America*, Twenty-fifth Conference, 1918 (New York: Foreign Missions Conference, 1918), 49. Hathi Trust Digital Library, accessed on 21 June 2021. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah3ivq&view=1up&seq=59&q1=continuation%20committee.

83 Oldham to Frank Lenwood, Secretary of the LMS, 10 September 1918, CWM/LMS/Home Office, Incoming Correspondences Box 18, SOAS.

84 Oldham to Lenwood, containing an extract of a letter from Dr. William. I. Chamberlain on 5 May 1921, 17 May 1921, CWM/LMS/Home Office Incoming Correspondence, Box 21 (1921), SOAS.

missionary to support the autonomous Indian churches.[85] The Malabar relief project demonstrated the unity among Protestant missions under a difficult time, as the financial commitment was made when the British and American missions were themselves in great financial straits. For instance, the LMS faced a considerable deficit, £29,500 in the 1922 fiscal year.[86]

In 1921, Lenwood was suggested to contact the Lutheran church congregation in the United States, which was a strong Germanic body with over 750,000 communicant members.[87] It opened up an important source of financial aid to many distressed German missions, including the Rhenish Mission in China. During the War, the American Lutherans offered them loans, and, in some cases, even took over all the work of a missionary society which could not send its own missionaries. However, when the American Lutherans gave help, they made strict denominationalism a condition.[88] They helped 'only on condition that the missionaries in the respective fields stand unreservedly on the Augustana (Augsburg Confession), and that those fields serve their former connections and for all future time be considered parts of the Lutheran Church'. As a result, the majority of German missions did not qualify, since they were combined Lutheran and Reformed Church congregations.[89]

Supervising and Caring for Orphaned Missions

Financial aid was neither the only nor, indeed, the most critical source of support offered by the Allied missions to German missions during the War. To safeguard the evangelical results of German missions in the colonies, missionaries from Allied missions were sent out to replace the expelled German missionaries for the supervision of young Christian congregations. At the end of the War, the Emergency Committee on Co-operating Missions, the successor institution of the Continuation Committee, expressed its gratitude to the Christian missions which

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85 Lenwood to Under Secretary of State, India Office, 29 October 1923, CWM/LMS/Home Board Representation to Government, Box 2 (1907-1931), SOAS.

86 A letter from LMS secretaries to all missionaries, 1 May 1922, CWM/LMS/Home Odds, Box 23, Folder 3, SOAS.

87 L.B. Wolf, FMCNA to Lenwood, 6 January 1921, CWM/LMS/Home Office Incoming Correspondences, Box 21 (1921), SOAS.

88 Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations*, 193.

89 Ibid, 153.

had helped to supervise the orphaned German mission work during wartime.[90] Its minutes provided a status quo of the orphaned German mission work around the world in 1919 and the individual or missionary society that took care of them during the War: German missionaries were allowed to stay and operate in Japan and South Africa. For the latter, Fritz Hasselhorn maintains that the colonial government appreciated the contribution of German missionaries, and, indeed, only 14 German missionaries of military age were interned by the South African government during the War.[91] The minutes also indicate that in some places such as the Gold Coast, Hong Kong, British North Borneo and Chota Nagpur, India, the orphaned German indigenous churches were looked after by native pastors and evangelists with or without the supervision of the Anglican bishop or clergy. Some German mission churches were too weak to operate on their own, and were therefore temporarily supervised by Allied missions, including the UFCS, the National Missionary Council of India, American Lutheran churches, and the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. A table showing key statistics of the orphaned German mission work and their caretakers during the war can be found in Appendix 2.

After the end of the War, the British government decided to expel German missions from its territories for an unspecified period. Allied missions found that their responsibility for the orphaned German mission work suddenly had to be extended. Foreseeing the complexity and challenges that might arise, the international missionary meeting held in Crans in 1920 passed a resolution to advise national missionary bodies on how to take care of the former German mission churches.[92] The caretaker missions should conduct 'frank discussion of the whole situation' with the respective German mission, so as to understand the wishes of those formerly responsible for the work. In particular, the denominational character of the German mission should be respected. An attempt should be made as far as possible to conserve that character of the indigenous

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90 Minutes of the Second meeting of the Emergency Committee of the Cooperating Missions, 2 May 1919, IMC file 26.11.24, WCC.

91 Fritz Hasselhorn, "The First World War and the Hermannsburg Mission," in *The First World War as a Turning Point*, 144.

92 Minute of International Missionary Council Meeting, 22-28 June 1920, Internet Archive, accessed 17 June 2021, https://archive.org/details/minutesofinterna0000inte/page/10/mode/2up.

congregations. When the German missions were allowed to resume their work, national missionary organisations should arrive constructively at mutual understanding to enable the resumption of the German mission's work with the largest hope of success. The Crans resolution laid down a clear and important message about the caretaking of orphaned German mission work: the temporary caretaking arrangement should be conducted in a manner which fully respected the will and practice of the former German mission. The goal should be to facilitate future resumption of German mission work in the respective areas. However, mission records indicate that this prescription was not always observed. Three years later, German delegates at an IMC meeting stated that, in most cases, missions of other countries came loyally and generously to their aid. Nonetheless, there were also some disappointing episodes:

> It was found that in a few cases, churches gathered by German effort were made over by the state authorities to missionary societies of their own nationality, without respect of denomination, of church discipline or of any wishes of the mother society, and even without any attempt at an understanding on the part of the non-German society. It is a matter of satisfaction, however, that there were non-German societies who, at least after taking over the field, came to a loyal understanding with the German society concerned.[93]

In British North Borneo, in 1921, the Bishop of Sarawak invited the Basel Mission's church elders and church members to join the Anglican congregation because they would not have anyone else to look after them.[94] However, that proposal was turned down by the elders who remained loyal to the Basel Mission's traditions. In India, the Swedish missionaries in the Tamil area tried to introduce episcopacy to the German missions' Lutheran synod under their care and supervision. This was strongly opposed by Lutheran Christians. An indigenous pastor who led the movement for episcopacy was forced to resign, but the idea of a lifetime bishop was also put aside permanently.[95] Such cases illustrate the great challenge in the transfer of supervisory power from German missions to the caretaking missions.

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[93] Martin Schlunk and Friedrich Würz, "The Present Condition of German Missions", presented to the International Missionary Council, Oxford, 9-17 July 1923, bmw 1, Band: 2198, Berliner Missionswerk, accessed 17 June 2021, http://kab.scopearchiv.ch/Data/7/D37360.pdf.

[94] Schaltter and Witschi, *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1914-1919*, 81

[95] Jayabalan Murthy, "The First World War and the Leipzig Mission Society", 208-209.

Some of the caretaker missionaries, however, followed the IMC principles and respected the denominational tradition of the Lutheran indigenous church under their care. The Bishop of Chota Nagpur, in his sharing out of the work among Lutheran Christians stated that 'every motive of Christian charity and chivalry' precluded him from making any attempt during the temporary arrangement to influence the Lutheran Christians to leave their traditions. To do so would be 'to take the meanest advantage of the misfortunes of others'. He wrote, sympathetically, that:

> [The members of the Lutheran congregations] have no desire to be Anglicanised. … Our only duty in relation to them will be to see that these workers faithfully fulfil their duties, and to render them all the help and encouragement that they may need and which it is in our power to give. [96]

In fact, at its first conference held at Lake Mohonk, New York, in 1921, the IMC reminded the caretaker missions that their work among the orphaned German mission churches should be seen as temporary. The IMC Committee passed a resolution that non-German missions which occupied former German mission fields under the emergency created by the War, should regard the occupation 'as provisional, and that the ultimate solution should be reached by friendly conference between the original society, the occupying society and the representatives of the local Church'.[97] Not all caretaker missions in foreign fields respected this principle. Such negligence might have been the result of insufficient understanding of the spirit of Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, or perhaps a lack of awareness of the IMC guidelines as outlined above. In the worst case, it could simply have been the result of a strong ambition on behalf of the caretaker mission for self-development, as shown in the Hong Kong case.

Government Lobbying and Counselling

Important support was also extended by Protestant missions to their German brethren via government lobbying. In Britain, as discussed in Chapter 2, the

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96 Bishop F. Westcott, "The Missionary Situation in Chita Nagpur," in *The Church Missionary Review* (February 1916): 96-99, Adam & Matthew - the Church Missionary Society Periodicals.

97 "Restrictions on Missionary Work - Restriction Upon German Missions". Undated. bmw 1, Band: 2198, Berliner Missionswerk, accessed 17 June 2021, http://kab.scopearchiv.ch/Data/7/D37360.pdf.

CMSGBI managed to influence British government policy in the treatment of German missionaries. In the U.S., Mott and the FMCNA were also assiduous in drawing the attention of the U.S. government to the distress of German missions during the War. Because of his close relationship with President Woodrow Wilson, Mott was able to raise the issue before the highest levels in the world's political arena. The Basel Mission specifically asked Mott to lay their account 'before his American friends or submit the gist of it to President Wilson'.[98]

Shortly after the armistice, on 5 December 1918, Mott sent a cable to President Wilson expressing the fervent desire of the foreign missions in North America that the 'liberty of conscience, freedom of worship, freedoms for Christian workers to prosecute their educational, philanthropic and other missionary work' and their right to hold property be properly safeguarded in the settlements of the Paris peace conference.[99] Mott and two other FMCNA delegates went to Paris to press for the incorporation of the concept of religious freedom in the Treaty of Versailles. But when they arrived, they found that Oldham had already succeeded in inserting Article 438. This indicates that, even between Oldham and Mott, there was not always sufficient communication and coordination. The idea of protecting German mission properties from appropriation by the Allied Powers had been raised by Oldham as early as 1918. In his letter to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he stated:

> If British missionary societies, with the cooperation so far as may be necessary or practicable of the American missionary societies, are to assume responsibility for the religious and educational work hitherto carried on by German missions, the terms on which the property may become available for the continuance of the work are of great importance to them. We believe that His Majesty's Government will recognise that mission property acquired and used for the moral and spiritual benefit of native populations is in important respects different from private enemy property and deserves separate and special consideration.[100]

Apart from the protection of German mission property, the Allied missions also worked together to guarantee missionary rights globally. Oldham persuaded the British government to ensure that the protection of religious freedom would stay

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98 Wilhelm Burckharst to Mott, 1 March 1919, QK-04,5, BMA.
99 Hopkins, *J.R. Mott*, 561-562.
100 Oldham to Arthur Balfour, 30 May 1918, IMC-26.11.24, WCC.

in any renewal of the 1885 Treaty of Berlin at the Paris peace conference.[101] This was achieved in the subsequent convention signed by the Allied nations. Among other things, the convention guaranteed that missionaries would have the right to enter, travel, and reside in African territory. With the help of the FMCNA delegation, this guarantee was also stated in every mandate relating to ex-German territories, thereby expanding missionary rights to the rest of the world.[102] However, as Michael Lang's research in the African mandated territories indicates, not all the imperial powers respected the legal protection under Article 438 and the supra-nationality of missionary work. As a result, some German mission work in Africa was destroyed.[103] As Chapter 4 will demonstrate, a similar situation would arise in Hong Kong with regard to certain German mission activities.

Governments were not the only target in the Allied missions' lobbying campaign for German missions. In the public arena, Protestant missions also acted to influence the public views towards German missions in British territories. In 1921, the IMC published a public statement at its Lake Mohonk meeting to guarantee the political neutrality of German missionaries:

> … in view of public attacks on German missions this Council puts on record that to the best of its information the exclusion of German missionaries from allied territory was due to general political considerations. Further that this Council, though not occupying the position of a court of inquiry, has at its service a great mass of information as to the countries where German missionaries were at work, and reviewing that information is convinced that speaking generally German Protestant missionaries working under the flags of other nations were not guilty of acts of disloyalty or of attempts to excite disloyalty among the people of the country, and that, if anywhere there were exceptions, these were not in accordance with the policy of German missionary societies.[104]

In foreign mission fields, Allied missions and local Christians also supported their German counterparts in their disputes with local government. A. L. Warnshuis

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101 Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, 164-166.

102 Ibid, 167.

103 Michael Kpughe Lang, "World War One in Africa: Implications on Christian Missions," *Contemporary Journal of African Studies* 4.2 (2017): 37-65. https://journals.co.za/doi/pdf/10.4314/contjas.v4i2.2 ; "The Plight of German Missions in Mandate Cameroons: An Historical Analysis," *Brazilian Journal of African Studies* 2.3 (2017):111-130.

104 Draft letter from William Paton, Secretary of the IMC, to H. W. Emerson, Secretary of the Home Department, Government of India, undated, QK- 4, 5, BMA.

was the acting secretary of the China Continuation Committee, when the Chinese government considered repatriating German missionaries in 1918. Once he heard the news, he and other members immediately met with the U. S. minster in Beijing, seeking his help to prevent such a plan being carried out.[105] He later also went to the Chinese Commission, which was appointed to carry out the repatriation. On the Chinese Commission's advice, a communication was sent to Chinese Christians and German missionaries, asking them to apply to local officials for exemption. These measures eventually prevented the expulsion of many German missionaries from China. In South Africa, in more than one case, a delegation of African Christians went to the authorities, calling for the release of the interned German missionaries.[106]

During the War, German missions also benefited from the advice given by their British friends in connection with their interactions with the British and colonial governments. In the early days of the War, Oldham had already explained to the Basel Mission the complexity of government policy in Britain and encouraged them to keep dialogue with the officials open:

> The government having the best intentions has been slowly driven against its own desires by the force of circumstances, the complexities of the situation and the pressure of public opinion to the course which it has adopted. It has doubtless made mistakes which are inseparable from human affairs, but given the conditions created by war, many of the consequences which one most bitterly regrets seem to follow by a kind of inexorable necessity.[107]

In some cases, Oldham even provided German mission leaders with very specific advice relating to communication with the government. When the Basel Mission needed to present an account to the British government on its Cameroons missionary work, Oldham suggested the account should recognise as fully as possible the efforts of the Gold Coast government to support its missionary work.[108] In another case, Oldham even shared sensitive information he acquired from British government officials. In 1916, when the British government asked the Basel Mission to become a purely Swiss entity so as to continue its operation

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[105] A.L. Warnshuis to Prof. J. Richter, Berlin-Steglitz, 13 October 1925, QK-04,05, BMA.
[106] Hasselhorn, "The First World War and the Hermannsburg Mission", 144.
[107] Oldham to J. Frohnmeyer, Inspector of the Basel Mission, 30 July 1915, QK-04-03, BMA.
[108] Oldham to Oettli, Inspector of the Basel Mission, 19 February 1915, QK-04-03, BMA.

in the Gold Coast, Oldham urged his Basel friend to take up the proposal and revealed that it would be very likely the United Free Church of Scotland of whom he was a member to supervise the new mission entity.[109]

In this case, the Basel Mission did not accept Oldham's advice, because the Swiss members of the mission did not wish to continue their work without their long-time German partners.[110] The British government's proposal contained two ideas that touched a nerve with the pietist Basel Mission. Firstly, the Basel Mission was required to remove all Germans from its leadership and promise that the leadership would remain without German nationals after the War was over. Such an act, if performed, was viewed by the Basel Mission as a sin and betrayal of its German friends:

> For them [the British government], it was the thorough elimination of the German spirit from the Basel mission. For us, the fulfilment of this demand would have been nothing less than a denial of the German missionary community, which for a hundred years has worked on our work in blessed union with the Swiss and carried it with its love, its prayers, its sacrifices. It would be, in other words, an act of disloyalty and ingratitude in the hour of distress. We would have judged ourselves if we had accepted this imposition.[111]

The second requirement of the British government which was profoundly worrying to the Basel Mission was that the Basel Mission must guarantee that the home leadership and the missionaries belonging to its African and Indian ministries had to be placed under a new, exclusively Swiss, mission closely associated with a British mission. In doing so, the mission work would be undertaken only by people who were in the side of Britain or the Allies. This requirement contravened the Basel Mission's fundamental principle that mission work should not be connected with politics. In an open letter published in February 1917, the Basel Mission described this idea 'a flagrant violation of Swiss neutrality' and 'a political impact incompatible with its Kingdom of God character'. Aware of the potential disastrous consequences of its refusal to accept the British government's proposal, the Basel Mission leaders sadly announced that China would be the only field of work left after the snatch of its work in the

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109 Oldham to Oettli, 27 July 1916, QK-04-03, BMA.

110 "The Wartime Plight of the Basel Mission - To the co-workers and friends of the Basel Mission," *Der Evangelische Heidenbrote,* issue 3, March 1918, 30-32.

111 Ibid.

Gold Coast and India by the world power. The Basel Mission called upon its whole missionary community to unite and face the painful turn of events. They also expressed that they reserved all rights to the two mission fields, including its property rights to houses and land as well as the right to carry out mission work there.[112] This was also the focus of work among Allied mission leaders.

From 1920 onwards, Allied mission leaders actively supported German missions in their interactions with colonial governments in relation to their possible return. The first breakthrough was accomplished in British Borneo, which was a protectorate of the British Empire.[113] In 1920 the British North Borneo Company, the chartered company controlling British interests there, expressed clearly that it had no intention of excluding the Basel Mission permanently. Oldham immediately advised the Basel Mission to send a missionary most likely to be accepted by the government and to win their confidence.[114] Furthermore, the Basel Mission should make an undertaking that, if permitted to return to their mission field, the missionary would work in complete loyalty to the government. Following the arrangement between the Basel Mission and the government of British Borneo, these principles were later applied to other British colonies in terms of handling the return of German missions.

Sponsoring the Return of German Missions

The final and most critical support provided by Protestant missions in the War was their sponsorship of the resumption of German mission work in the British territories. In June 1922, the legislation excluding German subjects from the British territories was about to lapse, and the CMSGBI began to lobby the British government, asking it to terminate its discriminatory policy against German missionaries. It asked if the imperial government intended to continue its discriminatory policy towards the admission of German missionaries to British territories after the legislation lapsed. In reply, the Colonial Office indicated that, after the lapse of the legislation:

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[112] Ibid.

[113] John S. Galbraith, 'The Chartering of the British North Borneo Company,' *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1965): 102–126.

[114] Oldham to Würz, 17 November 1920, QK-04-03, BMA.

> … the admission of German missionaries will be governed by Memoranda A, B and C. A colonial or Protectorate government may object to admitting any German missionaries in view of special local circumstances. In such a case, the opinion of the government concerned would have to be considered, though no general policy of excluding German missionaries would be laid down.[115]

This was a very far-reaching decision, because it implied that the British government would abolish its general policy of excluding German missionaries from its territories. However, it also meant that any decisions regarding the admission of German missionaries to their former missions would be moved from the central government in London to national governments within the British Empire. This would, understandably, make any lobbying work more difficult and disparate. The influence of Allied mission leaders such as Oldham and Mott on government policy would thus be greatly reduced. And the lobbying workload involved would also increase significantly. Oldham observed the following: 'The difficulty of influencing government by this means [political pressure] is enhanced by the fact that the tendency of British administration is more and more to leave decisions to the Colonial governments.'[116] In some British colonies, the process for applying for re-admission was straightforward, while in others it could be very slow and complicated. As a result, the timing of the return of German missions to their former mission fields varied from one mission to another, and from one country to another. The experience of the Basel Mission is cited below as an example.

The Basel Mission obtained approval to send missionaries back to British North Borneo in 1920 and, with the help of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, returned to the French mandated territory of Cameroon in 1922.[117] The Gold Coast and India were the next two places the Basel Mission had in mind to return to. However, these two mission fields, like other British territories, experienced significant changes after the War, including a rising national consciousness and a growing interest in education on behalf of national governments. In Africa, for instance, the British government was under great pressure in Africa and outside Africa to allow Africans to have more say about

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[115] Maclennan to Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 28 June 1922, CO 323/988/3, TNA.
[116] Oldham to Würz, 14 February 1922, QK-04-03, BMA.
[117] Kpughe, 'The Plight of German Missions in Mandate Cameroon', 111-130.

their future and to safeguard their interests.[118] There was also keen interest for autonomy among indigenous Christian congregations. Lutherans in India, during a meeting with Oldham, even went as far as to say that they would not favour the return of German missions at all if this would threaten the autonomy of the indigenous churches.[119] They were, however, happy to welcome the return of individual German missionaries as servants of the Indian Church, and these missionaries would have exactly the same status as local pastors. Oldham conveyed the message of the Lutherans in India to German mission leaders, and asked German missions to prepare themselves for changes in India and Africa, and to work closely with the respective caretaking missions and local Christian congregations. In a letter to Würz, Oldham noted that German missions seemed to see the issue somewhat abstractly and assume that the re-transfer of work to German missions was a simple proposition.[120] In fact, he said, it was a matter of human relations, which needed to be dealt with by "a large measure of understanding and statesmanship". Oldham suggested that only the highest degree of loyalty on the part of an occupying missionary society could keep the door open for the return of German missionaries. Those German missionaries who would return to their fields would need to possess the same quality. In summary, Oldham said that the best way of achieving their goal was through "brotherly understanding and the slow building up of confidences".[121]

After preparing German missions for the changes they would encounter in their former mission fields, Oldham proceeded with his plan to facilitate the actual return of German missions. His strategy was first to apply for the return of individual German missionaries to work under the sponsorship of the British or American mission which had been caretaking their work. After being present and working in the particular mission field for a few years, the respective German mission could then apply to be a "recognised" missionary society, allowing it to resume its mission work there. For instance, he asked the Madras Mission Property Trustees to submit a proposal to the India Office, proposing the return of

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118 Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire*, 24.
119 Oldham to Mission Director, the Gossner Mission, 3 January 1922, QK-04-03, BMA.
120 Oldham to Würz, 14 February 1922, QK-04-03, BMA.
121 Oldham to Würz, 3 October 1922, QK-04-03, BMA.

the Basel missionaries to Madras under the supervision of LMS missionaries.[122] It is not possible for this thesis to follow up in detail on developments regarding the return of individual German missions to their former fields. However, two IMC reports of 1925 allow some insight into the progress made up to that year and the difficulties facing the missions trying to return.[123] As Hong Kong will be discussed in great detail in Chapters 4 and 5, only the status of other places is discussed.

In the Gold Coast, the main challenge for German missionaries was to establish trust with the colonial authorities. The colonial government required the Basel and Rhenish missions to work under the United Free Church of Scotland and to limit their mission work to designated geographical areas. Only young and adaptable missionaries could be sent back to the Gold Coast, rather than veteran missionaries who had worked there for many years. Any missionaries must strictly avoid any connection with political affairs. Otherwise, the governor would request their withdrawal from the colony.

In British Cameroon, German missions made good progress by collaborating with the caretaker missions. The Basel Mission initially sent three missionaries to their former fields under the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. After their missionaries had gained the trust of the local community and the authority, it sent out three more missionaries in December 1925.[124] The German Baptist Missionary Society's former mission field was in the French-controlled part, which had been looked after by some French Baptists of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society.[125] German Baptists donated 6000 Marks to support the French Baptist missionaries but continued to explore ways to return to their old fields.[126]

In the former German colony Tanganyika, the Leipzig, Bielefeld and Berlin Missions each sent two missionaries back to their former mission fields. However, the British colonial government did not recognise German medical degrees. Oldham had to write to the governor to see whether legislation could be

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[122] Oldham to Rev. D. G. M. Leith, Kellet Institute, Madras, 17 May 1923, QK-04-03 (46), BMA.
[123] Oldham to Warnshuis, 5 June and 30 December 1925, IMC-26.14.01, WCC.
[124] Oldham to Warnshuis, 30 December 1925, IMC file 26.14.01, WCC.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Oldham to Warnshuis, 5 June 1925, IMC file 26.14.01, WCC.

introduced to remove the difficulty. The Breklum Mission planned to transfer its stations on the western border of Tanganyika to the Neukirchen mission.[127] In Southwest Africa, the Leipzig mission was concerned about the desire of the CMS to acquire its property in Augustana. The return of the Berlin Mission on the other hand was welcomed by the United Free Church of Scotland, which was eager to divest itself of the responsibility because of its own financial difficulties.[128] In Kenya, the application for the return of the Neukirchen Mission was delayed by difficulties concerning property.[129] However, the United Methodist Mission was keen to transfer the work back to its original German founder.[130]

In New Guinea, the Rhenish Mission and American missionaries from Iowa were anxious to persuade the Australian government not to proceed with legislation to replace all German missionaries with Australian or American missionaries, and the United Missionary Council of Australia wrote a petition to the government in this regard.[131]

Without further research, it is not possible to offer an in-depth discussion about the return of German mission work to German missions by caretaker missions. However, it is fair to suggest that there was a very diversified picture among British colonies and protectorates in handling the return of German missions. Good cooperation between a German mission, the respective caretaker mission and the indigenous church seems to have been the most important factor determining the success or failure of the transfer. While some Allied missions were eager to return the orphaned German mission work to its original owner(s), others were slow and perhaps even reluctant to relinquish the work and/or associated property. The records also suggest that even if a German mission was permitted to return to its former mission field, it still needed to adapt to new government regulations governing their mission work, such as the recognition of medical qualifications. The War also changed the boundaries of some former mission fields of German missions, leading to the further complexity in negotiations with national governments and other Protestant missions. Property

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127 Ibid.
128 Oldham to Warnshuis, 5 June1925, IMC file 26.14.01, WCC.
129 Oldham to Warnshuis, 30 December 1925, IMC file 26.14.01, WCC.
130 Oldham to Warnshuis, 5 June 1925, IMC file 26.14.01, WCC.
131 Ibid.

disputes also appeared to obstruct the return of German missions to their former fields, as suggested in the case of Kenya as described in 1925 IMC records. It was a similar case in Hong Kong as it will be indicated in Chapters 4 and 5. Colonial Office records indicated that it was only in 1929 that a clear principle was established by the British government regarding disputes over enemy mission property:

> … any property surrendered by the [caretaker] Mission must be returned to the former German owners. Clearly no part of it can become the absolute property of the Mission, and it shows a complete misapprehension of the position that such a thing should have been suggested.[132]

Fortunately, such disputes between caretaker and German missions were not very common. In most cases, these missions established 'the closest' and 'the most complete harmony' of cooperation as recommended by Oldham.[133] In the case of the Basel Mission, the LMS was the main reason for its successful return to India after the War. The help of the LMS 'would be inscribed for all time on the pages of Basel Mission History'.[134] Between October 1923 and October 1926, the LMS submitted at least six applications to the India Office for the admission of Basel missionaries to Malabar, South India.[135] When the Basel Mission was included in the list of recognised missions, the LMS secretaries made their feelings felt:

> … this re-opening of the door is an act which should emphasise the international brotherhood of Christian Missions, which has probably never been more effective on its practical side than through the activities of the International Missionary Council, through the Edinburgh House Secretariat during the period of the post-war years. We may well pray that the world-wide work of the Kingdom of God may never again be subject to such an interruption as was caused by the European War.[136]

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[132] Secretary of the Clearing Office (enemy debts) to Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 20 March 1929, CO535/387/7, TNA.

[133] Oldham to Oettli, Inspector of the Basel Mission, 8 March 1923, QK-04-03, BMA.

[134] Minutes of the Board Meeting on 15 December 1926, CMW/LMS/Home Board Minutes, Box 56 (1925-1930), SOAS.

[135] Lenwood to Under Secretary of State, India Office, 29 October 1923, CWM/LMS/Home Board Representations to Government, Box 2 (1907-1931), SOAS. Also see other letters in the same file: Hawkins to Under Secretary of State, India Office, 25 May 1925; Hawkins to Under Secretary of State, India Office, 24 February 1926; G. E. Phillips to Under Secretary of State, India Office, 16 June 1926.

[136] LSE Secretaries to 'All missionaries', (unspecified date) October 1926, CMW/LMS/Home Odds, Box 23, Folder 3, SOAS.

It is not surprising that, in some cases a German mission lost its foreign mission work forever. In India, for instance, the work of the Leipzig Mission was transferred to a Swedish Mission during the War. The mission property was eventually handed over to the independent Tamil Lutheran Church in 1919. However, this church continued under the control of Swedish missionaries, and only in 1954 did the indigenous church have its first Indian bishop.[137]

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed international missionary cooperation during and after the War. Without the help and support of their Allied counterparts and local missionary bodies, German missions would not have survived the War's impact or the British enemy mission policy implemented in all British territories. This unity can be traced back to their missionary cooperation before the War, particularly the Edinburgh Conference of 1910. However, the unity was sorely tested during the War, with the disagreement between German and Allied mission leaders on missionary supra-nationality, dual loyalty, and trusteeship of German mission property after the War.

Led by J. H. Oldham and John Mott, Protestant missions and churches worldwide shared their limited financial and labour resources with German missions. They defended the missionary rights of German missions, and successfully safeguarded missionary freedom and German mission property at the post-War Paris Peace Conference, which led to the Treaty of Versailles. When the British and colonial governments finally relaxed their discriminatory policy against German missions, Allied missions acted as guarantor to sponsor the return of German missions to their former fields. This cooperation succeeded in many places. However, in a few countries, Kenya being an example, the spirit of Article 438 was not fully respected, leading to disputes between the respective caretaker mission and the respective German missions over the return of mission properties. The same problem troubling the German missions in Hong Kong is explored in Chapters 4 and 5.

[137] Murthy, "The First World War and the Leipzig Mission Society", 208-209.

Chapter 4:
Implementation in Colonial Hong Kong

The international perspective having been explored in the previous chapters, this and the following chapter will focus on German Protestant missions in Hong Kong. In this tiny British colony, German missions had little influence on indigenous populations which might have posed a threat to the colonial government or the security of the Empire, as they had had in India and the Gold Coast. Nevertheless, the four German missions in Hong Kong may, arguably, have been faced with the most hostile environment in the whole Empire: Hong Kong's colonial government wanted to end German mission operations entirely, even after the British government abolished its discriminatory policy towards German missionary activity in 1924.[1]

To illustrate what was behind the colonial government's stance, as well as the War's implications for the four German Protestant missions and their affiliated institutions in Hong Kong and South China, this chapter examines how German missions and Hong Kong's colonial government communicated and interacted with each other. The chapter argues that commercial factors played an important part in shaping the way the Hong Kong colonial government interpreted and implemented the Empire-wide British enemy mission policy towards German missions. German mission property, much of which was to be found in the colony's most sought-after districts, actually became a major hurdle to the resumption of its original owners' missionary work in Hong Kong. The chapter covers the decade from 1915, when German missionaries were expelled from Hong Kong, to November 1925, when Governor Reginald Stubbs and Colonial Secretary Claud Severn, left Hong Kong. Both colonial officials were keen to expel German missions, and to have their property put to use in other ways. Their departure in late 1925 ended a decade-long struggle by the four German missions to reclaim their property and the right to practise missionary work in the colony.

[1] 'German Missionary Societies: Again Recognised in British Colonies', *South China Morning Post* (11 July 1924): 9.

Wartime and a Sympathetic Governor

At the outbreak of the War, most Germans and Austrians living in Hong Kong were interned as prisoners of war or deported.[2] The missionaries attached to the German missions in Hong Kong were placed on parole, but, ultimately, they were expelled. The only exceptions were nine German women working at two asylums for the blind and the foundling house, caring for over a hundred deprived children.

During the War, German missions in Guangdong largely managed to sustain their operations under strict financial controls. The Basel Mission's China stations reduced the pay of their Chinese staff and missionaries, and suspended all land acquisition, building, and non-emergency repairs.[3] Within the Rhenish Mission in China, the watchword among missionaries was 'saving money wherever possible'.[4] To increase revenues, they rented out some single rooms in their hospital compound, while its leprosy asylum received loans from American supporters both locally and overseas. At this difficult time, German missionaries in China were pleased to see their Chinese Christian converts increasing their financing of mission work. The Basel Mission indicated that its Chinese congregation was offering voluntary donations, in addition to their compulsory church tax.[5] The 'thank-you box' set up in Khitschhung station (Kuiyong, Shenzhen) was a great success.[6] The Rhenish Mission reported that it had seen a twofold rise in church collections and a threefold increase in school admission fees after the outbreak of the War.[7] Through the China Continuation Committee, regular donations from the U.S. Lutheran churches also came in to support German mission work in China.[8] During the difficult period between 1914 and 1924 (the War period and the period of enemy mission policy), the ministry of German missions in Guangdong continued to expand. For example, the Basel

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2 Ricardo K.S. Mak, "Nineteenth-Century German Community," in *Foreign Communities in Hong Kong, 1840s-1950s*, ed. Cindy Chu (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 61-83.

3 G. Ziegler to the Director of the Basel Mission, 2 October 1914, A-3-8-1, BMA.

4 Berichte der Rhenischen Missions-Gesellschaft, 1915, 118-119, AMS.

5 Annual report of the Basel Missionary Society for 1918, 11-12, BMA.

6 Annual Report of the Basel Missionary Society for 1918, 11-12, BMA.

7 Mai Meisheng 麥梅生, "Deguo jiaohui zaihua zhuangkuang," "德國教會在華狀況" [The Status of German Churches in China], 中華基督教會年鑑 [The China Church Year Book], vol. 5 (1919) (Shanghai: The Christian Literature Society for China 廣學會), 75-78.

8 *Berichte der Rhenischen Missions-Gesellschaft, 1915*, 118, AMS.

Mission's Chinese congregations expanded over 10 per cent, and the number of Basel mission schools and students also increased significantly.[9] Given that its workforce in China had shrunk by over twenty per cent, the growth reflected the momentum of their Chinese churches towards self-governance and self-sufficiency, which was eventually accomplished in the mid-1920s.

In Hong Kong, the German missions' churches moved forcibly towards self-management as a result of the expulsion of German missionaries. The Chinese congregations were prohibited by the Hong Kong government from communicating with their home missions.[10] Administrative work and the provision of sacraments were performed by Chinese pastors and elders, under the supervision of British missionaries.[11] The Hong Kong government tried to persuade the Basel Mission's Hakka congregation to join the Chinese Anglican Church in Hong Kong. However, the Hakka Christians refused, insisting on their independence and their own church traditions.[12] They also somehow managed to update German missionaries on their situation in the colony. The Basel Mission, for instance, reported in 1915 that its Chinese congregations in Hong Kong had 'passed the test of involuntary independence'. Their report contained detailed statistics of baptisms for that year: the Sham Shui Po church baptised 24 adults and 11 children, while the Sai Ying Pun church, riven with internal disputes, only recorded two baptisms.[13] The removal of the Basel Mission churches' status as wedding venues, forcing church members to marry at Anglican churches, was mentioned in the 1916 annual report.[14] Even apparently trivial events such as the government receiver's taking over of tables and benches in To Kwa Wan church were published in the Basel Mission's 1917 report.[15] The Basel Mission attempted to send a Swiss missionary, G. Ziegler, to Hong Kong. However, the permit issued by the colonial government prohibited any visit to their associated German Chinese churches. Reluctantly Ziegler left and shortly after died in

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9 Based on the missionary statistics for South China published in the Annual Report of the Basel Mission for 1914, 8 and the Annual Report of the Basel Missionary Society for 1924, 53-54.

10 Ko Yuk Hang, "From Native to Independent Church", 39-43.

11 Wilhelm Schlatter and Hermann Witschi, *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1914-1919* (Basel: Basileia Verlag, 1965), 278-279.

12 Ibid, 278-279.

13 Annual Report of the Basel Missionary Society for 1915, 29-30, BMA.

14 Annual Report of the Basel Missionary Society for 1916, 17, BMA.

15 Annual Report of the Basel Missionary Society for 1917, 23, BMA.

Meixian, Guangdong.[16] German missionaries of the Basel and Rhenish Missions were not present at all in Hong Kong between 1914 and 1927. The War effectively made their Chinese churches in Hong Kong into pioneers of the Chinese churches' independence movement in South China.[17]

The wartime experiences of the Berlin Women's Mission and the Hildesheim Mission were rather different. The asylums for the blind and the foundling house in Hong Kong continued during the War, surviving chiefly on government advances and local contributions, including personal donations by the governor himself.[18] After the repatriation and the transportation of German prisoners of war to Australia in 1916, the six female missionaries belonging to the Hildesheim Mission and the three belonging to the Berlin Women's Mission were among a few German nationals allowed to stay in Hong Kong during the War. Governor May justified this by stating that there was no other mission which could care for the more than a hundred Chinese children in these institutions.[19] But their financial matters were taken up by Archdeacon Barnett of the CMS who volunteered to do so. May also permitted a Berlin Foundling House sister to send periodical reports to the headquarters, in recognition of the importance of maintaining 'the interest of subscribers in Germany'.[20] The nine German missionaries were placed under parole and needed passes to go into town or visit each other.[21] They described their reunions at prayer meetings as 'a real source of refreshment and strength'.[22] Their letters to Germany reflect a number of wartime stories of their gratitude, particularly for the generosity of Hong Kong residents who gave donations.

Over the first Christmas of the War, generous donations and gifts were sent to the two asylums by Christians in Hong Kong and also Honolulu, which had a large settlement of Hakka Christians emigrants.[23] The Dorcas Society, a Chinese

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16 Mai Meisheng, "Deguo jiaohui zaihua zhuangkuang, " 75-78.
17 He Shude 何樹德, "Jiaohui shiye zhijin: chongzhenhui," 教會事業之進展: 崇真會' [Development of Church Ministries: Tsung Tsin Mission], 中華基督教會年鑑 [The China Church Year Book], vol. 11 (September 1931): 54-58.
18 May to Lewis Harcourt, 4 November 1914, CO 129/414, pp 129-138, TNA.
19 May to Lewis Harcourt, 4 February 1915, CO 129/417, pp 266-269, TNA.
20 May to Andrew Bonar Law, 15 October 1915, CO 129/424, pp 355-358, TNA.
21 Berhard Ortmann, *Die Hildesheimer Blindenmission in Hongkong*, 149.
22 Annual Report of the Hildesheim Missionary Society for the Blind in China, 1915, 4-5, HML.
23 Ibid, 5.

women's association in Hong Kong, donated $500 before Christmas, and on Christmas afternoon delivered baskets of clothing for the blind children. The Hildesheim missionaries wrote of their joy at receiving personal gifts from the Ebenezer blind children, who knew they would be unable to receive the usual Christmas gifts from their families and friends in Germany.[24] At Chinese New Year 1917, the Berlin Foundling House received many gifts from visitors, including a special one from a married former student in Borneo.[25] She brought a large basket of salt fish for the children and two dried ducks for the missionaries. One man brought 'enormous quantities of beef and pork, fish, vegetables and fruits' so that the children could have a New Year feast. In the German missionaries' letters quoted by the home mission in its annual reports, there was no sense of grievance towards the British government or British subjects. The missionaries were glad to have Archdeacon Barnett of the CMS supervising and managing their financial matters, describing him 'a dear, kind and helpful old friend'.[26] They described a British officer handling a query of theirs about soldiers being stationed at the blind girl school Ebenezer as 'very polite'.[27] When their foundlings 'moved in a long procession' to the LMS Mission's hospital to receive smallpox vaccinations, they were greeted by 'friendly English nurses and their Chinese assistants'.[28] One of the reports even mentioned a visit by Governor May to Ebenezer in late 1915:

> He was wearing a frosty expression when he arrived. However, after Sister Berta had shown him round, he could not help but express his admiration for the institution, remarking several times to the accompanying Mr Barnett: 'Is it not wonderful!' When the children sang a Christmas carol, he was good enough to stay and listen right to the end.[29]

The above accounts suggest that the life of the nine German missionaries in Hong Kong during the War was probably rather solitary, but peaceful. As Sidonie Knapel, a missionary of the foundling house, stated:

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[24] Ibid, 5.
[25] *Findelhaus Bethesda für Hong Kong, Juli-Sept 1917*, 42-44, ELAB.
[26] Annual Report of the Hildesheim Mission for 1915, 5, HML.
[27] Ibid, 4.
[28] *Findelhaus Bethesda für Hong Kong, Juli-Sept 1917*, 41, ELAB.
[29] Annual Report of the Hildesheim Mission for 1915, 10.

> How very fortunate we are in comparison with many who have suffered so much through the adversity of war. Indeed, we can never thank God enough for the love and grace he has bestowed on us here in Hongkong.[30]

The reports of Knapel and other German women did not mention the increasing hostility among Hong Kong residents towards Germans, which substantiated their claim that they were 'living on a lonely island'.[31]

As the War progressed, Hong Kong witnessed ever stronger anti-German sentiments in the society. Even the display of a Prussian double-eagle flag outside the Deutsche Asiasische Bank had to be removed as a result of angry protests sent to newspapers by their readers.[32] British traders in Hong Kong were particularly vociferous in expressing their anti-German sentiments. The War offered a golden opportunity to remove German commercial competition in East Asia. German merchants had moved to Hong Kong shortly after its establishment as a colony in 1842, hoping to make the most of its strategic geographical location, its westernised culture, its British rule and legal systems, as well as the favourable disposition of the colonial administration towards non-British traders. They had enjoyed economic success and an agreeable social life in Hong Kong, supported by the goodwill and cooperation of the British, until the outbreak of the War.[33] As Ricardo Mak suggests, German traders never attempted to challenge the superior leadership of their British counterparts in Hong Kong.[34] Even after the German government adopted a more aggressive commercial policy in East Asia in the early 1900s, there is no evidence to suggest that German merchants in Hong Kong actively participated in their government's imperial expansion.[35] However, economically, as stated in the British Board of Trade's special report in 1915,

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30 *Findelhaus Bethesda für Hong Kong, Janr-Marz 1917*, 8-9, ELAB.

31 Annual Report of the Hildesheim Mission for 1915, 4, HML.

32 Carl T. Smith, "The German Speaking Community in Hong Kong, 1846-1918," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 34 (1994):1-56, 55.

33 Bert Becker, "The 'German Factor' in the Founding of the University of Hong Kong," in *An Impossible Dream: Hong Kong University from Foundation to Re-establishment 1910 – 1950*, eds. Chan Lau Kit-Ching and Peter Cunich (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 23-37.

34 Mak, "Nineteenth-Century German Community", 61-83.

35 Ricardo K.S. Mak, "German Merchants in Hong Kong," in Ricardo K.S. Mak/Danny S.L. Paau (eds.), *Sino-German Relations Since 1800: Multidisciplinary Explorations* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000), 31-52.

German businessmen were felt to be taking business away from their British counterparts.[36]

During the War, British traders in Hong Kong and Shamian, Guangzhou, consistently criticised their German counterparts for using 'unethical business practices', including giving generous credit terms to their Chinese customers and offering bribes.[37] They started a large-scale anti-German movement, hoping that it would lead to the deportation of Germans from Hong Kong and China and prevent their return after the end of the War. An important ally in this was the China Association, a British trade association established by Jardine's *taipan* (the term refers to foreign businessmen who headed large trading houses in China), William Keswick, in 1889, to safeguard the vested interests of the 'big hongs' in China.[38] However, Governor May publicly and privately defended the presence of German companies in the colony, based on the Hong Kong government's own investigations and a special 1915 report by T. M. Ainscough for the Board of Trade on German trade in Hong Kong.[39] Ainscough refuted any wrongdoing by German merchants in Hong Kong, attributing their success to their willingness to accept slim profit margins, their good relationships with their Chinese staff, and their focus on the details of business. Nevertheless, this did nothing to stop the fury of British traders, who argued that they were victims of unfair competition and demanded the expulsion of German nationals from Hong Kong after the War.

On 19 April 1917, P. H. Holyoak, representing the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce (HKGCC), put a proposal to the Legislative Council that Germans should be excluded from Hong Kong for a certain number of years after the War.[40] The motion was defeated by nine votes to four, however, as a result of opposition by Chinese Legislative Council members, the governor himself, and the official members. One of the Chinese members, Lau Chu Pak, pointed out that the proposed measures would not work unless they were made imperial policy,

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36 May to Sir Jordan, C. G, British Minister to Beijing, 21 July 1915, CO 129/427, pp 310-325, TNA.

37 "German Trade Methods in China," *South China Morning Post* (25 August 1915): 10.

38 Colin N. Crisswell, *The Taipans Hong Kong's Merchant Princes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 127-128.

39 May to Sir Jordan, C. G, the British Minister to Beijing, 21 July 1915, CO 129/427, pp 310-325, TNA.

40 "Exclusion of Germans in Hongkong: Motion Defeated in Council," *South China Morning Post* (21 April 1917): 7.

saying that Germans could build competing ports in other British possessions in Asia.[41] Perhaps because of his remarks, the HKGCC started to lobby London for an Empire-wide policy to exclude Germans from British territories after the War.[42] It sought alliances with British merchants in other colonies, at the same time initiating many petitions in the press and at public meetings.[43] The China Association actively cooperated with the HKGCC and other British traders to press for an extension of the laws restricting trade with enemy nationals after the War. At its meeting on 17 December 1918, the China Association's chairman finally declared victory, stating that the Colonial Office very much shared the view that all Germans in China should be expelled, and supported 'the denial of their right of return for certain years as advocated by Hongkong and Shanghai'.[44] During the War, Hong Kong played a significant role in the development of imperial policy governing the return of Germans to British territories, including the missionaries of the four German missions which are discussed in this study.

May's handling of German matters angered British traders at large, who retaliated with propaganda against the Hong Kong colonial administration itself, both locally and overseas. In London, a query was raised in the House of Commons asking why Germans in Hong Kong were not treated as enemies but as if they were 'friends to be quietly protected'.[45] *The Times* published a special section 'The Times History of the War' in April 1918, suggesting that the unofficial Legislative Council members and the British commercial community in Hong Kong were deeply dissatisfied with 'the benevolent attitude displayed by the administration'; and there was 'a widespread belief that many Germans' places were kept warm for them'.[46] May sent the clippings from this special section to London, refuting each allegation in turn and asking if any action was

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41 A confidential dispatch from May to the Colonial Office, 26 July 1917, CO 129/443, pp 210-212, TNA.

42 Minutes of the China Association, 14 December 1915, 1 February 1916 and 4 April 1916, China Association's Minutes Book E, CHAS/MCP/05, 201-21 SOAS.

43 "The Commercial Policy: Hongkong and Germans," *South China Morning Post* (3 September 1917): 11.

44 Minutes of the China Association, 17 December 1918, China Association's Minutes Book E, CHAS/MCP/05, pp 267-270, SOAS.

45 Newspaper clipping containing Sir J. Walton's remarks in the House of Commons about the treatment of German traders on 14 December 1915, CO 129/428, pp 521-522, TNA.

46 May to Walter Long, 16 May 1918, CO 129/448, pp 276-287, TNA.

desirable to 'make justice to the good name of Hongkong'. The governor seemingly wished that something could be done in Britain to correct these misstatements. However, the Colonial Office records of staff comments indicate that May earned little sympathy from his colleagues in London. They recalled previous disputes over the colony's handling of German issues. Also, the director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries also accused the Hong Kong administration was 'pro-Germanism'.[47] George Fiddes, Permanent Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, highlighted the most serious charge:

> The Governor overlooks the most serious charge of all - P136 of the History 'the whole business and administration of the Colony was, indeed, so permeated by German influence that, long after the outbreak of the war, it continued to be characterized by such benevolent sympathy for German interest as to evoke strong protests from patriotic British residents.[48] (original underlined)

May was rather alone in his battles with anti-German activists in the colony. Among the Legislative and Executive Council members, only Sir Paul Chater viewed the proposed exclusion of Germans as 'absurd', 'suicidal' and 'against the colony's interest', and stood firmly by the governor in the German controversy.[49] As Norman Miners suggests, May was a man who would not compromise when he was convinced of his own judgement.[50] May took actions he considered appropriate to conserve the best for the colony, regardless of whether it was the German firms that contributed to the social and economic development or the German missions' benevolent institutions which cared for the needy in Hong Kong. In some respects, May acted rather like Oldham, resisting pressure motivated by anti-German feeling, and insisting on doing what he considered right. In his view, there were good reasons to maintain a tolerant policy towards German missions. During the remaining time of his governorship, May continued

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47 Ibid, 278.

48 Ibid, 276.

49 May to Walter Long, 10 May 1917, enclosure 5: "Shall We Invite the Germans to Return? Chamber of Commerce Re-affirm The Committee's Decision," *The Hongkong Weekly Press and China Overland Trade Report*, 27 April 1917, CO 129/442, pp 207-212, TNA; Paul Chater to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 9 May 1917, CO 129/442, pp 232-239, TNA.

50 Norman Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule, 1914-1941* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1987), 64-65.

his sympathetic policy towards German missions until illness occasioned his premature departure from the colony in 1919.[51]

In 1916, the Basel Mission Trading Company case urged the Colonial Office to undertake a stock-taking exercise in all British colonies, including Hong Kong. Once again, May gave protection to the German missions in his colony. He submitted a list of properties owned by German missions in Hong Kong, as required by the Colonial Office.[52] However, at the same time, May detailed the difficulty of expropriating the property or expelling the German missionaries remaining in Hong Kong. He maintained that there was no local missionary society able to look after the blind people and hundreds of children in their care, he maintained. May said that if the British government wanted to expropriate the properties used by these German missions, a number of them could be sold on only at considerable loss. The governor concluded that there was no alternative but to allow the two asylums to remain under the care of the German women missionaries. As a result of May's insistence and the absence of any mission-related commercial entity in Hong Kong, London agreed to allow the Berlin Foundling House and the two asylums for the blind to continue to operate. However, their days in Hong Kong were numbered, because May was under intense public pressure owing to the German controversy over trade. He submitted his resignation in January 1919, on medical grounds, handing over the control of Hong Kong to the experienced Colonial Secretary, Claud Severn. The change of top official pacified the British commercial community in the colony, but was not advantageous for the four German missions in Hong Kong.

Housing Shortage and German Mission Property

There is a Chinese saying, 'elephant was killed because of its ivory' (*xiangchi fenshen* 象齒焚身), which warns of the dangers of having possessions of value. This saying applies to the situation of German missions in Hong Kong after the War. From 12 September 1918 to 30 September 1919, Hong Kong was temporarily governed by Claud Severn as the acting governor. Unlike his predecessor, Severn did not value the contribution of German missions to the

[51] May to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 16 January 1919, CO 129/456, pp 362-265, TNA.
[52] May to Andrew Bonar Law, 23 March 1916, CO 323/698/44, TNA.

colony. Instead, he saw the potential of German mission property as a means of resolving the colony's severe housing problem.

Hong Kong's serious housing shortage was the critical problem facing Severn.[53] The average house rent in the City of Victoria had risen greatly during the War. The increase in rental prices weighed heavily on Hong Kong residents, irrespective of their social, economic or ethnic background. Even temporary visitors were affected -- seven male visitors were reported to be sharing a single hotel room because of the lack of suitable accommodation.[54] The housing shortage was due first and foremost to Hong Kong's geography; even after the leasehold acquisition of the New Territories in 1898, the land area of the colony was still only 249,551 acres. The colonial government, from its early establishment, had always been haunted by the issue of how to make Hong Kong habitable.[55] Over 70 per cent of its population lived in the limited flat areas along the northern coastline of Hong Kong Island.[56]

Secondly, the influx of refugees from the Chinese mainland after the 1911 Xinhai Revolution only exacerbated the problem, causing the Chinese population of Hong Kong to double from 429,191 in 1910 to 874,420 in 1925.[57] Severn complained that:

> No matter how many houses and flats are built, they are immediately occupied by Chinese families and command high rents. During the past seven years, 590 houses, containing about 1,750 flats, have been erected in the western portion of the city alone, excluding Kennedy Town, and every possible site is eagerly sought for. The consequence has been that the value of land has in some cases risen three- and even four-fold in the comparatively short period mentioned, while rents have increased to such a degree as to cause considerable hardship to the European, Portuguese and Chinese members of the community who receive fixed salaries.[58]

The third reason was the colony's segregation policy which made the Peak District available for Europeans only. Hong Kong's segregation policy had gone through different stages of development since 1888 and was condemned by the

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[53] "Hong Kong's Many Needs - Suggested Solutions of the Housing Problem," *Hongkong Daily Press* (10 April 1919): n.p.

[54] "Hong Kong's Housing Question," *Hongkong Telegraph* (26 March 1919), 1.

[55] Christopher Cowell, "The Hong Kong Fever of 1843: Collective Trauma and the Reconfiguring of Colonial Space," in *Modern Asian Studies*, vol.47, no. 2 (2013): 329-364.

[56] *Hong Kong Blue Book for the Year 1910,* Hong Kong Government.

[57] *Administrative Reports for the Year* (1910-1925), Hong Kong Government.

[58] Severn to Walter Long, 16 December 1918, CO 129/450, pp 368-378, TNA.

local Chinese elite and even Colonial Office staff as racial discrimination or 'class legislation'.[59] However, the policy was still upheld by the colonial government until the end of the Second World War. As David Pomfret suggests, the War created an even stronger urge among the colony's European community to 'fend off' possible non-European occupants in the Peak District.[60] It led to the Peak District (Residence) Ordinance of 1918, which stipulated that it would be unlawful for any person to reside within the Peak District without the consent of the Governor. Exemption was given to residents' servants, coolies, hotel residents, hospital patients, construction labourers, visitors, and police and military staff.[61] The segregation policy has been studied by many scholars, from various perspectives.[62] The majority see the policy as a reflection of the racist attitude popularly held by Hong Kong colonial officials and white settlers, even though some scholars suggest that it was more a means of controlling property prices.[63] Whatever the cause, the policy resulted in a surge of investment interest in the Mid-Levels, the second most desirable residential area in the colony after the Peak District. Many wealthy Chinese sought to acquire big houses in the Mid-Levels. As May pointed out, 'Almost all the well-built European houses in the upper part of the western end of the town are now in Chinese occupation.'[64] This brought problems for German missions in Hong Kong as most of their properties, including the chapels and mission houses of the Basel and Rhenish Missions, the

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[59] John M. Carroll, "The Peak: Residential Segregation in Colonial Hong Kong," in *Twentieth-Century Colonialism and China: Localities, the Everyday, and the World,* eds. B. Goodman and D.S.G. Goodman (London: Routledge, 2012), 85.

[60] David Pomfret, "Battle for the Peak: Childhood, the Great War and Cultural Heritage Tourism in Hong Kong," *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 17, no. 5 (2020): 677-696.

[61] "The Peak District (Residence) Ordinance, 1918," *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 1918 (suppl.) no.118, HKGRS.

[62] Christopher Munn, *Anglo-China: Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong, 1841-1880* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009); G.A. Bremner and David P.Y. Lung, "Space of Exclusion: The Significance of Cultural Identity in the Formation of European Residential Districts in British Hong Kong, 1877-1904," in *Environmental and Planning Department: Society and Space*, vol. 21 (2003): 223-252.

[63] Lawrence W. C. Lai and Valerius W. C. Kwong, "Racial Segregation by Legislative Zoning and Company Law: An Empirical Hong Kong Study," *Environment and Planning and Design*, Issue 39, 1 (2012): 417-438.

[64] May to Walter Long, 5 September 1917, CO129/443, 383-393, TNA.

Berlin Foundling House and the Basel Mission's six-unit Basilea Terrace, were located very close to this most sought-after area of the colony.[65]

In the 1920s, the colonial government was under great pressure to solve the housing problem. It first targeted military-held sites. In its push for the military to hand over its sites, the government even proposed linking the issue to the refunding of the colony's military contribution.[66] The Hong Kong government successfully secured Eliot and Fly Point batteries, and later gave them to the University of Hong Kong for expansion.[67] Apart from military properties, the Hong Kong government was also keen to acquire lands occupied by religious groups, which were sold or even freely granted to religious bodies for schools, churches and benevolent institutions in the early days of Hong Kong. The CMS was actively engaged in property transactions with the government. At the request of the government, the Diocesan Girls' School was moved from West Point to Kowloon in 1913 to free up a prime site on the island.[68] The land reserved for the Fairlea Girls' School in Bonham Road was also handed over to the government in 1918, in exchange for land in West End Park.[69] In 1919, the Diocesan Boys' School was also transferred to the government for its improvement plans for Bonham Road and the expansion of the Civil Hospital quarters.[70]

Property Held by the German Missions

The four German missions had a total of 29 properties in Hong Kong, and over half of them were very close to the Mid-Levels. The details of the properties held by the four German missions in Hong Kong are provided in Appendix 3. Figure 12 shows consolidated property data by individual German mission as specified in a government submission to the Colonial Office in 1919.[71] Their total aggregate area was 421,799 square feet, with a total estimated value of $391,962. Some of

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65 Bruce A. Chan, "The Story of my Childhood Home: A Hong Kong Mid-Levels Residence c.1880-1953," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch*, vol. 58 (2018): 110-136.

66 Stubbs to Viscount Milner, 17 July 1920, CO 129/462, pp 28-32, TNA.

67 Peter Cunich, *A History of the University of Hong Kong, volume 1, 1911-1945* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 2012), 257-260.

68 Stubbs to Viscount Milner, 26 November 1919, CO 129/456, pp 258-266, TNA.

69 Letter from Archdeacon Barnett, 31 August 1918, South China Mission: Précis Book, CMS/G1/CH1/L3/1913-1919, CRL.

70 Stubbs to Viscount Milner, 26 November 1919, CO 129/456, pp 258-266, TNA.

71 Severn to Andrew Bonar Law, 7 April 1919, CO 323/793/33, TNA.

the lands were designated as being for mission or educational purposes only. If they could be converted into ordinary leases for new residential homes, their market value would rise by 54 per cent, to $613,054. To illustrate how vast this sum was in 1919, it is worth mentioning that it was 2.3 times the total income from land sales by the Hong Kong Government in 1919 ($263,960).[72] Among the four German missions, the Basel Mission was the biggest property owner. It possessed 23 properties, which occupied a total area of 213,892 square feet.[73] Twelve of these properties were located very close to the Mid-Levels, and included High Street, Second Street, Third Street, U Lok Lane and Lyttleton Road. The reason why the Basel Mission owned so many properties in the colony merits explanation.

Figure 12: Properties Owned by Individual German Missions, 1919

Name of Mission	No. of properties	Total Area (sq. ft)	Total Estimated Value ($)	% of all German Missions Properties' value	Total Estimated Value if held on ordinary lease ($)
Basel Mission	23	213,892	179,420	45.8%	267,510
Rhenish Mission	3	71,870	57,230	14.6%	187,870
Hildesheim Mission for the Blind	2	89,912	40,000	10.2%	42,362
Berlin Women's Mission for China	1	46,125	115,312	29.4%	115,312
Total	**29**	**421,799**	**391,962**	**100.0%**	**613,054**

Source: Severn to Andrew Bonar Law, 7 April 1919, CO 323/793/33, TNA.

[72] Abstract of the Revenue and Expenditure of Hongkong for the Year 1919, *Hong Kong Blue Book for 1919*, Hong Kong Government.

[73] The First Schedule of the German Missions Trust Ordinance 1924 suggested the Basel Mission had 26 lots. This is because some properties were erected upon more than one lot.

As Wilhelm Schlatter suggests, the Basel Mission operated a very unique system of church property in China. The Basel Mission invested in land and houses in China in order to create regular income for its mission schools, churches, and charity work, and thereby reduced the mission's need to seek funding from Europe.[74] This strategy brought some Basel Mission churches in South China, including Hong Kong, closer to self-maintenance. However, it had one great drawback: the property wealth of the Basel Mission reduced the willingness of Chinese Christians to make financial contributions and, made them reluctant to expand their church communities as this would result in a larger group benefiting from their church's assets. Also, to individual missionaries, the ownership and running of land and properties brought additional and unwanted workload. They preferred to spend their time on evangelical work which they considered their 'real' work. This point is best illustrated by a court case in Hong Kong in 1914, when the Basel Mission was sued by the colonial treasurer for $1.50, this being the Crown rent for one of its properties in To Kwa Wan, Kowloon. The Crown Solicitor teased the Basel Mission Treasurer, who mistakenly thought that the property was not the mission's asset, saying: 'The truth of the matter is that he does not know what the Basel Mission has got and what it has not got.'[75]

The other three German missions in Hong Kong had far less land and property. The Rhenish Mission had three properties, all located in Bonham Road in the Mid-Levels, which occupied a total area of 71,870 square feet. The Hildesheim Mission owned two properties with a total of 89,912 square feet, but both properties were located outside the crowded city of Victoria. The Berlin Women's Mission had only one property: a large European-style house in High Street, Mid-Levels, which was the only base for its ministry and, at the same time, gave shelter to over 100 foundlings in 1919. However, in terms of estimated value, the Berlin Foundling House was the most valuable property of all German mission properties in Hong Kong. It is therefore not surprising that the colonial government eyed this property over and above the others.

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[74] Wilhelm Schlatter, *Zhenguang zhao kejia – ba se cha hui zaoqi lai hua xuanjiao jianzhi – 1839-1915* 真光照客家 - 巴色差會早期來華宣教簡史: 1839-1915 [True Light for Hakkas – A Brief History of the Basel Mission's Evangelical mission in China: 1839-1915] (Hong Kong: Tsung Tsin Mission of Hong Kong, 2008), 188-189.

[75] "Summary Court: Basel Mission Sued for 'Back Rent'," *South China Morning Post* (11 July 1914): 3.

Actions Undertaken by Claud Severn

After May departed from Hong Kong in September 1918 for a vacation, the colony was put under Severn as Acting Governor. His acting duty was prolonged because of May's surprising resignation in January 1919.[76] Born and raised in Australia, but educated in Britain, Severn joined the Foreign Office in 1891 and worked in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States from 1895 onwards, until he was made Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong in 1912.[77] Unlike May, Severn was charming, sociable and supremely diplomatic, as reflected in his reputation as 'the most popular man in the Colony'.[78] He made those he met feel that they alone 'were the very people whom he wanted to see just then' and that their business was all that really mattered.[79]

Severn was also a generous, active, and dedicated member of the congregation of St. John's Cathedral.[80] He was a choir soloist and honorary secretary of the church's governing body. Severn shared his resources to help the colony's Anglican Church adapt to modern times, and his fervent support included raising $4,000 in 1923 to replace the old-fashioned punkah fans in St. John's Cathedral with modern fans.[81] His wife, Margaret, was also very active in the diocese as founding secretary of the Victoria Diocesan Association, and vice-president of the St. John's Cathedral's Women Workers' Guild.[82] Severn's cousin, Helena S. Fletcher, was a CMS South China missionary.[83] The *Outpost* published a five-page obituary when Severn died in 1933.[84] Given that such an honour was usually reserved for CMS missionaries, members of the clergy, and important donors, it reflects the esteem in which Severn was held by the CMS.

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76 Correspondences relating to the retirement of Sir Henry May, *The Hongkong Government Gazette* (17 April 1919); Correspondence with regard to the resignation of Sir Henry May, *The Hongkong Government Gazette* (3 October 1919), HKGRS.

77 "Death of Sir Claud Severn," *Outpost* (July 1933): 8-10.

78 "Sir Claud Severn," *The Singapore Free Press* (18 Nov 1925): 2.

79 "Death of Sir Claud Severn," *Outpost* (July 1933): 10.

80 Stuart Wolfendale, *Imperial to International: A History of St. John's Cathedral, Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 110-14.

81 Ibid, 120.

82 "The Bishop's Letter," *Outpost* (April 1925): 3, CHSKH; the minute book of the St. John's Cathedral's Women Workers' Guild for 1924, HKMS54-1, HKGRO.

83 Charles L. Boynton, *Directory of Protestant Missions in China, 1919* (Shanghai: Kwang Hsüeh Publishing House, 1919), 6.

84 "Death of Sir Claud Severn," *Outpost* (July 1933): 8-12, CRL. Hugh Clifford, governor of the Gold Coast, to Walter H. Long, M.P., 14 December 1917, IOR/L/PJ/6/1518, BL.

Severn had many friends among British and Chinese businessmen. Severn was probably the only colonial officer who composed and read out in public a poem for a *taipan*. At the very last banquet held at the Jardine *taipan*'s grand house in East Point Hill before its demolition, Severn's farewell speech included the following poem.

The time has come to say farewell
To thee, dear hill, Oh! Lack-a-day.
Where during man's allotted span,
Successive taipans held their sway.

* * *

When Jardine's taipans chose this hill,
Whose praise I sing in roundelay.
He little thought that it would fall
And that his plans would gang agley.

* * *

No more from thee shall we behold,
How Ewo's* fleet so proudly lay;
With sails unfolded to the breeze,
From Western Point to Causeway Bay.

* * *

Would that a hand more skilled than mine?
Thy many beauties could portray;
Still from my heart these verses come,
And I'm constrained to have my say.

* * *

Though needs compel where commerce drives
And hill and houses pass away;
The spirit that through all these years
Has been your guide must surely stay.

* * *

If mountains can by faith be moved,
To rest in ocean's bosom grey.
A faith as strong can guide the men
Who rule the Ewo* house to-day.[85]

(* Ewo[怡和] is the Cantonese name for Jardine.)

[85] The speech delivered by Claud Seven on 31 December 1923 at East Point House, Hong Kong. MSS.Ind.Ocn.s.176 (9), Claud Severn's papers, the Bodleian Libraries' special collection, the Weston Library, University of Oxford.

Being friendly with *taipans* and property developers was important to Severn, who was intent on resolving the colony's housing problem. Historians who have traced the early history of Hong Kong's public housing policy back to the great fire of Shek Kip Mei shelter in 1953 seldom mentioned the visionary, though untimely, housing proposal by Severn (as detailed below).[86] During his brief spell as Acting Governor, Severn submitted a far-sighted proposal to London, which covered urban redevelopment, land reclamation, new town development in Sham Shui Po and public-private partnership for housing development.[87] Many of the ideas Severn put forward were eventually implemented in Hong Kong, though only decades later. Severn's fervent desire to resolve the colony's housing problem helps explain the three important actions of his which had significant implications for the four German missions in the colony.

The first action was a new dispatch to London on 7 April 1919 with an updated list of German mission properties in the colony.[88] The table was largely the same in content as the list submitted by May in 1916.[89] However, its format and structure reflected to some extent the differing attitudes of May and Severn towards German mission property. Severn departed from May's approach of presenting German mission property divided into two categories, a) for mission purposes b) for investment purposes. May only offered an estimated value for properties held for mission purposes, and if a property's lease restricted philanthropic, religious and educational purposes, its estimated value was shown as 'Nil'. In his covering letter, May stressed that most of the German mission properties were very old, and that their market price was well below the original purchase price paid by the missions. The way May had presented the data played down the total value of German mission property in Hong Kong.

In the list submitted by Severn in 1919, however, all German mission properties, irrespective of their purpose, were listed in a single table. All

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86 Alan Smart, *The Shek Kip Mei Myth: Squatters, Fires and Colonial Rule in Hong Kong, 1950-1963* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006). James Lee and Yip Ngai-Ming, 'Public Housing and Family Life in East Asia: Housing History and Social Change in Hong Kong, 1953-1990', *Journal of Family History*, 31 (1) (January 2006): 66-82. "Memories of Home - 50 Years of Public Housing in Hong Kong", the website of Hong Kong Heritage Museum, accessed 30 October 2022, https://www.heritagemuseum.gov.hk/documents/2199315/2199693/Public_Housing-E.pdf.

87 Severn to Walter Long, 16 December 1918, CO 129/450, pp 241-247, TNA.

88 Severn to Viscount Milner, 7 April 1919, CO 323/793/33, TNA.

89 May to Andrew Bonar Law, 23 March 1916, CO 323/698/44, TNA.

properties, including those with restrictive leases, were given an estimated market value. The table also indicated a higher value that might result from the demolition of the old buildings on the premises. May's term 'poor women' was dropped and replaced by the more neutral 'old women'. Severn projected a much higher value for German mission property in the colony: $612,734, nearly three times May's estimate of 1916, as illustrated in Figure 13. Moreover, the difference between the missions' original purchase price and the current estimated market values also increased dramatically in Severn's listing. It subtly suggested that the German missions would actually benefit from the sale of their Hong Kong properties. To ensure that anyone reading his listing would not miss what he was trying to say, there was a note at the end: 'There has been a large increase in the value of land since 1916.'[90]

However, Severn needed to tackle first the 'problem' of the foundlings and blind children in the care of German missions. For this, he sought advice from Barnett, who had supervised the female German missionaries and their asylums during the War. Severn's close connection with the Anglican Church and the CMS mission in Hong Kong proved to be helpful in addressing the problem of the German foundlings and blind students. In late February 1919, his subordinate Arthur Fletcher asked Barnett to provide the number and ages of German mission children under CMS supervision in order to facilitate the government's negotiations with the French Catholic fathers of the Paris Foreign Mission Society (Missions Etrangères de Paris, MEP) for the care and custody arrangement for these children.[91]In a letter to his superiors in London, Barnett described the shock and concern of British Protestant missionaries about the arrangement whereby the children cared by Protestant missions would be handed over to Catholic priests.[92] After a discussion at the Canton Board of Cooperation, of which Barnett was the chairman, a plan was made to 'have the work continued if possible by British Protestant missions'. Since the CMS could not spare any staff to take on the work, missionaries were recruited from the CMS Australia and various Protestant missions in South China.

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90 Severn to Viscount Milner, 7 April 1919, CO 323/793/33, TNA.

91 Arthur G. M. Fletcher, Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong to Archdeacon Barnett, 20 February 1919, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1918-20, Adam Matthew Digital.

92 Barnett to Rev. F. Baylis, 29 July 1919, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1918-20, Adam Matthew Digital.

Figure 13: Profit & Loss of German Missions' Property Portfolio in Hong Kong, 1916 & 1919

Mission	Estimated price paid by German missions ($)	May's Table of 1916			Severn's Table of 1919			Difference between 1916 & 1919 ($)
		Estimated value ($)	Profit/Loss of German Missions ($)	% Change	Estimated value ($)	Profit/Loss of German Missions ($)	% Change	
Basel Mission	143,354	109,800	-33,554	-23.41	267,190	123,836	86.38	157,390
Rhenish Mission	64,500	42,944	-21,556	-33.42	187,870	123,370	191.27	144,926
Berlin Women's mission	60,800	60,000	-800	-1.32	115,312	54,512	89.66	55,312
Hildesheim Mission *	86,777	9,000	-77,777	-89.63	42,362	-44,415	-51.18	33,362
Total	**355,431**	**221,744**	**-133,687**	**-39**	**612,734**	**257,303**	**176**	**390,990**

* The expected loss for sale was due to the enormous building cost of Ebenezer at Pokfulam.
Source: Data retrieved from the tables submitted by May in 1916 (CO 323/698/44) and by Severn in 1919 (CO 323/793/33).

On 18 March 1919, Barnett submitted a proposal to Severn, outlining a scheme under which the CMS would take over the custody of the foundlings and blind children.[93] Barnett suggested the transfer of 58 blind girls from Ebenezer to a school for the blind in Guangzhou; the retention of the 60 blind industrial workers at the Kowloon Blindenheim; and the transfer of the 106 foundlings to Ebenezer. By dint of this, the property of the Berlin Foundling House would be 'altogether vacated'. Taking up this new responsibility, Barnett asked the Hong Kong government to provide the CMS, South China with $10,000 per annum for five years. An additional $8,000 to $9,000 would be raised from the local community annually to meet maintenance costs. The government accepted Barnett's proposal, but with a subtle addition:

> It must be understood that this Government reserved the right to remove the children from Blindenheim or from Ebenezer if these properties should be required for other purposes. It would in such circumstances undertake to make suitable arrangements for housing them.[94]

In April 1919, the German sisters were repatriated by the Hong Kong government on *S.S. Antilochus*. Chinese Christian congregations raised funds and gave farewell gifts to the German female missionaries who had been in Hong Kong throughout the War to care for the children in need.[95] The government was eager to gain vacant possession of the Berlin Foundling House as a temporary solution to its problem of how and where to house its European police officers. In his explanation to London, Severn indicated that it was lawful to acquire the premises, as the government had discharged a debt - a total of $24,359.10 - which the Berlin Women's Mission owed to an architect for the building of an extension at the outbreak of the War.[96] Also, most of the foundlings and blind girls were not local children but Chinese who had been brought from the Chinese mainland to Hong Kong. In the view of the Hong Kong government, it did not seem desirable for Hong Kong to continue the missions' activities in that respect. The Colonial Office, which had not yet come to an agreement with Oldham regarding German

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93 Barnett to Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, 18 March 1919. Enclosure to the letter from Severn to Viscount Milner, 23 June 1919, CO 323/794/11, pp 90-102, TNA.

94 Fletcher, Colonial Secretary to Barnett, 27 March 1919. Enclosure to the letter from Severn to Viscount Milner, 23 June 1919, CO 323/794/11, pp 90-102, TNA.

95 *Xianggang lixianhui nianbao 1919* [香港禮賢會年報 1919, Annual Report of the Hong Kong Rhenish Mission] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Rhenish Mission, 1920), 3-4.

96 Severn to Viscount Milner, 23 June 1919, CO 323/794/11, pp 90-102, TNA.

mission property in British territories, did not raise any concerns, but merely suggested that a letter of thanks should be sent to the CMS headquarters. The Berlin Foundling House was later converted for use as married police quarters.[97]

However, the foundlings did not stay at Ebenezer for very long. In 1922, the Hong Kong government asked the CMS to report on the whereabouts of the Berlin Mission foundlings. This query was triggered by the revival of heated debate about *mui tsai* in the colony. The CMS Executive Committee found that most of the 106 foundlings had been 'adopted by Chinese families'.[98] Only eleven (mostly with disability) were still under its immediate care.[99] The Acting Secretary Rev. C. Blanchett reported to London of this finding and the colonial secretary's comment: 'thus the Berlin Mission work in the Colony comes to an end'. There is no further mention of the German mission foundlings in the CMS records. However, other sources confirm that at least some of the German foundlings were adopted by Chinese families as domestic servants. Emily M. Barber, one of the Australian missionaries took care of the foundlings, wrote that:

> After about six months' experience in the work, one was forced to the conclusion that the best step to take would be to arrange marriage for those who would make suitable wives and who were willing to marry. In this way, 25 during the year left the school to go to their own houses. With regard to the others, a few went to learn nursing under the care of a Christian, Chinese lady doctor or a nurse. Two went to help teach the blind, others were adopted and sent to school elsewhere or if not bright enough to learn more, they were used in domestic duties in Christian houses. Every care was taken to investigate the houses to which they were taken and the characters of their foster-mothers.[100]

Government records further indicate that one of the Berlin Mission foundlings played a role in the subsequent anti-*mui tsai* campaign in 1920s. *Mui tsai*, which literally meant 'small sisters', were young girl servants of wealthy Chinese families. John J. Smale the Chief Justice of Hong Kong had first declared a war against this practice in the late 1870s. He argued that *mui tsai* was a form of

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[97] "Report of the Meetings of the Legislative Council, Session 1919," 18 September 1919, 76, Hong Kong Government, HKGRS.

[98] Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, 5 December 1922, South China Outgoing CMS/GI/CH1/O/1921-23, Adam Matthew Digital.

[99] Rev. C. Blanchett to G. F. Saywell, Foreign Secretary of CMS London, 13 December 1922, South China Outgoing, CMS/GI/CH1/O/1921-23, Adam Matthew Digital.

[100] Annual letter of Emily M. Barber, 7 November 1921, Annual Letters for Japan, China and Canada, 1917-1934 - Missionaries A-BA, Church Missionary Society Archive, Adam Matthew Digital, accessed 14 July 2023.

slavery which contravened the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 in Britain and the Slavery Ordinance of 1844 in Hong Kong.[101] However, his Sinologist colleague and a former Basel missionary E. J. Eitel, and Chinese advisers convinced the governor and London that *mui tsai* constituted part of the patriarchal Chinese customs that should not be disturbed by British colonisers. The practice, they argued, was a charity that saved little girls from a much worse destiny, such as starvation or even infanticide.[102] It was eventually settled that Hong Kong needed to increase protection against female trafficking, which led to the formation of Po Leung Kuk to rescue and shelter the kidnapped victims.[103] There is a rich collection of historical studies about the *mui tsai* controversy.[104] In this thesis, it is sufficient to point out the link between anti-*mui tsai* movement and the German missions crisis. Hugh Haslewood and his wife Clara, key leaders in the anti-*mui tsai* campaign, recalled a putative little slave girl they first met in Hong Kong:

> Below the hotel in which we lived, there was a house owned by Chinese who had a number of these unpaid girl slaves, along with them being a small child of about eight years old. One evening we were on the balcony overlooking this house when we heard the most terrible screams from this child, in which pain and terror were dominant. I had heard her crying and moaning on a former evening, but these sounds were different. They were cries of absolute terror. The owner of the hotel informed us that he and his wife had heard similar sounds, 'as of someone in agony' coming from this house. We

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[101] John M. Carroll, "A National Custom: Debating Female Servitude in Late Nineteenth-Century Hong Kong," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 43, no. 6 (November 2009): 1463-1493, 1466.

[102] Carl T. Smith, "The Chinese Church, Labour and Elites and the Mui Tsai Question in the 1920's," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 21 (1981): 91-113, 100.

[103] David M. Pomfret, "Child Slavery in British and French Far-Eastern Colonies 1990-1945," *Past and Present*, 201 (November 2008):175-213, 183.

[104] Carl T. Smith, "The Chinese Church, Labour and Elites," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1981); Susan Pedersen, "The Maternalist Moment in British Colonial Policy: The Controversy over "Child Slavery" in Hong Kong,1917-1941," *Past and Present*, 171 (May 2001): 161-202; Harriet Samuels, "A Human Rights Campaign? The Campaign to Abolish Child Slavery in Hong Kong 1919-1938," *Journal of Human Rights*, 6 (3) (2007): 361-384; David M. Pomfret, " 'Child Slavery' in British and French Far-Eastern Colonies 1990-1945," *Past and Present*, 201 (Nov. 2008): 175-213; Suzanne Miers, "Mui Tsai Through the Eyes of the Victim: Janet Lim's Story of Bondage and Escape," in *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude, and Escape*, eds. Marie Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1994), 108-120.

> reported the matter immediately to the British Police station, and the British sergeant on duty remarked, 'It's probably a slave girl.'[105]

The story is cited by Pedersen, though she does not mention that the little girl was a former German mission foundling.[106] This fact features in the letter from Stubbs to London, clarifying that the seven-year-old 黃得佑 [Huang De-you] was not a child slave but a German mission foundling who had been adopted by a 'very respectable' Chinese family.[107] His version of the event was as follows:

> [T]he child had been adopted from one of the ex-German Foundling Homes into a very respectable Chinese house on the recommendation ('after careful enquiry') of the Very Rev. Archdeacon Barnett, whose letter of recommendation I attach. She had been refused permission to go out one evening with her adoptive parents and had expressed her displeasure at the decision in the manner customary among children of tender years both in the East and West by screaming for two hours.[108]

The adoption certificate in Stubbs's letter suggests that the adopter was 林護師奶 [Mrs. Lam Woo] whose husband was a prominent and respected member of the Chinese Anglican Church in Hong Kong. The adoption took place in May 1919, a month after Barnett accepted government money to provide for the care of the German foundlings.[109] Mrs. Lam Woo was one of the Chinese Christians who adopted the foundlings soon after the German missionaries were expelled from the colony. It is not clear if little De-you, the child in question, was a *mui tsai* or not. The family tree in Mr. Lam Woo's biography, published in 2017, does not however mention that he had an adopted daughter.[110]

On 21 June 1919, Severn did one more thing which affected German mission property. The Legislative Council passed the Trading with Enemy Amendment Ordinance, which ordered all movable and immovable property of enemy missions to be transferred to the custodian of enemy property.[111] The

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105 Hugh L. Haslewood and Mrs Clara B. L. T. Haslewood, *Child Slavery in Hong Kong: The Mui Tsai System* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1930), 14.

106 Susan Pedersen, "The Maternalist Moment in British Colonial Policy," 161-163.

107 Stubbs to Viscount Milner, 10 July 1920, CO 129/461, 413-439, TNA.

108 Stubbs to Viscount Milner, 10 July 1920, CO 129/461,413-439, TNA.

109 Section 2 of Chapter 5: 'Bailing Nushuyuan 巴陵女書院' [Berlin Foundlings House], *Hsiangkang Chituchiaohui shih* 香港基督教會史[The History of the Hong Kong Chinese Christian Churches], ed. Liu Yue-sheng 劉粵聲 (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Chinese Christian Churches Union, 1941), 209-210.

110 Moira M.W. Chan-Yeung, *Lam Woo – Master Builder, Revolutionary, and Philanthropist* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2017), xxviii.

111 *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 27 June 1919, HKGRS.

Hong Kong government appointed Barnett and Rev. T.W. Pearce of the LMS as trustees to work with the custodian of enemy property for all the financial affairs of the four German missions.[112] The Basel Mission's Hakka congregation was placed under the direct supervision of Barnett, except for the three churches in the New Territories, which joined the Rhenish Mission church put under the supervision of Pearce. Further discussion about the trusteeship of German mission property in Hong Kong will be outlined in Chapter 5. During his temporary term as Acting Governor, Severn had done several things which affected German missions in the colony. However, more disruptive policies were introduced by the new governor, Sir Reginald Stubbs who arrived on *S.S. Khiva* on 30 September 1919.[113]

A Governor Hankering for German Mission Properties

A certain principle underpinned the relationship between the Colonial Office and the colonial administration; namely, trust the judgement of 'the man on the spot', who had the most immediate information and had to deal with the fallout of any 'London-preferred' policy.[114] The governor was the highest authority in Hong Kong, and he managed almost all the affairs of the colony without reference to London. Only on a few issues, including expenditure, staffing changes and legislation, did the Colonial Office intervene. For the four German missions which had operations in Hong Kong before the War, reference to the Colonial Office was their only hope under the new governor, Sir Reginald Edward Stubbs. However, as Gavin Ure points out, a governor could still manipulate through skilful presentation of information, obfuscation or delay.[115]

Born and educated in Oxford, Stubbs began his career at the Colonial Office as a second-class clerk in 1900. He became Colonial Secretary of Ceylon in 1913, and then governor of Hong Kong in September 1919. Having worked at the Colonial Office in London for a number of years, Stubbs was more than familiar with its procedures. After being posted abroad, he continued to communicate

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[112] Barnett to Rev. F. Baylis, 20 September 1919, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1918-20, No.60, Adam Matthew Digital.

[113] *The Hongkong Government Gazette* (26 September 1919), 405, HKGRS.

[114] Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule*, 39.

[115] Gavin Ure, *Governors, Politics and the Colonial Office: Public Policy in Hong Kong, 1918-58* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 2.

regularly with his former colleagues, in particular Sir Gilbert Grindle, his former supervisor in the Eastern Department.[116] It turned out that Grindle was to play a crucial role in dealing with German mission property in Hong Kong.

After the end of the War, German missionaries in China were looking forward to their return to Hong Kong but were disappointed by slow progress in their applications. Although their major evangelical focus was Guangdong, Hong Kong was critical to their day-to-day operation. As the Basel Mission's treasurer, Bitzer remarked everything was much easier to arrange in Hong Kong than in Guangdong, where he was staying temporarily.[117] Hong Kong provided efficient transportation and afforded a safe haven for missionaries moving in and out of China. Bitzer contacted the Anglican Bishop of Hong Kong and Thomas Pearce of the LMS, but received no response. He told the headquarters that 'men in England do not dare to do anything on this matter, while the few missionaries in Hong Kong also would not wish to approach the colonial government either'.[118]

Bitzer's comment was not entirely objective at least not, as far as the 'men in England' were concerned. Allied mission leaders, including those in Britain did make efforts to help German missions wishing to return to Hong Kong. Based on his experience with India, Oldham believed that people based in Hong Kong itself were best placed to approach the Hong Kong authorities. He therefore wrote to Pearce and visited Rev. Charles Duppuy, the new Bishop of Victoria, before the latter sailing to Hong Kong, requesting them to 'look into the whole matter' and 'report to him regarding the local situation'.[119] Oldham also urged the British government to ensure that Article 438 was being properly implemented in Hong Kong. In particular, Oldham suggested that 'the best plan would be to constitute a body of trustees consisting of representatives of the Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society', and it would be best if the Hong Kong government arranged this with the Bishop of Victoria and Pearce.[120] Oldham

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116 Norman Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule*, 48.

117 Bitzer to President of the Basel Mission, 4 May 1920, A-3-8, 1b, China, 1913-1922, BMA.

118 Bitzer to President of the Basel Mission, 3 December 1920, A-3-8, 1b, China, 1913-1922, BMA.

119 Oldham to Dipper, 29 September 1920, QK-4,3, International Missionary Council, 1910-1926, BMA.

120 Oldham to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 15 October 1920, CO 129/465, pp 628-629, TNA.

trusted that British missionaries in Hong Kong would side with him, as had been the case in India and the Gold Coast, in safeguarding German mission property from any greedy colonial government.

However, Oldham had underestimated the Hong Kong colonial government, which had already devised a comprehensive plan for dealing with the properties formerly held by German missions in the territory. Stubbs proposed to London that the German mission asylums were responsible for 'not inconsiderable expense to the colony'. [121] Because most of their children were not British subjects but children brought from China, Stubbs recommended the sale of the Berlin Foundling House to the government 'at a reasonable valuation' and after the reimbursement by the Berlin Women's Mission for the expenses so far incurred. He said the proceeds should then be divided between the CMS and the LMS in the ratio of two-thirds to one-third, on condition that the money would be used for appropriate mission work in Hong Kong.

In another dispatch, Stubbs proposed that the Hong Kong government should grant the Rhenish Mission chapel in Bonham Road to an unspecified Catholic mission in exchange for leased lands which the Catholic mission possessed nearby. The leased land received in exchange by the Hong Kong government would then be used for the relocation of the publicly funded Sai Ying Pun School (now King's College).[122] To justify his proposal, Stubbs claimed that the Rhenish Mission chapel had ceased its activities at the outbreak of the War. He also offered to pay the LMS or 'some other mission of suitable denomination' a sum equal to the amount paid by the Rhenish Mission for the land in 1912 and the cost of building the Rhenish Mission chapel. However, what Stubbs said about the Rhenish Mission chapel was not correct. The Rhenish Mission congregation in Hong Kong had continued to operate during the War under the auspices of its Chinese pastors and church leaders. Following an order by the colonial administration, it had appointed Pearce of the LMS as guardian on 31 August 1919.[123] Ironically, when the order was given, the government stated: 'We are not going to seize your church assets, just to have someone taking over the work of

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121 Stubbs to Viscount Milner, 10 September 1920, CO 129/462, pp 329-340, TNA.
122 Stubbs to Viscount Milner, 4 September 1920, CO 129/462, pp 354-358, TNA.
123 *Xianggang lixianhui nianbao 1919* 香港禮賢會年報 1919 [Annual Report of the Chinese Rhenish Church Hong Kong Synod for 1919] (Hong Kong: HKCRC, 1920), 4-5.

former German priests'.[124] As will be alluded to in Chapter 5, the collaboration between Pearce and the Chinese Rhenish Church Hong Kong Synod was described as positive by both parties.

Despite his misrepresentation, Stubbs's proposal for the land exchange with the Catholic mission did not go through. His colleagues in London were keen to fulfil British obligations under the Treaty of Versailles. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Viscount Milner, told Stubbs:

> I have to point out that Article 438 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany provides that the property of German missions is to be handed over to boards of trustees composed of persons holding the faith of the mission whose property is involved. In your confidential dispatch of 10 September, you state that a board of Trustees for the management of the properties had been constituted, it would appear that it is for the Board, and not for the governor of Hong Kong, to deal with the property of the Rhenish Mission. In these circumstances, I consider that the property of the Rhenish Mission should not be leased to the Catholic Mission, and I suggest that the latter should be granted a lease of some other area, if any is available.[125]

Milner also instructed Stubbs to introduce an ordinance to vest the mission property in the trustees, as prescribed by Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles. It also rejected the governor's suggestion that expenses should be deducted before the handing over of the property, because 'it was not covered by the peace treaty'.[126] This made clear to Stubbs that any attempt to acquire German mission property must be in accordance with the treaty. Furthermore, any acquisition would require the help of British missionary trustees.

Surrender to the Crown

On 26 July 1923, the Hong Kong Legislative Council enacted the German Missions Trustees Ordinance. This provided for the formation of a legal body called 'The German Missions Trustees' (GMT) to perform work formerly carried out by German missions in Hong Kong.[127] The GMT Ordinance gave full power to the GMT to own and deal with the German mission property and any income deriving from these assets. To fulfil the requirements of Article 438 of the Treaty

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[124] Ibid.
[125] Viscount Milner to Stubbs, 20 November 1920, CO 129/462, pp 359-360, TNA.
[126] Viscount Milner to Stubbs, 22 December 1920, CO 129/465, pp 632-633, TNA.
[127] German Missions Trustees Ordinance, 1923, Historical Laws of Hong Kong Online, https://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/archive/files/b16b9707c2f4796a2df10069b58b35ce.pdf.

of Versailles, the five appointed members of the GMT were all British clergymen or missionaries: Rev. Charles Duppuy the Bishop of Victoria, Rev. John Kirk Maconachie of the Kowloon Union Church, Rev. Charles C. Porri of the Methodist International Church, Archdeacon Ernest Judd Barnett and Rev. Thomas W. Pearce as the representatives of the CMS and the LMS respectively. Barnett was appointed Secretary of the GMT.

While the final version of the GMT Ordinance appeared straightforward and normal, a review of the correspondence between the Hong Kong colonial government and the Colonial Office during the drafting process suggests a fraught situation behind the legislation. The real objective of the GMT Ordinance was the sale of German mission property in Hong Kong, as reflected in the statements of the Attorney-General at the Legislative Council meeting during the first reading of the bill on 15 Feb 1923: 'some of the property is in a very bad state of repair and will have to be dealt with very quickly' and 'some of the land held by the German missions is probably no longer required for the work of the missions and will, no doubt, either be sold or otherwise disposed of'.[128] The first draft of the GMT Ordinance sent to the Colonial Office on 13 August 1922 contained a general clause, but one which promised consequences:

> 6. It shall be lawful for the Governor in Council, whenever he may think it desirable to do so in the interests of any of the missions referred to in this Ordinance, or in the interests of the Colony, or for the purpose of carrying on more satisfactorily the work formerly carried on in the Colony by any of the said missions, to give any direction whatsoever to the corporation [the GMT], either generally or in any particular case, as to the manner in which the trusts set forth in section 5 are to be carried out, or as to any matter connected with the carrying out of the said trusts, and the corporation [the GMT] shall comply with every such direction of the Governor in Council.[129]

The first two London officials who reviewed the bill did not have any concerns, considering it to 'generally …carry out the intention of Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles', and did not 'see any particular objection to winding it up as proposed'. However, the third reviewer of the Colonial Office was the eagle-eyed Grindle, who knew Stubbs only too well. He commented as follows:

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[128] Minutes of the meeting of the Hong Kong Legislative Council, 15 February 1923, Legislative Council of Hong Kong SAR, https://www.legco.gov.hk/1923/h230215.pdf.

[129] Severn to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 21 June 1922, CO 129/475, pp 427-437, TNA.

> Clause 6 is rather peculiar in an ordinance constituting a trust. I suspect that it has been included in order to enable the government to carry out the purchase or exchange of certain property which they want. No doubt the trustees have agreed to its insertion. But it looks bad. Unless you think we ought to rule it out altogether, I would … ask for an explanation of the objects of this clause.[130]

Another reviewer recounted his experience in Tobago and Trinidad of a resolution to 'keep the governor out of the future management of the properties as much as possible, on the principle that there is no more reason he should be concerned in them than in any other mission property; once the transfer is completed'. Because of their mutual concerns, the Hong Kong governor was instructed to redraft the bill 'so as to restrict its generality and set out under headings the purposes for which it is really intended'.[131]

On 7 December 1922, Stubbs wrote to London, summarising his amendments to the clauses. In the redrafted clauses, the powers of the governor would be very specific, including instructions for 'keeping of accounts and making returns'; 'use of property by another mission on payment of fair value'; and 'surrender to Crown of property no longer required'. Also, the fair value of surrendered property was 'to be held in trust by corporation [the GMT] for carrying out as far as possible work of mission'.[132] Grindle spotted the unusual term 'surrender to Crown of property' and wrote five pages to remind his colleagues of the governor's dispatch of 1920, in which Stubbs expressed his wish to take over and redevelop the Berlin Foundling House for residential purposes. The revised draft would empower the governor to force the GMT to surrender that site, which Grindle considered inappropriate:

> It seems to me contrary to the spirit of the Peace Treaty and wrong in itself to state power to compel trustees to surrender trust property in the Ordinance which constitutes the Trust. No doubt a surrender is very desirable – Victoria is badly over-crowded. No doubt the trustees once in possession may … try to 'stick' the government for a large amount. But it does seem to me that we ought to constitute the trust before we try to acquire its property, so that we may have an independent body to deal with it.[133]

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[130] Gilbert Grindle's comments on the dispatch submitted by Severn to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 21 June 1922, CO 129/475, pp 427-437, TNA.

[131] Winston Churchill to Stubbs, 12 October 1922, CO 129/475, pp 427-437, TNA.

[132] Telegram from Stubbs to Secretary of State for the Colonies, CO 129/476, pp 391-398, TNA.

[133] Comments of Gilbert Grindle on Stubbs's telegram, CO 129/476, pp 391-398, TNA.

Grindle's views were again supported by his colleagues. They agreed that the term 'surrender to Crown' should be removed from the bill. Direct involvement in enemy mission policy development and their relationship with Oldham made the Colonial Office staff more eager still to see the proper implementation of the Article 438 in British territories. However, the Hong Kong government was still keen to acquire the German mission properties in its territories. Stubbs replied to the Colonial Office on 12 January 1923, suggesting the sale of the Berlin Foundling House by arbitration with the trustees or by the Hong Kong government's exercising of the mortgage rights it currently held. He mentioned that the Berlin Women's Mission might withdraw from Hong Kong; the proceeds from the sale of its property would provide for the existing foundlings, or for their transfer to China. In this respect, Stubbs was correct about the intentions of the Berlin Women's Mission. At the Shanghai Missionary Conference of May 1922, the Berlin Women's Mission leaders from Berlin met with Duppuy, Oldham, and Rev. Müller, the former male supervisor of the Berlin Foundling House. They concluded that the Berlin Womens' Mission's work had been nullified, and could not be resumed in Hong Kong. A written confirmation was presented to Oldham indicating that the mission did not intend to resume its work in Hong Kong and was agreeing to sell its properties, with the proceeds returned to the mission.[134]

However, it was misleading of Stubbs to say that the proceeds would be used for the existing foundlings. The Hong Kong government had already been informed in late 1922 that most of the Berlin foundlings had already been 'adopted by Chinese families' and only a handful remained in the care of the CMS.[135] Stubbs's suggestion raised queries from London, as it deviated from the practice in other British colonies for dealing with German mission property. A reviewer pointed out that ordinances elsewhere in British territories were intended 'merely to vest the property subject to the trustees of the Deed' and make the respective trustees 'party to all the arrangements'. Grindle concluded that:

> It is difficult to get to the bottom of this by telegraphs, and there is not time to clear it up by despatch. We can only state our position and have Hong Kong to word the Ordinance accordingly. I would telegraph that there is no objection to provisions forbidding the

[134] Unknown author of Canton, Berlin Mission to Kriele, Rhenish Mission, 16 May 1922, File 2.195 Box 7, Missionary File of Immanuel G. Genähr, AMS.

[135] Rev. C. Blanchett to G. F. Saywell, Foreign Secretary of the CMS, London, 13 December 1922, CMS/South China Outgoing (GI/CH1/O/1921-23), CRL.

> trustees to sell mortgage or otherwise dispose of the property without the consent of the governor, or to any provision thought necessary to ensure that the trust shall be carried on, but that sub-clause C [empowering the Governor in Council to give directions as to surrender to the Crown] must come out, and any acquisition by the Government of the property must be either under existing law or by agreement subject to arbitration.[136]

However, Stubbs did not abandon his idea. In March 1923, he sent another telegram, in which he made a very bold suggestion:

> I would suggest that idea of trustee should be dropped and that we should instead pay to the German Mission(s) [the] value of their property and let them deal with the proceeds as they please. This will avoid many difficulties of administration. May I negotiate with their representatives accordingly meanwhile introduction of Ordinance postponed.[137]

The draft ordinance spelt out clearly that the GMT arrangement had been set up to fulfil the requirements of Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, signed between the Allied nations and Germany. But Stubbs still ventured to propose a complete abolition of this arrangement, indicating either that he did not take Article 438 seriously, or that he was desperate to sell the German mission property at a propitious time. In 1923, the colony was facing a severe housing shortage and the government formed a housing commission to look for solutions.[138] Stubbs's bold suggestion (above) was not looked upon favourably by his London colleagues, who considered it a drastic policy and that it constituted possible grounds for objection in terms of Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles. Grindle explained to his colleagues that:

> The Hong Kong Government greatly covets the premises occupied by the Berlin Foundling Mission. The Government tried to introduce into the bill constituting a British Board to call on German missions, a clause enabling the governor to acquire the property compulsorily. We took out the clause and we insist[ed] that, if they want to acquire the property, they must both constitute a body of trustees who will be in an independent position, and that the Government must proceed under the ordinary law. On the strength of our circular of 8th of November,

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[136] Grindle's comments on the telegram from Stubbs to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 12 January 1923, CO 129/479, pp 215-220, TNA.

[137] Telegram from Stubbs to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 10 March 1923, CO 129/479, pp 450-460, TNA.

[138] *Report of the Housing Commission*, Hong Kong government, 4 October 1923.

> the Government now wants to negotiate with the original German owners.[139]

Grindle also suggested that the German missions were keen to see that mission work was being continued, and that direct negotiation with German owners would only lead to the suggestion of a larger payment. Sir H. Read also pointed out:

> Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles lays down that the property of ex-German missions in territories belonging to the A. & A. [Allied and Associated] Powers 'shall continue to be devoted to missionary purposes'. It also states that the A. & A. Powers, while continuing to maintain full control as to individual missionaries, 'will safeguard the interests of such missions.' This being so, I think that the H.K. Government can only proceed by negotiation with the mission. I am not aware of any case in the colonies or protected territories with which I deal where we have adopted the policy advocated by H.K. and I think that it would be very undesirable to do so.[140]

In this way, the Hong Kong situation became a central concern for the imperial authorities in implementing the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. Worrying that the Hong Kong case might become a precedent awkward for Britain or the Allies, Grindle presented the whole question to the Foreign Office for review and comment.[141] Owing to the opposition from London to the insertion of a clause which would enable the governor to acquire German mission property compulsorily, a scaled-back German Missions Trustees Ordinance was introduced in July 1923. The revised clause limited the governor's discretion to give any direction regarding 'the keeping and auditing of accounts and the making of returns'.[142] Both Oldham and the German missions were pleased about the establishment of the GMT, expecting that the trustees, all Protestant British clergy or missionaries, would be sympathetic to the handling of German mission properties.[143]

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139 Grindle's comments on the telegram from Stubbs to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 10 March 1923, CO 129/479, pp 450-460, TNA.

140 Sir H. Read's comment on a telegram from Stubbs to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 10 March 1923, CO 129/479, pp 450-460, TNA.

141 Grindle to Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 23 March 1923, CO 129/479, pp 457-460, TNA.

142 German Missions Trustees Ordinance, 1923, Historical Laws of Hong Kong Online, https://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/archive/files/b16b9707c2f4796a2df10069b58b35ce.pdf.

143 Unknown author from Berlin Mission, Canton to Kriele, the Rhenish Mission, 16 May 1922, File 2.195, Box 7, Missionary File of Immanuel G. Genähr, AMS.

Grindle's discoveries and the Colonial Office's commitment to the spirit of Article 438 prevented the governor's attempt to obtain legal authority to control the GMT. However, they could not stop the governor from realising his ambitions by other means. German missions in China were eager to return to Hong Kong, selling some of their properties in order to fund their work in China. Heinrich J. Vömel of the Basel Mission tried to seek help from Barnett, the secretary of the GMT, but he did not receive a reply from Barnett for two months. When he paid a personal visit to Pearce and Severn in Hong Kong, the latter merely asked him to submit his views in writing. Furthermore, Vömel found that there was speculation among Chinese Christians that the Basel Mission would not be returning to Hong Kong. Realising the danger spelt by this rumour, Vömel decided to submit a petition to the governor, seeking his approval for the resumption of mission work in the colony and the reinstatement of the Basel Mission's former rights in the colony.[144] He soon received a reply from Barnett, acknowledging the receipt of his letter and enclosing a copy of Vömel's letter to the governor via Severn, whom he recognised as 'the second highest government official in Hong Kong'. Barnett assured Vömel that his request would be brought before the trustees once a full meeting was made possible. His closing remark, though remaining polite, seemed to reflect Barnett's inner displeasure at Vömel's action:

> For the present it is unnecessary for you to write further to the Trustees, as I find myself in possession of a copy of your letter to the Governor, in addition to your letter to me. Yes, it is a pleasure for me too to think of the friendly intercourse with you, as with the others, in those bygone days when I still had St. Stephen's College under me.[145]

Vömel's petition was almost withdrawn by the Basel Mission's director in Switzerland who was advised by Oldham that the Basel Mission should not approach the colonial government directly.[146] However, Vömel refused to withdraw his petition, and other Basel missionaries in China stood by him. This was one of the few incidents when the usually obedient Basel missionaries refused to follow orders from the headquarters. As Jon Miller suggests, obedience

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144 H. Dipper to Oldham, 20 September 1923, A-03.13, 2, BMA.
145 Vömel to the Committee of the Basel Mission, 13 September 1923, A-03.12, 2, BMA.
146 H. Dipper to Oldham, 20 September 1923, A-03.12, 2, BMA.

was a general characteristic of Basel Mission staff.[147] One of Vömel's supporters stated the following:

> The British Empire is very much like the Roman Empire. What the Hong Kong government decides goes through London without a second thought. London will never act against the will of the colony. Mr Oldham may have good friends in London, but it is of no use to us in Hong Kong. But if we have friends in the colony, we will be able to get back our properties without the help of London … Re-registration in Hong Kong can only be obtained through the Hong Kong authorities. In my opinion, Dr Vömel did the only right thing when he did not follow the instructions to withdraw his petition.[148]

In January 1924, Oldham received alarming news from the Colonial Office which he immediately passed on to the Basel Mission: the Hong Kong government 'considers it undesirable that the Basel Mission should resume work in the Colony'.[149] Oldham tried to understand the issue from the GMT and the Bishop of Hong Kong but failed.[150] A window of hope emerged in July 1924, when the British government officially removed its discriminatory policy towards German missions. Oldham wrote to inform Heinrich Dipper, the Basel Mission Director, 'I think it improbable that in view of this decision, the Hongkong Government will wish to insist on its refusal to allow the Basel Mission to return to Hongkong.'[151]

Oldham also wrote to the Colonial Office, offering his understanding of the latest intentions of the four German missions in Hong Kong.[152] He stated that except for the Berlin Women's Mission, all three other German missions wished to resume their work in Hong Kong and applied for the use of its property for this purpose. Oldham highlighted, in particular, the severe financial difficulty of the Rhenish Mission in China, which hoped to receive from the GMT certain income from the accrued rents of the past years. At the same time, Oldham continued to lobby his Hong Kong contacts. He first met with the Bishop of Victoria in London in July 1924, persuading him to ask for an enquiry by the GMT about the future of

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147 Jon Miller, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control Organisational Contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, 1828-1917* (London: Routledge, 2014), 48-49.
148 R. Krayl to Vömel, 20 November 1923, A-03.12, 2, BMA.
149 Oldham to Dipper, 15 January 1924, QK-4,4, BMA.
150 Oldham to Dipper, 22 February 1924, QK-4,4, BMA.
151 Oldham to Dipper, 14 July 1924, QK-4,4, BMA.
152 Oldham to Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 18 September 1924, CO 129/487, pp 354-359, TNA.

German mission work in the colony.[153] Then, in September 1924, Oldham wrote a long letter to the GMT, urging the British trustees to take action to facilitate the return of German missions to the colony.[154] He cited the recent abolition of the discriminative policy towards German missions in British territories. The Hong Kong government should not sustain its previous objection to the return of the Basel Mission 'except for reasons of a special kind'. Oldham reminded the GMT of the purpose of Article 438, and asked them to prepare for the applications of German missions to re-occupy their properties in Hong Kong. He also expressed displeasure at Hong Kong's delay in dealing with German mission issues:

> Communications with Hongkong are slower than with most of the other areas in which German missions were at work. In most other areas, plans are already well advanced, and an understanding has been arrived at both with the occupying British or American missions and with the Government.[155]

Oldham's letter was forwarded to the Hong Kong government in November 1924. However, instead of speeding up the return of German missions, it appeared to make the Hong Kong governor launch a final salvo against the four German missions in the days before his own departure from Hong Kong. Despite an unprecedented request by Hong Kong's political and business leaders to extend Stubbs's governorship, the British government refused to let Stubbs stay for another term.[156] The governor did not have many friends in London: Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, pressed for Stubbs's speedy removal from Hong Kong.[157] The Home Office was also irritated by Stubbs's resistance to its proposed registration system for opium users as well as by the tone of his dispatches.[158] Only Claud Severn supported him faithfully .

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153 Bishop of Victoria to Rev. Henry C. Moyle, GMT, 15 July 1924, CO 129/488, 552-553, TNA.

154 Oldham to Rev. Henry C. Moyle, GMT, 15 July 1924, CO 129/488, pp 547-551, TNA.

155 Oldham to Rev. Henry C. Moyle, acting secretary of the German Missions Trustees, 18 September 1924, CO 129/488, pp 547-551, TNA.

156 Telegram from Amery to Stubbs, 1 December 1924, CO 129/487, p 501, TNA. Unofficial members of the Executive and Legislative Councils of Hongkong to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 21 March 1924, CO 129/487, pp 442-449, TNA. Telegrams from Sir C. P. Chater to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 20 March 1924 and 3 November 1924, CO 129/487, pp 495-501, TNA.

157 Comments of A. E. Collins on the telegram from Sir Paul Chater to the Colonial Office, 13 November 1924, CO 129/487, pp 495-501, TNA.

158 Tiziana Salvi, 'The Last Fifty Years of Legal Opium in Hong Kong, 1893-1943', MA dissertation, University of Hong Kong, 2004, 157-159.

Severn's Final Proposal

Severn met with the whole body of German Mission Trustees in March 1925 to discuss Oldham's letter. He later produced a memorandum which he claimed reflected the decisions of that meeting, which proposed to sell all the property of the four German missions in Hong Kong, with the proceeds handed over to the respective missions to support their work in China.[159] The Rhenish Mission should be allowed to keep a house to be used as its Hong Kong office and as a residence for the mission's representative and visiting members. The church, pastor's house and school belonging to the Rhenish Mission should be handed over to the Chinese congregation which had occupied it for the past eleven years. The Basel Mission should also be allowed to have a Hong Kong office to carry out limited obligations in relation to the proper maintenance of certain persons dependent on the society, such as the Hakka congregation, the pastors, and the elderly. The Hong Kong government had no objection to the Rhenish and Basel Missions appointing Rev. Immanuel Genähr and Rev. August Nagel as their respective representatives in the colony. The government consented that, on any sale of Ebenezer, arrangements would be made for St. Stephen's College to continue to occupy the premises at 'a fair rent' until the end of 1927. Lastly, Severn's memorandum suggested the establishment of a new trustee body to handle the disposal of the Basel Mission's properties and the funds for maintaining the dependents of the society.[160]

In his letter containing the memorandum sent to the GMT in June 1925, Severn emphasised that the proposals in the memorandum had already been approved by the government.[161] He also responded to two issues raised by Pearce and Shann of LMS in their recent visit to his office: firstly, the government had agreed that the LMS associated Ying Wa College's occupation of the Rhenish Mission premises would also be allowed to continue until the end of 1927. Secondly, regarding a challenge of Pearce about the necessity and practicability of

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159 "German Missions in Hongkong", 19 May 1925, Enclosure 1 to the proposal submitted by Stubbs to L. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 7 July 1925, CO 129/488, pp 543-545, TNA.

160 Ibid.

161 Severn to C.B. Shann, Secretary of the GMT, 5 June 1925, Enclosure 2 to the proposal submitted by Stubbs to L. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 7 July 1925, CO 129/488, p 559, TNA.

a separate trustee body to manage Basel Mission affairs, the government viewed that 'it would be desirable to make some such arrangement'.

However, because of their communication with Oldham, the GMT trustees were well aware of the intentions of the four missions, particularly the clear expression by the Basel Mission of its desire to resume its work in Hong Kong. Therefore, in their final reply to the government concerning the memorandum, the GMT trustees would not concur with the arrangements relating to the Basel Mission, even though they accepted the proposals for the other three German missions.[162] The trustees thought that the representatives of the Basel Mission should be allowed to resume residency in Hong Kong and hold property on the same terms as other missionary societies operating in the colony. The correct course of action, the GMT argued, would be for the Basel Mission to apply for 'recognition' by the British government. Until such time as there was a response to that application, there should be no material alteration to the status quo.

Nonetheless, the GMT trustee opposition did not deter Governor Stubbs from pursuing his plan. In July 1925, Stubbs tried to push through Severn's proposal and related correspondence in London, seeking the Colonial Office's approval for the proposals which were 'in the best interests of the societies'.[163] In his covering letter, Stubbs summarised the wishes of the four missions in one straightforward sentence: 'with the exception of the Basel Mission, none of the Societies wishes to carry on the work formerly carried on in the Colony'. Stubbs argued that it was therefore lawful for the GMT to dispose of the three German missions' properties, the proceeds being handed over to their designated representatives. Stubbs claimed that the only point of disagreement between the Hong Kong government and the GMT was whether or not the Basel Mission should return. According to his understanding, there would be significant opposition to the resumption of Basel Mission work in the colony, and there was no need for the mission to return. He proposed permitting Rev. August Nagel, a representative of the Basel Mission, to return and carry out 'certain limited duties'. Special trustees should be appointed to administer the funds required to carry out such duties; and to 'investigate the large amount of property held by the

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[162] C.B. Shann to Severn, 11 June 1925, Enclosure 4 to the proposal submitted by Stubbs to Amery, 7 July 1925, CO 129/488, pp 560-561, TNA.

[163] Stubbs to Amery, 7 July 1925, CO 129/488, pp 539-565, TNA.

mission and make recommendations as to the disposal of all of such properties as are not required for the special work referred to'.[164]

When Stubbs's letter arrived in London, it was deliberately set aside for a month so that William Ormsby-Gore, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, could read and comment on it. Ormsby-Gore was the British representative of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the League of Nations in the early 1920s. He was young and idealistic, and a keen supporter of the trusteeship principle.[165] Ormsby-Gore firmly believed that mandate powers should be exclusively trustees for indigenous people's interests. In the dispute surrounding a phosphate incident in Nauru, a former German colony, he bluntly accused the British government of subordinating the interests of indigenous people to the exploitation of commercial wealth.[166] This background might explain why his colleagues decided to wait for his return in the handling of Stubbs' proposal. As they rightly expected, Ormsby-Gore disliked the idea. He commented that the Basel Mission had already been allowed to resume work in certain parts of the West African dependencies. No application had yet been received from the Basel Mission for 'recognition' to enable them to resume work in Hong Kong. If the Secretary of State for the Colonies was prepared to agree with Stubbs that the Basel Mission should not be allowed to resume work in Hong Kong, the Colonial Office should advise Oldham and the GMT not to proceed with any application for 'recognition'. Ormsby-Gore added the following:

> It would, of course, have been more helpful if the Governor had stated definitely what the objections are, especially in view of his well-known hankering after certain of these German Mission properties in the Colony for the use of the Government. The last sentence in paragraph 4 of his despatch prompts me to add this.[167]

Ormsby-Gore's undisguised outspokenness about Stubbs led to the Colonial Office's critical decision to call on Oldham to consult on the Hong Kong government's proposal before responding to Stubbs.[168]

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164 Stubbs to Amery, 7 July 1925, CO 129/488, pp 539-565, TNA.

165 Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 82

166 Ibid, 76.

167 Comments of William Ormsby-Gore on Stubbs' proposal, CO 129/488, pp. 540-541, TNA.

168 Under Secretary of State for the Colonies to Oldham, 27 August 1925, CO 129/488, pp 562-565, TNA.

Oldham immediately passed on the information to the four German missions operating in Hong Kong. While the arrangements of other missions seemed to be agreeable to the wish of the mission societies, Oldham recognised the particular difficulty concerning the Basel Mission. He told Heinrich Dipper, the Basel Mission director, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to 'induce' the Colonial Office to overrule the views of the Hong Kong governor, given its emphasis on the opinion of the 'man on the spot' and the disturbing situation in China caused by the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike at that time.[169] Any action to force the British government to recognise the Basel Mission for its resumption of work in Hong Kong would only cause irritation to the local government, who could have many ways of hampering the work of the Basel Mission. Moreover, Oldham thought the approval given to August Nagel to undertake certain limited duties in the colony as clear progress. Nagel's presence, he believed, would bring about a psychological change, improving the discussion with the government and trustees on the return of the Basel Mission. Oldham firmly believed that a solution could only be found in Hong Kong itself, where the Basel Mission could be represented 'on the spot' to win support through justice and reason.[170]

To further support the return of German missions to Hong Kong, Oldham wrote to the Colonial Office again, expressing the CMSGBI's concerns about a decision to permanently exclude the Basel Mission from Hong Kong without giving any reason:

> Such exclusion would seem to be a violation of the principle of missionary freedom, which the missionary societies of all countries regard as a vital missionary interest, and the recognition of which it has been, and is, their constant endeavour to secure alike within and without the British Empire.[171]

He indicated that, after consultation with the Basel Mission, the CMSGBI was prepared to assent to the proposed arrangements. The details would be worked out in personal consultation between Nagel, the trustees, and the Hong Kong government. The CMSGBI also made clear that it expected that: Nagel would not be prohibited to carry out spiritual duties; that the proceeds of the sale of any properties would be handed over to the Basel Mission; in the event of a new board

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169 Oldham to Dipper, 2 September 1925, QK-4,4, BMA.
170 Ibid.
171 Oldham to Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 13 October 1925, CO 129/491, pp 371-376, TNA.

of trustees being constituted to deal with the Basel Mission affairs, Nagel would be appointed as a member. Oldham's views earned the endorsement of the Colonial Office. Harold Beckett, Head of the West Indies Department, Colonial Office staff commented that:

> I must say that I find myself in complete agreement with what Mr Oldham says at A [the part about the exclusion of the Basel Mission], and I am rather surprised to find the Conference [CMSGBI] and the Basel Missionary Society ready to go so far to meet the local views. (The order of the day at present is to bury hatchets, but Hongkong still has a lingering belief that they can only be buried in heads).[172]

Eventually, L.S. Amery the Secretary of State for the Colonies sent a copy of Oldham's letter to Stubbs, notifying him that the Secretary of State shared Oldham's views and would find it difficult to agree to the permanent expulsion of the Basel Mission from mission work in Hong Kong. Such exclusion, he warned, would be 'a violation of the principle of missionary freedom'. Because of the intervention, the proposal of Stubbs and Severn did not proceed.[173] Cecil Clementi, who had extensive civil experience in Hong Kong and was a sinologist, was appointed the new Governor of Hong Kong in October 1925.[174] Stubbs left the colony to become the Governor of Ceylon. He was not leaving Hong Kong by himself. Severn also scheduled his departure around the same time, travelling back to Britain together on the P & O's *S.S. Mantua*.[175]

Conclusion

This chapter outlines the implementation of the Empire-wide Enemy Mission Policy in Hong Kong, which, in many ways, was not in line with the trusteeship principle set out in Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles. The Hong Kong government focused on how to acquire the properties of German missions, rather than on the well-being of indigenous residents of the foundling home and the two

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[172] Harold Beckett's comments on Oldham's letter to Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 13 October 1925, CO 129/491, pp 371-380, TNA.

[173] Draft letter of L.S. Amery to Hong Kong governor, 4 November 1925, CO 129/491, pp 378-379, TNA.

[174] Zhang Lianxing 張連興, *Xianggang ershiba zongdu* 香港二十八總督 [The twenty-eight Governors of Hong Kong] (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2018), 236-237.

[175] Severn to Mrs Severn, 28 August 1925, Severn's Papers, Box 1, No, 107, The Weston Library. "A Notable Career - Sir Claud Severn Leaving Colony, 'Popular' and 'Tactful'. Early Tributes to Colonial Secretary," *The China Mail* (13 November 1925): 7.

blind institutions. Its actions threatened the continuity of German mission work in the colony and led directly to the closure of the Berlin Foundling House. The case highlights the challenges in implementing an Empire-wide policy in remote British colonies. The governor of Hong Kong was equipped with so much power and authority that, as Steve Tsang has written, 'the definition of the government could in its narrowest sense be taken to mean the Governor'.[176] Without any written guidelines, appropriate supervision, or appeal routes, the implementation of Article 438 in Hong Kong was almost entirely subject to the personal preference of the governor. Eager to address the colony's housing shortage problem, the Hong Kong government completely ignored the prime objective of Article 438, which was to preserve German mission work in British territories for the benefit of indigenous people. Instead, it tried every means possible to seize and dispose of the properties of the four German missions, many of which were located in the prime residential area of the colony. This shows the importance of economic factors, particularly in relation to the property market, in shaping the policies and efforts of the Hong Kong government.

The Hong Kong colonial government's desire to remove German missions from Hong Kong was ultimately defeated by three stronger forces: the desire of German missions, particularly the Basel Mission, to resume their mission work in Hong Kong; the deep commitment of London's Colonial Office to Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles; and the dedication of Allied mission leaders, particularly Oldham, to restore the work of German missions around the world. In Chapter 5, the focus shifts to British missions in Hong Kong, including their attitudes and deeds during their trusteeship of German mission property.

176 Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 19.

Chapter 5
German Mission Property and British Trustees

This chapter discusses German mission property under the trusteeship of British missionaries in Hong Kong. It posits that, like the Hong Kong colonial government, British missionary trustees did not adhere strictly to their obligations under Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, namely in faithfully caretaking the work of German missions in Hong Kong. Instead, they disregarded the interests of German missions or their beneficiaries, and used German mission property to advance their own mission work. This chapter also examines what happened to the orphaned German mission work and property under the supervision of British missionary caretakers, as well as the problems and conflicts of interest arising from these trusteeships.

This chapter consists of four sections. The first section describes the three different custodianship arrangements for German mission work and property between 1914 and 1929: government-appointed receivers (1914 -1919), non-statutory trustees (1919 -1923), and, ultimately (1923-1929), a statutory body, the German Missions Trust (GMT). The second section focuses on the role of Archdeacon Ernest J. Barnett of the CMS as the supervisor of the German missions' philanthropic work and his crucial role in supporting the Hong Kong government in the trusteeship of the German missions' property. The third section examines Rev T. W. Pearce, the veteran LMS missionary who sat on the German Missions Trust and took care of the Chinese Rhenish Church during the time German missionaries were absent from the colony. The final section discusses the return of German missions to Hong Kong in the late 1920s.

Custodianship Arrangements for German Missions in Hong Kong

German mission property in Hong Kong was removed from its missionary owners in 1914 and was returned to them only in 1929. During this period, changes in the

British government's enemy mission policy meant that German mission assets were placed in the hands of a succession of custodians. It is perhaps ironic that German mission assets enjoyed the best and most transparent care during the initial stages of the War, when they were legally and unequivocally classified as enemy assets. In 1919, in compliance with Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, German mission property in British territories was placed under the trusteeship of chiefly British missionaries. However, in the case of Hong Kong, this change did not mean better protection for German mission property, but, rather, opportunities for exploitation by some of its custodians. Based on mission and government records, this section examines how German mission property was treated under the three different types of custodianship.

Stage 1: Government-appointed Receivers (1914 - 1919)

During the War itself, German missions in Hong Kong were classified as enemy entities. The Berlin Women's Mission and the Hildesheim Mission were permitted to continue operating in Hong Kong, having their finances managed by Archdeacon Barnett of the CMS.[1] Other German mission property was placed in the hands of government-appointed receivers. The receiver for the Basel Mission was the accounting firm Lowe, Bingham & Matthews.[2] The receiver for the Rhenish Mission was the colony's Registrar of the Supreme Court.[3] Mission records indicate that the government-appointed receivers during the War managed the property in their care diligently and assiduously. They considered the best interests of the Basel and Rhenish Missions. The receivers also ensured regular communication to keep German missions based in China abreast of any significant issues regarding their Hong Kong property.

The way the receivers acted can be attributed to the detailed instructions given by the Hong Kong government to all receivers for enemy assets.[4] The receivers were told specifically that they should consider 'in every possible way' the interests of the enemy missions during the winding-up process. The

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1 May to Lewis Harcourt, 4 November1914, CO 129/414, pp 129-38, TNA.
2 Bitzer to President of the Basel Mission, 8 June 1915, A-3-8,1a, BMA.
3 Barnett to Rev Frederick Baylis, CMS Secretary for the Far East, 25 September 1919, CMS/G1/CHI/O/1920, CRL.
4 May to Lewis Harcourt, 4 November 1919, CO129/414, pp 124-128, TNA.

instructions made it abundantly clear that 'the object of deporting and interning German and Austrian subjects is not to obtain their trade'.[5] Moreover, the receivers were instructed to consult the former staff of the enemy entity on any matter of doubt, and on any matter on which the former staff might have any particular views or wishes.

Mission records suggest that the Basel and Rhenish Missions' receivers dutifully observed the government's instructions. For example, in 1915, when a significant landslide destroyed the walls surrounding Basilea, the Basel Mission property in the Mid-Levels, the receiver was quick to inform Conrad Bitzer, the Basel Mission's treasurer in Guangdong, of the landslide, and also paid for the high cost of the repair work necessary to uphold the value of the property.[6] There was regular communication between Bitzer and the Hong Kong receiver, including the delivery by the receiver to the Basel Mission in Guangdong of annual account statements relating to the mission property, at least up to 1917.[7] Bitzer was satisfied with the way the receiver acted, remarking that it 'has done everything in a satisfactory manner'.[8]

The Rhenish missionaries in China were also kept informed about the status of Rhenish Mission property in Hong Kong.[9] For example the Rhenish Mission's receiver advised the Rhenish Mission to consider selling a dilapidated house in Hong Kong because of its high maintenance costs. The receiver even estimated the property's market price and passed on his estimate to the Rhenish Mission. This suggests that German mission property in Hong Kong was well looked after by professionals during the War itself, when German missions were officially classified as enemy entities. It was after the War was over that the real problems for German Protestant missions began.

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5 Colonial Secretary's instructions issued to receivers, 30 October 1914. Enclosure to the letter of May to Lewis Harcourt, 4 November 1919, CO129/414, pp 124-128, TNA.
6 Bitzer to President of the Basel Mission, 3 July 1915, A-3-8,1a, BMA.
7 Bitzer to President of the Basel Mission, 21 October 1920, A-3-8,1a, BMA.
8 Bitzer to President of the Basel Mission, 3 July 1915, A-3-8,1a, BMA.
9 Official Receiver's Office, Hong Kong, to Rev C. Maus, 11 May 1916, 2.197, File 2.197, personal file of Carl Maus, AMS.

Stage 2: Non-statutory Trustees (1919 – 1923)

In 1919, Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles came into force. It stipulated that any German mission property in Allied territories should be exempt from confiscation and vested in a board of trustees of the same faith as the missions, and that it should be used solely for missionary purposes. In Hong Kong, the government set up a three-member committee of enquiry – the Committee of German Missions – to decide how German mission property should be handled. The committee members were Barnett, Pearce, and Charles M. Messer, the Colonial Treasurer, who was also the Custodian of Enemy Property. In the report this committee submitted to the Hong Kong government, it recommended suspending the service of Lowe, Bingham & Matthews as the receiver for the Basel Mission, because it had charged a high fee for its work.[10] It also recommended terminating the receiver responsibility of the Registrar of the Supreme Court for the Rhenish Mission without giving a reason. The Committee recommended appointing themselves as trustees for the German missions, awarding themselves powers to manage all the assets and financial affairs of the German missions, including the letting of property, the collection of rents and any relevant payments such as staff salaries for the maintenance of the German mission work under their trusteeship.

In the same report, the Committee of German Missions decreed that the considerable income from mission property should be used 'for similar purposes' and 'for the furtherance of the Christian ideals in British territory'. As demonstrated later in this chapter, this loose terminology enabled British missionaries to interpret the management of German mission property and any rental income deriving from it as they wished. This was clearly not in keeping with the spirit of Article 438, which set out to ensure that orphaned German mission churches and philanthropic institutions in the Allied nations' territories were safeguarded. At the end of the report, the committee also stated that they, as trustees, would gain experience over time, in preparation for 'the ultimate disposal of the properties'.[11] Their view apparently was influenced by British public opinion in 1919 regarding how enemy property should be treated. One scholar

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[10] Report submitted by the Committee of German Missions. Enclosure to the letter from Barnett to Baylis, 25 September 1919, CMS/G1/CHI/O/1920, CRL.

[11] Ibid.

suggests that British people's attitude towards enemy assets could be described by the notion of 'Vernichtung und Aneignung' (annihilation and acquisition).[12]

Barnett, Pearce and Messer were assisted by Charles Gerken, a CMS lay associate, who served as secretary to their board.[13] There is no evidence that this non-statutory three-member trust was subject to any government guidelines or instructions such as those which had been issued to receivers in respect of enemy entities. Later records show that this non-statutory trust ran German mission accounts on a purely cash basis (i.e., not on the basis of accrual accounting which was considered more accurate).[14] This practice made subsequent auditing of the mission accounts extremely difficult, if not impossible. During this period of non-statutory management, China-based German missions also no longer received regular updates regarding the status of their property in Hong Kong.[15]

A 1922 court case indicates that there was also another problem besetting the management of German mission property during this period.[16] A clerk in the office of Messer, the Custodian of Enemy Property, was convicted of misappropriating funds. Most of the funds he stole were the monthly rents from German mission houses. The court case revealed that the clerk had been allowed to act 'as bookkeeper, accountant, clerk, and collector of claims and rent' at the same time. The government's Audit Department uncovered his criminal activity. The Custodian of Enemy Property in Hong Kong wanted to write off the sum from the enemy property statement. However, his request was rejected by London's Colonial Office, which ruled that the misappropriated funds should be compensated for and paid out of the colonial government's own coffers, in accordance with the spirit of Article 438.[17]

Available evidence suggests that the quality and transparency surrounding the management of German mission property in Hong Kong deteriorated significantly after mission assets were transferred from independent, professional

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12 Panikos Panayi, "German Business Interests in Britain During the First World War," *Business History*, 32:2 (1990): 244-258, 246.

13 Stubbs to Viscount Milner, 10 September 1920, CO 129/462, pp 329-340, TNA.

14 Lowe, Bingham & Matthews to the trustees of the German Missions Trust, 2 December 1926, bmw/1/1806, ELAB.

15 Bitzer to President of the Basel Mission, 21 October 1920, A-3-8,1a, BMA.

16 M.O. Breen, Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property, Hong Kong, to the Custodian of Enemy Property, London, 5 September 1922. Enclosure to the letter from Severn to Winston Churchill, 16 September 1922, CO 323/887, TNA.

17 Devonshire to Severn,16 November 1922, CO 323/887, TNA.

receivers to the non-statutory, three-member trust. The trusteeship initiative of Oldham and other Allied mission leaders, enshrined in Article 438, did not achieve its objective of safeguarding German mission property.

Stage 3: German Missions Trust (1923 – 1929)

During the final stage, from July 1923 onwards, international pressures led to the transfer of German mission assets in Hong Kong to a newly formed statutory body, the German Missions Trust (GMT).[18] However, it was only after a 1929 agreement between the four German missions and the GMT that the assets were finally returned to their original owners.[19] The five founding members of the GMT were Barnett, Pearce, Bishop Duppuy of Victoria, Rev. John K. Maconachie of the Kowloon Union Church, and Rev Charles C. Porri of the Hong Kong Methodist Church. There were occasional temporary or permanent changes to GMT membership over the years. Appendix 4 provides a list of individuals served at the GMT between 1923 and 1929.

As outlined in Chapter 3, the idea of placing German mission property in the hands of Protestant trustees was proposed by Oldham during the handling of the Basel Mission Trading Company's assets in the Gold Coast and India. The British government was subsequently persuaded to apply this idea to its other territories, including Hong Kong.[20] Later, the idea was enshrined in Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, signed on 28 June 1919. To support this arrangement, the IMC passed a resolution advising that German orphaned mission work taken up by non-German missions should be 'provisional'. It also decreed that, when German missions were allowed to return to their former mission fields, there should be friendly dialogue between the original German missions, the caretaking missions, and the local congregations to resolve any issues arising from the provisional occupation.[21] Mott, Oldham, and other Allied leaders encouraged

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18 "German Missions Trustees, 1923," Ordinance No. 9 of 1923, *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 27 July 1923, HKGRS.

19 A draft indenture made between the four German missions and the GMT, 28 June 1929, bmw 1 Band 1806, BMW.

20 Oldham to W.R.S. Hewins, 18 December 1918, CO 323/789, pp 564-587, TNA.

21 "Restrictions on Missionary Work - Restriction Upon German Missions," meeting papers of the International Missionary Council, Oxford, 9-17 July 1923, bmw/1/2198, ELAB, accessed 11 June 2021, http://kab.scopearchiv.ch/Data/7/D37360.pdf.

national missionary bodies to lobby their governments to lift any restrictions preventing the return of German missions to their former fields.[22]

This international understanding gave German mission leaders hope when the GMT was formed in Hong Kong. They thought that negotiations about German mission property issues with the British GMT trustees would be swift. One Basel Mission leader remarked that the GMT members were 'all missionary men who were friendly to the expelled missions'.[23] However, as it turned out, the GMT trustees in Hong Kong did not act as Oldham and German mission leaders had wished or foreseen. German missionaries found themselves unable to obtain information or assistance from the GMT or the individuals who made it up.[24] As Dipper, the Basel Mission director, suggested, 'London is definitely the best place for our interests to be represented. We can rely with complete certainty on Oldham, much more so than on the Hong Kong trustees.'[25] The following two sections examine in greater detail German mission work under the caretaking of the two British missions in Hong Kong.

CMS Trusteeship of German Missions in Hong Kong

Any investigation of the trusteeship of German missions in Hong Kong must begin with Archdeacon Ernest Judd Barnett of the CMS. He was an Australian who had previously been the headmaster of a grammar school in Melbourne. In 1896, he joined the CMS Victoria Association and was sent to South China from 1898 to 1900 to learn Cantonese language and culture. Barnett transferred to Hong Kong in 1902 to help the Hong Kong Anglican diocese establish St. Stephen's College, which he described as 'an Anglo-Chinese school for the sons of [the] wealthy'.[26] The college was a successful venture and was subsequently nicknamed 'the Eton of the East'.[27] Barnett was also instrumental in the founding of St. Stephen's Girls' College in 1907 and the University of Hong Kong in 1911. He was appointed Secretary of the CMS South China Mission in 1909, and

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22 Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations*, 167.
23 J Meyers, Director of the Basel Mission to W. Maisch, 12 April 1923, A-3.8.02, BMA.
24 Vömel to Dipper, Director of the Basel Mission,13 December 1923, A-03.12.2, BMA.
25 Dipper to Vömel, 10 September 1924, A-03.8.03, BMA.
26 Barnett to George Saywell, 10 February 1923, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1923-1924, CRL.
27 "South China – Hong Kong – Chinese? Or British?" Annual Report of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East for 1922-1923, 65, CRL.

Archdeacon of Hong Kong in 1910.[28] Barnett was known for his fund-raising ability and his significant contribution to large-scale CMS educational projects.[29] In particular, he was praised by the CMS in London for his marked success in 'negotiating business with the Government in Hong Kong'.[30]

Transactions with the Government

During Barnett's tenure as Archdeacon, the CMS South China mission received considerable subsidies from the Hong Kong government.[31] These generous subsidies included the gift of 'a very valuable site' for St. Stephen's Girls' College, together with a building grant of $80,000 and a loan of $60,000 for ten years without interest; over twenty acres of land in Stanley, Hong Kong Island, for buildings for the new St. Stephen's (Boys') College; and the addition of a large piece of land to an orphanage known as the Victoria Home and Orphanage.[32] The Hong Kong government even financed the building of a mission school outside Hong Kong. This was Holy Trinity College in Guangdong. Even the CMS Parent Committee in London found this hard to digest, and therefore asked Barnett to explain the motives behind the Hong Kong government's extreme generosity.[33]

It should be noted that the Hong Kong government was reluctant to make public its generosity towards the CMS. When the CMS newsletter, the *Outpost*, published an article about the new St. Stephen's College site in Stanley, the CMS was challenged by the Colonial Secretary because of a statement in the article referring to 'a most generous offer from the Hongkong Government'. The acting secretary of the CMS South China Mission, Rev Charles I. Blanchett, immediately warned the CMS home mission in London of 'the need of [sic] care in publishing statements of our transactions with the Hongkong Government'.[34] A correction

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28 A note of gratitude for Barnett's services included by Hayward in the CMS Committee Minutes, 14 October 1925, CMS/GI/CH1/L3-4, CRL.

29 Rosemary Keen, "Editorial Introduction", *General Introduction and Guide to Church Missionary Society Archive*, Adam Matthew Publications, accessed 20 February 2021, http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/church_missionary_society_archive_general/editorial%20introduction%20by%20rosemary%20keen.aspx.

30 A note of gratitude for Barnett's services, CMS/GI/CH1/L3-4, CRL.

31 A. D. Stewart and C.B. Shann to Garfield William, 27 September 1922, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1921-1922, CRL.

32 Barnett to Saywell, 28 June 1922, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1920, CRL.

33 Baylis to Barnett, 23 September 1920, CMS/G1/CH1/L3-4, CRL.

34 Blanchett to G.T. Manley, 11 April 1923, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1923-1924, CRL.

was published in the following issue of the *Outpost*, clarifying that the Hong Kong government had not at the time actually promised the site mentioned or the sums of money specified.[35]

As already discussed in Chapter 4, Severn was closely involved with both the Anglican Church in Hong Kong and the work of the CMS in South China. This may explain Barnett's proactive support of the government where German mission matters were concerned. At the outbreak of the War, he offered to supervise the nine female German missionaries who were allowed to stay in Hong Kong and manage the finances of the benevolent institutions in their care.[36] After the repatriation of German missionaries in 1919, Barnett arranged for American and Australian missionaries outside the CMS to take responsibility for the foundlings and blind girls, supported by a government subsidy and private donations.[37] He was also a member of the initial enquiry committee and the subsequent three-member board responsible for German mission affairs, until he moved on to join the GMT, of which he was also the Honorary secretary. When Barnett retired, the *South China Morning Post* published an article focusing in particular on his service as a member of the GMT: 'his business acumen and thoroughness have been seen to advance in discussions and in correspondence helpful to the objects sought by the [German Mission] Trust.'[38] This statement clearly exposed the commercial motive behind the actions of German Mission Trust in Hong Kong. Barnett's contribution to the GMT was related less to his caretaking of the foundlings and the blind of former German mission work than to his pursuit of business objectives connected with the property under GMT custodianship.

Barnett's keen interest in German mission property was also evident from his own correspondence. In the early stage of the War, he had tried to acquire the Rhenish Mission property in Hong Kong but was told by the Colonial Office that

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35 "Hong Kong News," *Outpost* (Jul - Dec 1923), 23.
36 May to Lewis Harcourt, 4 November1914, CO 129/414, pp 129-138, TNA.
37 Barnett to the Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, 18 March 1919. Enclosure to the letter from Severn to Viscount Milner, 23 June 1919, CO 323/794/11, pp 90-102, TNA.
38 "Archdeacon Barnett: Retiring After Long Service: An Appreciation," *South China Morning Post* (2 March 1925): 8.

the policy was yet to be finalised and he should ask again later.[39] Barnett's first report to London after his appointment as a trustee also reflected his interest in German mission property:

> The Berlin Mission held a very valuable site, the disposition of which has yet to be determined. The Rhenish Mission owned property also, a portion of which has been rented for over one year for school work by the L.M.S …. Contiguous thereto is the large church and vernacular school of the Rhenish Mission …. On the other side of St. Stephen's College, to the north, the Basel Mission headquarters are situated. Here there is a 2-storey house formerly used as their business quarters, Church building and several smaller houses rented to Chinese.[40]

In another letter, Barnett assured the CMS home mission in London that the new responsibility – referred to as the Berlin Foundling House and the blind asylums – would not be a financial burden, because the four German missions possessed valuable property which would be more than enough to finance the work.[41] Figures 14, 15, 16 and 17 show the image of the European houses possessed by German missions in Hong Kong which attracted Barnett's attention. Barnett's correspondence suggests that it was the German missions' property portfolio, not the orphaned mission work, that was of interest to him. This made him a ready ally of the colonial government for the handling of German mission property. Barnett's GMT successor, Rev C. B. Shann, appeared to share the same interest. He declared that he was not appointed to represent the CMS in the GMT, and saw himself as answerable only to the Hong Kong governor.[42] Both Barnett and Shann's attitude suggested that there existed what might be described as a utilitarian relationship between CMS missionaries and the Hong Kong government.[43]

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39 A telegram from May to the Colonial Office, 31 July 1916, CO 129/434, p 355, TNA; Grindle to 'The Lay Secretary of the CMS', 18 September 1916, CO 129/434, p 356, TNA.

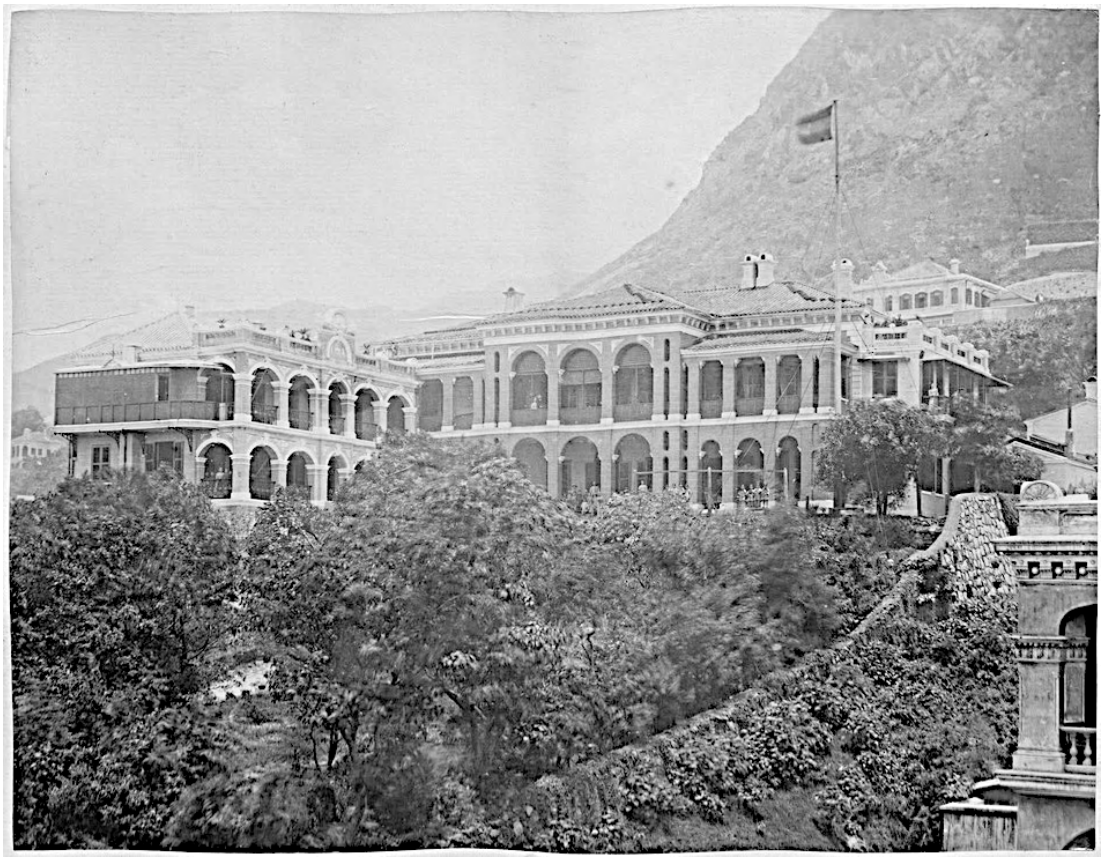
40 Barnett to Baylis,15 August 1919, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1918-20, CRL.

41 Barnett to Baylis, 20 September 1919, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1918-20, CRL.

42 Blanchett to J.C. Mann, 17 March 1926, CMS/G1/CH1/P4, CRL.

43 Stephen Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1966), 4-33; Andrew Porter, "An Overview: 1700-1914," in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 40-63.

Figure 14: Bethesda, Berlin Foundling House



Source: QA-30.113.0016, BMA

Figure 15: Craigellachie, Rhenish Mission, Hong Kong

Source: 907-275. Archives and Museum Foundation of the UEM.

Figure 16: The Mission House, Basel Mission, Hong Kong

Source: A-30.01.003, BMA.

Figure 17: The Ebenezer, Hildesheim Mission, Hong Kong

Source: Ebenezer School and Home for the Visually Impaired

German Mission Work under CMS Custodianship

As discussed in Chapter 4, after the end of the War, German female missionaries belonging to the Hildesheim Mission and the Berlin Women's Mission were repatriated from Hong Kong. Some Chinese Christians volunteered to take over the running of the Berlin Foundling House and the two institutions for the blind.[44] If their offer had been accepted, these benevolent institutions would be able to continue their services in Hong Kong and make significant progress for indigenisation, in a similar way to German mission work in other parts of the world. However, the Hong Kong colonial government had its own agenda. Instead of giving these benevolent institutions to Chinese Christians and running them in their existing form, it handed over the responsibility to Archdeacon Barnett of the CMS. In return, the Hong Kong government committed to paying a subsidy to the tune of $10,000 per annum for five consecutive years.[45] Barnett divided up the foundlings and the blind, and he then put them in the hands of different people. Despite his obligation as a trustee under Article 438, Barnett's primary concern was not the well-being of the foundlings and the blind, but the desire of the government for German mission properties.

As for the Berlin Women's Mission, its foundling house was vacated, and the site leased to the Hong Kong government from 1919. Its 106 foundlings were moved to Ebenezer, the Hildesheim Mission's school for the blind in Pokfulam. The foundlings were temporarily looked after by two American Presbyterian missionaries from Guangdong.[46] Later, Australian female missionaries were recruited via the CMS Australia to fill the vacancies, including Emily Barber and Nellie Smith. In her annual letter to CMS Australia, Barber gave a good description of the foundlings in her care:

> There were seventy inmates and their ages varied from 3 to 26 years old … Five children were from 3 to 6 years old and needed nourishing food and good care, they were easy enough to teach and train and responded well to our love and care. But the elder ones with two exceptions all between the ages of 16 and 20 years were at first utterly unresponsive, they all with one accord, ran away when we tried to make friends with them ... Between 30 and 40 of them were learning

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44 Section 2 of Chapter 5: 'Baling nushuyuan' 巴陵女書院 [Berlin Foundlings Home], in *Xianggang jidujiaohui shi*, 209-210.

45 A. D. Stewart and C.B. Shann to Garfield William, 27 September 1922, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1921-1922, CRL.

46 Barnett to Baylis, 29 July 1919, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1920, CRL.

> in school, some 15 or less did very good lace crochet, which we were able to sell well, giving back to each worker a portion of the profits. The remainder unable to read further as to do lace were employed in cooking, cleaning etc.[47]

Smith arrived in Hong Kong in August 1920 to work with Barber at the Pokfulam Foundling Home. She assisted in the work by giving the children English lessons and drilling and undertaking the housework.[48] However, after about six months' experience, it was decided that the foundling home should be closed.[49] Most of these foundlings were either adopted or married off, leaving only eleven who were moved to the CMS-operated Victoria Home and Orphanage.[50]

Why did the CMS not continue to run the Berlin Foundling House or perhaps integrate it with its own orphanage? Julia Stone, who has studied the history of the Berlin Foundling House suggests that it was because the CMS had no specific plan to rescue the foundlings.[51] This thesis agrees with Stone but points out that there were two stronger reasons. First of all, the Hong Kong government prohibited missionaries from continuing to bring foundlings and blind children from China to the colony.[52] The majority of the Berlin foundlings came from Fu Wing and Li Long, both located in Guangdong.[53] A second, perhaps more likely, reason is that the closure of the foundling house enabled the CMS to release Ebenezer for other purposes. As will be discussed later, in 1923, Ebenezer was let to the CMS-associated St. Stephen's College for $200 per month as temporary lodgings for the school's warden and boarders, until its new campus in Stanley was completed in 1928.

The letting of Ebenezer in 1923 was in fact a major step in Barnett's master

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47 Annual letter of Emily M. Barber, 7 November 1921, Annual Letters for Japan, China and Canada, 1917-1934 - Missionaries A-BA, Church Missionary Society Archive, Adam Matthew Digital, accessed 14 July 2023.

48 Annual letter of Nellie Smith, Hong Kong, 24 November 1921. East Asia Missions Part 20: Annual Letters for Japan, China and Canada, 1917-1934 - Missionaries SC - STN, Church Missionary Society Archive, Adam Matthew Digital, accessed 14 July 2023.

49 Annual letter of Emily M. Barber, 7 November 1921.

50 Rev. C. I. Blanchett, CMS South China to Saywell, 13 December 1922, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1923-1924, CRL.

51 Stone, *Chinese Basket Babies*, 9.

52 Severn to Viscount Milner, 23 June 1919, CO 323/794/11, TNA; Stubbs to Viscount Milner, 10 December 1920, CO 129/462, TNA.

53 Stone, *Chinese Basket Babies*, 9 -11.

plan to secure 'a small fortune' for St. Stephen's College.[54] By moving to Ebenezer, the college was able to sell the remainder of the lease and move out earlier from its old premises in Bonham Road. This meant that the college received the substantial sum of $200,000 from the Chinese buyer of its old premises'.[55] The loss of the property and its foundlings spelt the end of the long-established Berlin Foundling House. Rev Johann Müller, its former head, wrote with great regret that the foundling house, from its establishment in 1861, had always been dedicated to love, but was destroyed by hate at the end of the War.[56]

The Hildesheim Mission's blind work in Hong Kong went through a difficult period under CMS's care, but was able to survive. Its fifty-eight younger students were sent to Ming Sam School, a facility for the blind in Guangdong, run by a female American missionary, Dr Mary W. Niles.[57] Niles opened the Ming Sam School, the first school for the blind in China, in 1889, and single-handedly created the first Braille writing system in Cantonese.[58] Niles was awarded $4,840 per annum for five years to look after the Hildesheim blind students.[59] The 60 blind workers remained at the Blindenheim, the Hildesheim Mission's adult workshop and hostel for the blind in Kowloon. They were initially cared for by two female missionaries on loan from the Congregational Church's American Board Mission in Guangdong.[60] Some blind female workers reacted by 'rebellion and murmuring against foreign rule'. Some even left the Kowloon blind institution and went to China to 'tell their countrymen about Jesus'.[61] The Blindenheim suffered from a shortage of and frequent changes in caring staff.[62] Some women missionaries from the CMS Australia were recruited by Barnett to take charge of the Blindenheim. One of these women, Nancy Troon, wrote:

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54 Dr S. W. Tso, "St. Stephen's College – What It Seeks to Accomplish – Arch. Barnett's Work," *China Mail* (26 May 1925): 9.
55 Barnett to Hayward, 19 October 1923, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1923-1924, CRL.
56 Rev J. Müller to 'My dear Doctor', 15 January 1920, bmw1/1800/02, ELAB, accessed 21 June 2021, http://kab.scopearchiv.ch/Data/7/D35587.pdf.
57 Judd Barnett, "British not German," *South China Morning Post*, 24 June 1919, 6.
58 'Dr. Mary W. Niles', *The North-China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette* (25 January 1933): 137.
59 Barnett to the Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, 18 March 1919, CO 323/794/11, TNA.
60 Barnett to Baylis, 29 July 1919, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1920, CRL.
61 Annual Report of the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind for 1920/1921, 3, HML.
62 Minutes of Executive Committee, CMS South China, 7 November 1927 CMS/G1/CH1/O/1927, CRL.

> This Home consists of a large stone building, which stands on a desolate hillside, and was at one time occupied by German missionaries. It contains about 50 blind girls, who are being trained to make lace and shawls. Among these children is a little girl, Fun Ying, who is blind and deaf and dumb, who, before she came to the Home, lived the life of a wild beast in a heathen Chinese city.[63]

Apart from recruiting female missionaries from China and Australia, the mission also tried to recruit volunteers to take care of the residents of the Blindenheim. When its roof was damaged during a typhoon, it was actually two visitors staying at the premises who bravely rescued the blind workers.[64]

The Ebenezer blind students sent to Guangdong were more fortunate. They continued to receive 'God's Word' on Sundays and went to Sunday school and singing classes.[65] But they did not get on well with the Ming Sam School's Guangdong students. Niles tried to persuade the Hildesheim Mission to send someone to assist her. However, her request was not accepted due to the Hildesheim Mission's financial difficulties. The CMS also turned down her request to bring back to Hong Kong the Ebenezer students and house them in the Blindenheim.[66] Niles's plea for help was finally responded to by Agathe von Seelhorst, a former Ebenezer missionary who had been repatriated from Hong Kong in 1919. According to Bernhard Ortmann, Agathe von Seelhorst and her friends set up a new mission in Germany, the Canton Mission for the Blind, in October 1920.[67] She then used her private fortune to go to Guangdong as an independent missionary in February 1921 and lived with fourteen former Ebenezer students in Shiqi (or Shekki), Guangdong Province. Two German women joined Seelhorst's mission later on, and their mission came to be known among the Chinese as the 'Shiqi Mission for the Blind'.[68]

The Basel Mission's Hakka Christian congregation was also placed under CMS supervision. However, in Barnett's own words, the Hakka church had never officially been placed under him, and was 'left free' to carry on its own work. The church received a monthly stipend from the Official Receiver for its work, and

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63 "New Work in China", The Annual Report of The Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania - Victoria Branch for the Year ended 31 December 1921, 59.
64 Barnett to Hayward, 19 October 1923, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1923-1924, CRL.
65 Annual Report of the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind for 1920/1921, 3, HML.
66 Minutes of the Executive Committee, CMS South China, Nov 1920 – Aug 1921, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1920-21, CRL.
67 Bernhard Ortmann, *Die Hildesheimer Blindenmission in Hongkong*, 150-153.
68 Ibid.

even a monthly payment for the Basel Mission's cat.[69] According to a Basel missionary, Barnett once invited the Hakka congregation's leaders to a meeting, but his very authority to call a meeting was called into question.[70] This unwelcoming response could have been due to the fervent desire in the Hakka church community to maintain its own identity and not to be merged with the Cantonese Anglican Church.[71]

Mysterious No. 2 Accounts

Another instance which gave rise to questions about the CMS's ability to manage German mission property concerned a financial dispute involving Barnett and his personal assistant, Charles Gerken, in the early 1920s. After the War, the CMS experienced a period of severe retrenchment, which threatened the development of its South China Mission.[72] However, this retrenchment did not negatively affect CMS work in Hong Kong. Even the CMS Finance Committee was puzzled by the fact that the allowance still seemed to be largely adequate in Hong Kong.[73] Large amounts of money from unknown sources flew in and out of mission accounts. The lack of information about these cashflows and their associated projects raised concern among CMS missionaries in Hong Kong:

> We are in the fortunate position, in this Mission, of having men of affairs in our midst. These men often go ahead with schemes which have the approval of the L.G.B. [Local Governing Body] in theory. I say in theory because sometimes the L.G.B. knows where the money comes from, sometimes it does not. Sometimes the men who control the money place it at the disposal of the L.G.B., sometimes they have carried out their scheme with the general concurrence of the L.G.B, which body dared not do more than make suggestions, as it had no real knowledge of the source of supply, nor was it certain of its power to control certain funds…The L.G.B. has been carrying on, agreeing to this and that proposal, and not knowing where the money came from, except that it came from the 'No. 2 account'.[74]

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69 Barnett to A.L. Warnshuis of the IMC, 4 March 1922, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1921-1923, CRL.

70 Heinrich Vömel to the Director of the Basel Mission, 13 September 1923, A-03.12.2, BMA.

71 Wilhelm Schlatter & Hermann Witschi, *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1914-1919* (Basel: Basileia Verlag Basel, 1965), 278-279.

72 Tim Yung, "Forming Chinese Christian Identity: South China Anglicanism, 1849-1951," PhD thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2021, 93.

73 Finance Committee Minutes, 16 July 1924, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1925-1926, CRL.

74 Rev. C.I. Blanchett to Garfield Williams, 15 September 1922, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1922, CRL.

According to Rev. C. I. Blanchett, the 'No.2 account' was, in fact, a nickname for the CMS's local funds account.[75] It contained vast sums from the Hong Kong government and the British Chamber of Commerce, including a government grant for carrying out German mission work ($10,000 per annum).[76] Concern about mission finances led the 1921 CMS South China Conference to form a finance committee.[77] Blanchett stated that this committee held its first meeting on 11 April 1922. Barnett left Hong Kong for his furlough three days later. However, neither the acting secretary, Blanchett, nor the new Finance Committee of the CMS South China mission could access the 'No. 2 accounts'. Gerken, who was the secretary of the non-statutory three-member German Mission Trust and the CMS Finance Committee, found various reasons to delay delivering the mission's full financial statements to the new CMS Finance Committee for inspection.[78]

The secretive manner in which the financial accounts were managed was also of great concern to Bishop Duppuy, who wrote a strongly worded letter to Barnett in October 1922.[79] He claimed that he, as Bishop of Victoria, should have full financial information about anything connected with his diocese. However, neither the CMS South China mission nor he had sufficient information about the very large sums of money being managed by Barnett. Duppuy also questioned Gerken's role and his integrity, referring to a report by A. D. Stewart, headmaster of St. Paul's College, about suspected misappropriation of funds by Gerken, who had been involved in auditing the school's finances.[80] For about seven months, from time to time $50 was deducted from sums handed over to Gerken, with the instruction that they should be paid into the school account. Duppuy suggested that ultimate responsibility rested with Gerken, as this error was discovered in accounts which had already been audited by him. Despite the queries raised by Duppuy, Barnett insisted that Gerken and he were both free of blame. He stated that 'every item is on record' and traceable, although some entries might not be written out in full.[81] It was for this reason, he said, that Gerken was reluctant to

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75 Ibid.
76 A. D. Stewart and C.B. Shann to Garfield Williams, 27 September 1922, CMS/G1/CH1/O, CRL.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
79 C.P. Duppuy to Barnett, 26 October 1922, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1922, CRL.
80 Ibid.
81 Barnett to Saywell, 16 November 1922, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1922, CRL.

present the financial statements to the Finance Committee.

The matter took a dramatic turn in February 1923, when Gerken suddenly left Hong Kong for Australia, without informing anyone and taking the 'No. 2 account' books with him.[82] In a note he subsequently sent to Blanchett, the acting CMS secretary during Barnett's furlough, Gerken claimed that he had simply been following Barnett's instructions. This was reported to London, in the hope that the CMS home mission could persuade Gerken to submit the account books. However, even the CMS parent committee could do little. Gerken returned to Hong Kong only in late May 1923, two days before Barnett was due back from his furlough. Gerken gave Barnett the CMS mission accounts, which were duly passed on to a CMS-appointed auditor.[83]

This auditor's report could not be located in the CMS archives. There is also no clear evidence in mission records to indicate that Barnett was involved in any fraudulent activity. Barnett argued that Gerken's reported 'strangeness' might be due to 'ill-health and obstinacy'. However, the No. 2 Account-incident still raised questions about Barnett and Gerken's competence in terms of financial management. Following the incident, Gerken's position within the Hong Kong CMS was terminated.[84] A CMS missionary assumed responsibility for the accounts and the general management of CMS Mission finances.[85] A new clerical post was created to provide support to Barnett in Guangdong.[86] Barnett took sick leave for six months, leaving Hong Kong in May 1924.[87] In October 1925, around the time that Stubbs and Severn left Hong Kong, Barnett resigned, and his resignation was accepted by the CMS parent committee.[88] The changes in key personnel in the colonial government and the GMT brought fresh hope to the four German missions waiting to return to Hong Kong.

Mission records suggest that the misuse of GMT resources was not limited to Gerken or Barnett. In March 1925, the CMS South China's Acting Secretary,

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82 Blanchett to Saywell, 15 March 1923, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1923-1924, CRL.
83 Barnett to Rev. R.F. Lankester, 1 June 1923, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1923-24, CRL.
84 Minutes of the Finance Committee, CMS South China, 13 February 1923, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1923-24, CRL.
85 Minutes of the Executive Committee, CMS South China, 25 May 1923, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1923-24, CRL.
86 G.T. Manley to Barnett, 13 April 1923, CMS/G1/CH1/L3-4, CRL.
87 Hayward to Barnett, 11 April 1924, CMS/G1/CH1/L3-4, CRL.
88 CMS Committee Minutes, London, 14 October 1925, CMS/G/C1/88, CRL.

C. I. Blanchett reported to London that it would apply to the GMT for its payment of Nellie Smith's 12-month furlough expense and associated costs for a substitute worker.[89] He explained that the name of the missionary had been omitted in the CMS application because Nellie Smith was not doing German mission work. Smith came to Hong Kong to take care of the German mission foundlings. However, the demands of the work made it desirable for her to be transferred to Limchow, Guangdong Province. Records of CMS Australia confirm Blanchett's story. Smith arrived in August 1920 to take up German mission work. She was transferred to the Victoria Home and Orphanage in September 1921, and then to Limchow, China, in the following year. All her annual letters from 1923 onwards were sent from Limchow.[90] It was unfair to the four German missions that they had to pay for the furlough expenses of an individual who had only briefly carried out German mission work in Hong Kong a few years back. Moreover, there was also a possible conflict of interest given that the person dealing with the application - Rev. C. B. Shann the GMT Secretary - was himself a CMS missionary.[91]

LMS Trusteeship of German Missions in Hong Kong

Compared with their CMS counterparts, the LMS missionaries in Hong Kong had a closer relationship with German missionaries. However, Rev. Thomas W. Pearce of the LMS – also a GMT trustee – found his hands tied by the colonial government in terms of rules and policymaking, and he could do little in the interests of the German missions. Pearce's co-workers at the LMS who were associated with Ying Wa College, and the Dao Ji Church tried to profit from the acquisition and a secretive resale of a Rhenish Mission building, which did not reflect well on the LMS representative as a German mission trustee.

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89 Blanchett to Hayward, 21 March 1925, CMS/GI/CH1/O/1925-1926, CRL.

90 Annual letters of Nellie Smith for 1921(24 November 2021), 1923 (10 November 1923), 1924(1 December 1924) and 1926 (13 November 1926), East Asia Missions Part 20: Annual Letters for Japan, China and Canada, 1917-1934 - Missionaries SC - STN, Church Missionary Society Archive, Adam Matthew Digital, accessed 14 July 2023.

91 Blanchett to Hayward, 5 May 1925, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1926/P4, CRL.

Pearce was unlike Barnett in several respects. While Barnett was an administrator or educator in his approach, Pearce was a zealous evangelist. When he was sent to Guangdong in November 1879, Pearce had thrown himself into evangelical work and the study of Chinese language and literature.[92] This later won him significant recognition among Chinese scholars, particularly in respect of his translation of Chinese classics and his participation in the translation of the Union Wenli version of the Chinese Bible. While Barnett was nurturing his relationship with colonial officials and British businessmen, Pearce was energetically involved in local and overseas missionary circles. He was a frequent contributor to the *Chinese Recorder*, a missionary magazine in which Barnett's name never appeared.[93] Pearce also made his mark at the 1900 Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York with his speech about education as a vehicle for evangelism.[94]

After his transfer to Hong Kong in 1893, Pearce continued to devote himself fully to evangelical work among the Chinese. He was the respected pastor of the LMS-supported but self-financed Chinese Dao Ji (or To Tsai) Church 道濟會堂 (later renamed the He Yi Church or Hop Yat Church 合一堂), chaplain to the Chinese section of Victoria Gaol, and warden of Morrison Hall, the LMS hostel for Hong Kong University students. Even many years later, Pearce's contribution to the Dao Ji Church was still held in high esteem by its leaders, particularly because of his instrumental support for the re-opening of Ying Wa College in 1914, and the erection of a new church building in Bonham Road in 1926.[95] Pearce worked at the Dao Ji Church and Morrison Hall, and he was also a generous donor to the two institutions. From 1921 onwards, Pearce stopped

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92 "In Remembrance – Dr T.W. Pearce," *The Chinese Recorder*, 70 (February 1939): 124-125.

93 Kathleen L. Lodwick, *The Chinese Recorder Index: A Guide to Christian Missions in Asia (1867-1941)*, Vol. 1 (Wilmington, DC: Del. Scholarly Resources, 1986), 24 and 377-378.

94 T.W. Pearce, "Education as an Evangelistic Agency," *Ecumenical Missionary Conference (1900)*, Vol. 2 (London: Religious Tract Society, 1900), 119-120.

95 Section 15 of Chapter 7: "Piyaoshi mushi 皮堯士牧師 [Rev. T.W. Pearce]," in *Xianggang jidujiaohui shi*, 香港基督教會史 [The History of Protestant Churches in Hong Kong], ed. Liu Yue-sheng 劉粵聲 (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Chinese Church Union 1941), 274-277.

drawing his LMS salary so that funds would be available to send an additional missionary to Hong Kong.[96] Prior to his retirement in 1930, Pearce made a generous gift of money for the addition of a new wing to Morrison Hall. His act of generosity remained anonymous until after his death in 1938.[97] However, as will be discussed later, his obvious affection for and dedication to his Chinese Christian congregation raised suspicions about a conflict of interest with his trusteeship of German mission property.

German Mission Work under LMS Custodianship

The LMS missionaries in South China enjoyed a positive relationship with the German missions there. Just a few months before the War, the LMS missionary H.R. Wells was collaborating with German missionaries on a project to produce and distribute Christian literature and develop a book depot for missionaries.[98] Although the onset of the War halted this collaborative project, it unexpectedly created another type of partnership when the Hong Kong government appointed Pearce as guardian of the Chinese Rhenish Church, a role which he performed from 1919 to 1927.[99] Pearce was no stranger to this church. The Rhenish Mission Inspector, Edward Kriele, described him in a letter as 'a family friend of the Hongkong station'. He also wrote that:

> There was perhaps hardly any special occasion of any kind in the Rhenish Mission house at Hongkong and in its congregation, to which, as a matter of course, Mr. Pearce was not invited and at which he did not appear. … Nor do we know anyone whom we would rather have seen in this position [as GMT trustee] than this old and warm friend of our Mission.[100]

In another letter, Kriele stated, 'We are confident that he [Pearce] will stand by our sorely oppressed Mission, not only with his counsel, but if the opportunity

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96 "Obituary – Rev. T. W. Pearce Deeply Mourned," *South China Morning Post* (12 October 1938): 11.

97 "Memory Honoured – Generous Giver Reveals His Identity - Rev. T.W. Pearce," *South China Morning Post* (29 September 1939): 8.

98 "Hongkong Missionary Association: The Value of Christian Literatures," *South China Morning Post* (8 April 1914): 7.

99 *Xianggang lixianhui nianbao 1919* 香港禮賢會年報 1919 [Annual Report of the Hong Kong Rhenish Mission for 1919] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Rhenish Mission, 1920), 4-5.

100 Kriele to Hawkins, 13 July 1921, CWM/LMS/Home Office/Incoming Correspondence, Box 21 (1921), SOAS.

occurs, with deeds.'.[101] Pearce had been a friend of Rev. Immanuel G. Genähr, the veteran Rhenish missionary to China. for over 40 years. Genähr was the son of Ferdinand Genähr, the first Rhenish missionary to China.[102] Pearce himself freely admitted that his personal feelings about his new responsibilities were influenced by his collaboration with German missionaries before the War.[103] He pledged that he would treat the Chinese Rhenish Church as if it was his own, doing what he could to promote its progress and prosperity:

> He [Pearce] will seek to advise, encourage and inspire to service in the Gospel on the like ordered lines and in accordance with such methods as are approved by him in fullest consultation with the appointed and recognised leaders of the Chinese Christian community formerly belonging to the Rhenish Mission in Hongkong.[104]

Under the guardianship of Pearce, the Chinese Rhenish Church maintained its autonomy and self-management, and was financed by its Chinese Christians and managed by its elders and its Chinese clergy.[105] Pearce was particularly impressed by the church's energetic pastor, Rev. Wang Ai-tang (or Wong Oi Tong 王愛棠). He was the son of Wang Yuan-chen (王元琛), who had been baptised by Gützlaff in 1847 and had helped establish the Rhenish Mission's Cantonese Christian community in China.[106] After working with him for twelve months, Pearce recognised Wong's skill in handling a 'trying and delicate situation', particularly in respect of the issues involving the colonial authority and their former German advisers.[107] In the following year, Pearce reported yet another year of satisfying collegial collaboration with 'the able and devoted Chinese pastor, who has served the Church with steady zeal and fidelity

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101 Kriele to Hawkins, 6 January 1922, CWM/LMS/Home/Incoming Correspondences, Box 22 (1922), SOAS.

102 Genähr to Kriele, 3 October 1925, File 2.195, Box 7, Personal file of Dr. Immanuel Genähr (1856-1937), AMS.

103 Pearce to Lenwood, 22 November 1920, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence/Box 22, 1920-1922, SOAS.

104 Pearce's report on "Relations of the Senior Missionary with the Chinese Christian Community formerly belonging to the (German) Rhenish Mission in the Colony", 31 December 1919, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports/Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

105 Ko Yuk-hang, "From Native to Independent Churches," MA dissertation, University of Hong Kong, 2010, 41.

106 Lutz, *Opening China*, 303.

107 Pearce's report on "This L.M.S. Local Mission in relation with Hongkong German Missions' control and administration; with special reference to the present Ying Wa College premises as a German Missions Building," 31 December 1920, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

throughout the trying period'.[108] Pearce indicated that he only needed to be involved in discussions where guidance as to government and community relations was needed. The Chinese Rhenish Church, he stated, operated successfully along the lines adopted by previous German missionaries. Although the additional responsibility meant an increased workload for him, Pearce was nevertheless grateful for the opportunity, describing it as 'an enduring consolatory memory' that enriched his missionary experience in the colony.[109]

There is no evidence to suggest that the LMS in Hong Kong ever put forward the notion of a proposed merging of the Chinese Rhenish Church and the Dao Ji Church, even though both directed their evangelical work towards Cantonese people. There was, however, collaboration between the two churches. The Rhenish Mission's church building had been used for Sunday-evening services in English, especially for university and other students.[110] Pastor Wong of the Rhenish Church also offered assistance to the LMS-associated Ying Wa Girls' School.[111] The Rhenish Mission's Chinese church was also happy about its connection and relationship with Pearce. Its leaders went to Pearce for advice on any major issues arising from the colonial authority, including the order by the Hong Kong government that they should submit a detailed report of their properties in 1919.[112] Pearce also persuaded the Hong Kong government to give the rental income from the Rhenish Mission properties to the underfunded Chinese Rhenish Church.[113] In its official history, the Chinese Rhenish Church expressed appreciation for Pearce's support. It enabled the church to move

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[108] Pearce's report on "The London Missionary Society, Hongkong, in relation with ex-German Missions in the Colony," 31 December 1921, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Pearce's report on "The Senior Missionary in Hongkong of the London Missionary Society in relations with German missions operating in the Colony," 16 February 1923, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

[111] Helen Davies's report on "Ying Wa Girls' School", 31 December 1924, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 6 (1924–1934), SOAS.

[112] Lixianhui zhili huiyian jilu 1919 禮賢會值理會議案記錄 1919 年 [Minutes of the Rhenish Church General Committee], 6 July 1919, CRCHK.

[113] Lixianhui zhili huiyian jilu 禮賢會值理會議案記錄 [Minutes of the Rhenish Church General Committee], 7 September 1919, CRCHK.

towards self-management 'without personnel and financial difficulties'.[114] Gratitude is also reflected in the Chinese Rhenish Church's 2014 publication commemorating its 100th anniversary, in which Pearce is listed along with Germans and Chinese as one of the church's previous pastors.[115]

The real challenges for Pearce arose from issues unrelated to the Chinese Rhenish Church. These were to do with a perceived conflict of interest arising from his dual role as a government-appointed trustee managing German mission property in Hong Kong, and a representative of his LMS home board in London. The trustee role required him to support and show loyalty to the colonial administration which had appointed him, while the LMS role demanded that he act in the spirit of Christian unity and conscience. Pearce was clearly aware of the complexity of his dual role and the sensitivities associated with it. In his first 1919 report about the trusteeship of German mission work, Pearce assured the board that 'his procedure, at all essential points, interpreted, fully and clearly, the spirit of the Society [the LMS]'.[116] Pearce also highlighted the danger of 'misrepresenting or failing to represent the attitudes of the board towards the Colonial Government on the one hand and towards Protestant Missions in Hongkong on the other'.[117]

During the whole period of German mission trusteeship, various concerned parties approached Pearce for information, for his help in making progress in returning to the colony and, sometimes, to air grievances about the Hong Kong government's attitude towards German missions in the colony.[118] However, most

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114 'Lixian xianxian chuanle - Wangaitang mushi chuanle' 禮賢先賢傳略 - 王愛棠牧師傳略[Biography of Rhenish Church Sages - Biography of Revered Wang Ai-tang], in *Lixianhui zai hua chuanjiao shi 1847-1947* 禮賢會在華傳教史 1847-1947 [The History of the Rhenish Mission in China 1847-1947] ed. Luo Yanbin 羅彥彬 (Hong Kong: Chinese Rhenish Church Hong Kong, 1968), 163-164.

115 'Liren mushi' 歷任牧師 [List of Previous Pastors] , *Bainian 1914-2014 – Lixianhui xianggangtang jiantang yibainian tekan* 百年 1914-2014 – 禮賢會香港堂建堂一百年特刊 [The Century 1914 – 2014, the Special Publication for the 100th Anniversary of the Erection of the Chinese Rhenish Mission Hong Kong Chapel (Hong Kong: CRCHK, 2014), 71-72.

116 Pearce's report on 'Relations with the Chinese Christian Community formerly belonging to the Rhenish Mission', 31 December 1919, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

117 Ibid.

118 Pearce's report on "The Senior Missionary in Hongkong of the London Missionary Society, in relation with German Missions", 31 December 1922, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports/Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

of the time, those who approached Pearce did not get the answers they wanted. Pearce merely replied that he would discuss the issue with the other trustees or refer the query to the Hong Kong government.[119] The lack of progress may not have been the fault of Pearce, who had sincerely tried to build bridges between those making these enquiries and other more powerful people in Hong Kong, including Barnett, Bishop Duppuy, and Hong Kong government officials. However, being a non-official on the board of trustees, as Pearce described, was 'distinctly circumscribed and much restricted'.[120] In his 1922 letter to the LMS foreign secretary, Hawkins, Pearce talked about the limitation of his personal influence as far as German mission matters in Hong Kong were concerned. He hoped that the two British missions could join together to make a change. He wrote:

> You will, I am sure put yourself in my place, by the exercise of imagination and sympathy, realising my limitations as not in the sphere of good-will or brotherly love but as lying between lines of procedure which this Colonial Government declares to be drawn by the Imperial Authorities in England…. Certainly, one local missionary, even a Bishop, can do little in the way of successful representation to this Government. Associated members of the two missions, acting together, may however, in due course influence Governmental action in interpreting and applying the Treaty.[121]

The problem, however, was that the whole trusteeship arrangement was controlled by the Hong Kong government officials from the very beginning. Pearce told his London colleague that interpreting Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles was up to the colony's Attorney General, and that the GMT was guided regarding the procedure by the advice of the Colonial Secretary.[122] The trustees could therefore hardly question or ignore such authority, he said. However, Pearce's understanding was obviously not in line with the objective of Article 438, which was to keep German mission property away from the control of colonial government.

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[119] Bitzer to Director of the Basel Mission, 13 December 1920, A-3.1.1b, BMA.

[120] Pearce to Hawkins, 28 February 1922, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence/Box 22 (1920-1922), SOAS.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Pearce to Lenwood, Foreign Secretary of LMS, 20 May 1924, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence/Box 23, 1924, SOAS.

Nevertheless, Pearce did his best to help. In 1926, the Rhenish Mission's China station had very severe financial problems.[123] To save his mission from bankruptcy, Genähr contacted Pearce to ask for help in obtaining partial funding from Hong Kong. Pearce immediately agreed to press for a financial settlement, adding that, 'if I could really accomplish something effective, I should be a happier man. Few things in my experience have been more disappointing than this Trusteeship.'[124] Subsequently, the Rhenish Mission received a cheque for $35,000 from the GMT secretary, who was possibly urged by Pearce to do something. The secretary also apologised for the delay in providing 'sorely needed relief'.[125]

In general, despite the limitations he was only too aware of, Pearce did all he could to safeguard the interests of the Rhenish Mission and its Chinese church in Hong Kong. When Pearce resigned as guardian of the Chinese Rhenish Church in Hong Kong in early 1928, he said to Genähr, 'I trust you will find no irregularities were introduced or interests allowed to suffer through my connection with its work during your absence.'[126] In return, Genähr sent a brief and polite letter the following day, thanking Pearce for his work in the interests of the Chinese Rhenish Church over the past year.[127] If the 1923 incident connected with Ying Wa College, as described below had not happened, Genähr's gratitude would probably have been more effusive.

Ying Wa College and Craigellachie

In 1923, the LMS-associated Ying Wa College received an offer from the GMT trustees to purchase Craigellachie, the Rhenish Mission building the College occupied. This transaction seemed to be beneficial to both the LMS and the financially challenged Rhenish Mission. However, as the events turned out, the

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123 Genähr to Pearce, 10 February 1926, File 2.195, Box 7, Personal file of Dr. Immanuel Genähr (1856-1937), AMS.

124 Pearce to Genähr, 19 February 1926, File 2.195, Box 7, Personal file of Dr. Immanuel Genähr (1856-1937), AMS.

125 Genähr to Kriele, 22 February 1926, in which he quoted a letter from J. Horace Johnston, File 2.195, Box 7, Personal file of Dr. Immanuel Genähr (1856-1937), AMS.

126 Pearce to Genähr, 16 January 1928, File 2.195, Box 7, Personal file of Dr. Immanuel Genähr (1856-1937), AMS.

127 Genähr to Pearce,17 January 1928, File 2.195, Box 7, Personal file of Dr. Immanuel Genähr (1856-1937), AMS.

Ying Wa College was in negotiations secretly with a non-mission, private buyer to resell Craigellachie for a considerable profit. When this was exposed, it triggered serious conflicts within LMS itself, and between the LMS and the Rhenish Mission.

Ying Wa College could trace its origins back to the Anglo-Chinese College established by the first Protestant missionaries to China, Robert Morrison and William Milne, at Malacca, Malaya, in 1818.[128] When the two began their work in Macau and Guangzhou in the early nineteenth century, China was not accepting of Christian missions in its territory. With its significant Chinese community and strategic geographical location, Malacca was chosen by Morrison as the Southeast Asia headquarters for missionary training and the printing of evangelical publications, to prepare 'for entering China with more effect'.[129] In 1843, soon after Hong Kong became a British colony, the LMS board decided to move the Anglo-Chinese College and the LMS mission headquarters from Malacca to Hong Kong.[130] The Anglo-Chinese College was converted into a theological seminary to train up bilingual Chinese Christian catechists. However, the attempt failed, because the vast majority of the seminary's graduates chose to work for the government or the commercial sector rather than the Church. The college's activities were interrupted by the second Opium War (or the Anglo-French War), and this led to the closure of this LMS Anglo-Chinese school in 1856.[131] The closure was a major disappointment to the LMS Chinese congregation in Hong Kong, but they never stopped trying to give their children the opportunity of a western education.

After the 1911 Xinhai revolution, Christian education became a matter of great importance for Protestant missions in China. At the request of the LMS Chinese congregation, the LMS board agreed to reopen an Anglo-Chinese school

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[128] Brian Harrison, *Waiting for China – The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, 1818-1843, and Early Nineteeth-Century Missions* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1979), 54.

[129] Ibid, 17-21.

[130] Section 1 of Chapter 4: Yinghua shuyuan 英華書院[Ying Wa College]', in *Xianggang jidujiaohui shi*, 155.

[131] Bi zai ying hua Publication Committee, 葡載英華=*Two Centuries of Excellence: The Bicentennial History of Ying Wa College* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing H.K, 2018), 248-251.

in Hong Kong.[132] The Dao Ji Church offered to finance all the operational costs of the new Anglo-Chinese school, except for the salaries of missionaries. Ying Wa College was opened on 9 February 1914, but, from the outset, it suffered from lack of funding. By 1916, the college had already accumulated a debt of $2,000, and half of this sum was loaned from the Dao Ji Church members. A new executive committee headed by the church's new pastor, Zhang Zuling, was set up to improve the school's finances and management.[133]

Another difficulty facing Ying Wa College was that it had no stable school building. The school had to move three times in its first three years, until it found a more permanent home at Craigellachie, the mission house of the Rhenish Mission, in 1916.[134] Ying Wa College paid a very reasonable monthly rent of $200 for it on a three-month renewable contract.[135] Securing the Craigellachie site for the Ying Wa College in 1916 was by no means easy, and Pearce told his London colleagues that 'a sister mission far stronger' than the LMS in relation to local educational activities (which could only have been the CMS) had also made a request for the site, but he, Pearce, was first in line.[136]

Craigellachie was a large site in Bonham Road, occupying 28,000 square feet, with a lease of 999 years from 1862. The Rhenish Mission had acquired the premises for $16,000 in 1899 as its mission headquarters and a rest house for visiting missionaries.[137] The government estimated in 1919 that the market value of the Craigellachie site was $70,000, once its buildings were demolished.[138] In the 1920s, the continuous rise in housing prices in Hong Kong gave rise to concern among Ying Wa College and the Dao Ji Church leaders. They feared that Craigellachie would be disposed of by its owner, and that it would be difficult for Ying Wa College to find another site at an affordable rent. Therefore, when the

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[132] Minutes of the Occasional Committee Meeting, LMS, 8 Jan 1912, CMW/LMS/Home/Foreign Occasional Committee Minutes/Box 2 (1904-1918), SOAS.

[133] Arnold Hughes' report on Ying Wa College (1914-1916), 31 July 1916, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports/Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

[134] Bi zhai ying hua Publication Committee, 葡載英華=*Two Centuries of Excellence*, 272.

[135] Pearce's report on the Relations with the Ex-German Missions in the Colony (31 December 1921), CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

[136] Pearce's 1922 report on "German Missions" (31 December 1922), CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

[137] Severn to Viscount Milner, 7 April 1919, CO 323/793/33, TNA.

[138] Kriele to 'Honoured Sirs and Dear Brothers', 1 July 1921, CWM/LMS/Home Office/Incoming Correspondences, Box 21 (1921), SOAS.

Hong Kong government speeded up its sale of German mission properties in the colony, LMS missionaries were quick to act.

In October 1920, Pearce secured Craigellachie for the LMS as a property to be retained for its original purpose of mission work.[139] Ying Wa College was regarded as a 'continuation institution' with rights and privileges to be continued in a 'German Missions Building'.[140] He and his colleagues were pleased that the immediate future of the college would be assured by its occupation of Craigellachie which was 'spacious, well-located and in other respects not unsuitable'. It was the LMS South China mission's desire to 'hold on to Craigellachie in the Bonham Road' until it could have its own school building. However, the actions of the Hong Kong government, particularly its acquisition of the Berlin Foundling House, generated unease in Europe. Letters flooded into Pearce's office, seeking updates on the status of German mission property in Hong Kong, including those from the LMS foreign secretary Lenwood and Oldham. Pearce apparently trusted the information provided by the Hong Kong government, arguing that the arrangements in Hong Kong were based on clear instructions from the British government, which applied to all British territories.[141] However his words did little to allay concerns about the continuity of German missions in Hong Kong.

The Rhenish Mission inspector and director, Edward Kriele, wrote to the LMS London in mid-1921, asking pointedly about the occupation of Craigellachie by Ying Wa College.[142] He revealed in frankness the financial difficulty of their stations in China whose accumulated debts of over $106,000, which could not be met by its Chinese church offerings and overseas donations. Other than receiving $500 two or three times during the early stages of the war, the Rhenish Mission had received no rental income deriving from Hong Kong. Kriele asked the LMS

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139 Pearce to Hawkins, 12 October 1920, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 22 (1920-1922), SOAS.

140 Pearce's report on 'This L.M.S. Local Mission in relation with Hongkong German Missions' control and administration; with special reference to the present Ying Wa College premises as a German Missions' Building', 31 December 1920, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

141 Pearce to Lenwood, 22 November 1920, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 22 (1920-1922), SOAS.

142 Kriele to 'Honoured Sirs and Dear Brothers' (13 July 1921), CWM/LMS/Home Office/Incoming Correspondence, Box 21 (1921), SOAS.

to do whatever was in their power to avoid the complete destruction of Rhenish Mission work in China. Responding to queries from Europe, Pearce insisted that the British missionaries in Hong Kong had always treated German missions in the spirit of Christianity:

> [A]fter the outbreak of war, so long as German missionaries were permitted to reside in Hongkong, there was a mutual understanding, penetrated by a thoroughly Christian spirit. German missionaries were treated as brethren; no 'root of bitterness' was so far as we could judge, planted in soil prepared by the conflict in Europe, and my feeling is that British missionaries were not wanting in any essential attitude toward or treatment of their co-workers belonging to the most formidable of the enemy nations.[143]

Regarding the renting of Craigellachie, Pearce also insisted that it was legitimate and morally acceptable for the LMS-associated school to occupy a German mission property on condition that it would continue to be used for missionary purposes. However, what happened later threw such high moral standing into question.

In 1924, the Ying Wa College headmaster, Rev. L.G. Phillips, reported to London that he was considering purchasing Craigellachie outright.[144] The GMT had offered the premises for sale for $250,000, which was a bargain, considering the steeply rising property prices in Hong Kong. Phillips indicated that the school committee wanted to buy Craigellachie if the GMT would allow its resale within a year or two, the proceeds to be used to build a new and much larger school in Kowloon. Phillips did not specify why a condition of the permission to re-sell was needed and, at the time, nobody seemed concerned about this. Only later did Phillips admit that, from the outset, the Ying Wa College committee had already found some prospective buyers who had offered to buy Craigellachie for $460,000.[145]

Even without knowing about this, Lenwood had misforgivings about the proposed acquisition, and raised queries to his colleagues in Hong Kong on the

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143 Pearce's report on 'The London Missionary Society, Hongkong, in relation to ex-German Missions in the Colony', 31 December 1921, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

144 Phillips to Lenwood on the proposal for the acquisition of the Ying Wa College premises, 25 January 1924, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 23 (1924), SOAS.

145 Phillips to Lenwood, 6 July 1924, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 23 (1924), SOAS.

subject. His letter has not survived in the archives but, from Pearce's subsequent reply, it can be deduced that Lenwood was doubtful about the Christian principles of the British missionary trustees.[146] In his reply, Pearce vigorously defended the legitimacy of Ying Wa College's attempt and the integrity of the GMT. He argued that the purchase price of $250,000 was based on a valuation by a government-appointed firm and was three times the value of the same premises before the War. However, Pearce admitted that Craigellachie might actually fetch 'a startling amount' if it was to be or had been put up for public auction. Pearce gave his personal assurance that, despite his own misgivings about Ying Wa College and its development, nothing would persuade him to support plans which would reflect badly on or discredit the LMS in Hong Kong or beyond.

Lenwood also sought the views of the Rhenish Mission on the proposed acquisition of Craigellachie.[147] He received a positive reply from Kriele who considered the sale a great help to the Rhenish Mission's China ministry, 'perhaps even its salvation from ruin'.[148] Kriele also made it clear that he did not object to the Ying Wa College 's intention to resell the premises for profit at a later date. Given the Rhenish Mission's financial problems, Kriele said that it was better to accept the proposal said. He quoted a well-known proverb: 'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush' and joked that the Rhenish Mission did not even have a bird in its hand.

In late June 1924, everything was agreed, pending the Hong Kong government's official approval of the acquisition plans. However, the agreement was nullified by a letter sent by the Rhenish Mission's Rev. Maus in China:

> Dr. Genähr was last week in Hongkong and heard a rumour, though it is not known whether it is true. It is said that the Trustees have sold our house to the Chinese branch of the London Mission for 240,000 Dollars. The latter are said to have sold it again immediately to a heathen Chinese for $450,000. This can and must not be true. For such profiteering with German Mission property would be unheard of.[149]

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146 Pearce to Lenwood, 20 May 1924, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 23 (1924), SOAS.

147 Lenwood to Kriele, 6 June 1924, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 23, (1924), SOAS.

148 Kriele to Lenwood, 10 June 1924, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 23, (1924), SOAS.

149 Kriele to Lenwood, 26 June 1924, in which he quoted Rev. Maus's letter, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 23 (1924), SOAS.

Kriele relayed the news to Lenwood immediately, describing the transaction as 'hardly brotherly'.[150] He accepted that Craigellachie might be re-sold, but never for a moment did he think that there would be such large a difference in price. An investigation was immediately launched by the LMS home mission in London. This was the first time the existence of the prospective buyers and the offer of $460,000 were revealed. Facing a host of queries, Phillips argued that the arrangement was not unfair to the German owners:

> The [Ying Wa College's] Committee felt that if it paid the full price determined by an independent Property Valuer – a price probably about four times as much as the property was worth in 1914, it would be entirely without any unfairness to resell at a profit, especially as the Germans were not able themselves to take advantage of the temporary boom in property.[151]

It would be helpful and informative as background to explain the rationale behind this secretive arrangement between the GMT, Ying Wa College and the prospective commercial buyer. Under Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, a direct sale of Craigellachie by the GMT to a non-missionary buyer would be difficult to justify, as the article stipulated that any German mission property must continue to be used for mission purposes. However, the sale of Craigellachie to Ying Wa College, which was a mission school, could not be challenged, and the sale price could justifiably be set at a lower level. Once the premises were acquired by Ying Wa College, however, they would no longer constitute a 'German mission building' and could be sold to a commercial buyer or buyers at any price. This arrangement, if it proceeded, would have been beneficial to the GMT, Ying Wa College, and the prospective buyer or buyers. It would have allowed the GMT to sell the premises quickly without contravening Article 438; it would have allowed the non-mission buyer/buyers to designate Craigellachie for other uses, and the sale would probably be at lower price than any price fetched at public auction; finally, this arrangement would have enabled Ying Wa College to secure its school site for a period of time and, like St. Stephen's College, make a huge profit for its future building/buildings.

At the LMS South China mission's Executive Committee meeting on 2 August 1924, Zhang Zhu-ling on behalf of the Ying Wa College school

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150 Ibid.

151 Phillips to Lenwood, 6 July 1924, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 23 (1924), SOAS.

committee, strongly denied that the arrangement was unfair to the Rhenish Mission.[152] His position was particularly noteworthy because of his strong German mission background. He had been trained by the Basel Mission, and his father had been a famous pastor in the Hakka church.[153] Zhang stated that the school committee had always believed that they were buying Craigellachie from the Hong Kong government. It had no idea, he said, after the deal was concluded, that the proceeds would or would not be passed to the Rhenish Mission. There was no intention to make a profit from the Rhenish Mission, Cheung claimed. On the contrary, he maintained, the school committee thought that the deal would allow the college to carry on the work that the Rhenish Mission had been prevented from undertaking during the War. He also maintained that:

> [T]he School Committee … had made provision in their scheme for 20 scholarships to be given to scholars from the country schools of the Rhenish Mission to enable them to study in Hong Kong, and to have a representative of that Mission on their Board of Directors.[154]

Given the social, technological, and communication limitations of the 1920s, it is possible that Zhang and other school committee leaders were ignorant of the British government's enemy mission policy and Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles. However, given how near Hong Kong was to the Chinese mainland and the close connections between German mission-related churches, it is not unreasonable to assume that the school committee should have been fully aware of the financial difficulties of the Rhenish Mission in China. In view of this, the committee's secretive plan to acquire Craigellachie and resell it for a quick profit of eighty per cent was nevertheless morally controversial.

However, when Zhang wrote about this issue many years later, he still adhered to the same argument.[155] He expressed disappointment about the Rhenish

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[152] Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, LMS South China, 2 August 1924, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 23(1924), SOAS.

[153] Pearce's annual report for 1913, 31 December 1913, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 5 (1913-1923), SOAS.

[154] W.W. Clayson and Alex Baxter to Lenwood (5 August 1924), enclosing the Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, CMS South China on 2 August 1924 CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 23 (1924), SOAS.

[155] Haoran 浩然 (pseudonym of Li Zhi-gang), "Jiaohui jinxi - Zhang Zhuling muishi zhuanxie yinghua shuyuan xiao shi" 教會今昔 - 張祝齡牧師撰寫英華書院校史 [Past and Present of the Church – The Writing of the School History for Ying Wa College], *Jidujiao zhoubao* 基督教週報, 2193 (3 September 2006), accessed 18 May 2022, http://christianweekly.net/2006/ti20060903.htm.

Mission's complaint to LMS headquarters in London.[156] He posited that Ying Wa College should be complimented on the contribution it had made to the preservation of Craigellachie as a 'German Mission Building', rather than be accused of any wrongdoing. Recent histories written and published by the Ying Wa College Old Boys' Association have adopted Zhang's views.[157]

The subsequent historical development of Ying Wa College is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is however noteworthy that, Ying Wa College's plan to purchase Craigellachie was suspended because of opposition by the Rhenish Mission, the government's ruling that any sale of Craigellachie should be done via public auction and the unexpected dip in the value of Hong Kong's property market as a result of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike.[158] Nevertheless, with the Hong Kong government's approval, Ying Wa College continued to occupy Craigellachie until 1928, when it moved to its new school building in Mongkok.[159]

The Ying Wa College issue is just one illustration of the tensions and conflicts which existed between the British missionary trustees in Hong Kong and their London headquarters regarding how German mission property affairs should be handled. This type of confrontation between overseas-based missionaries and their headquarters was not unheard of in Protestant mission history. In most cases, 'the man on the spot' was thought to be best placed to make decisions, as suggested by Robert Morrison, who was the first to come up with this notion.[160] However, in the particular case of Ying Wa College's proposed acquisition of Craigellachie, it was headquarters staff like Lenwood – who was familiar with the status of German missions and had been personally involved in the drawing up of Article 438 – who were considered best placed to decide how German mission property should be handled. Phillips the Ying Wa College headmaster was one

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156 Section 1 of Chapter 4: 'Yinghua shuyuan 英華書院[Ying Wa College]', *Xiangang jidujiaohui shi*, 155-158.

157 Lau Siu-lun 劉紹麟, *Sanctuary of Excellence - The History of Ying Wa College* (Hong Kong: Ying Wa College Old Boys' Association, 2001); Bi zaii ying hua Publication Committee, 葡載英華=*Two Centuries of Excellence: The Bicentennial History of Ying Wa College*, (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing H.K, 2018).

158 W.W. Clayson and Alex Baxter to Lenwood (5 August 1924), enclosing the Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, CMS South China on 2 August 1924 CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 23 (1924), SOAS.

159 Lau Siu-lun 劉紹麟, *Sanctuary of Excellence - The History of Ying Wa College*, 267-268.

160 Harrison, *Waiting for China*, 49.

Hong Kong-based missionary who regretted that the sale had not taken place. In his report for 1924, he lamented about the missed opportunity:

> Other English Missions are still carrying on peacefully in German Mission premises [presumably referring to St. Stephen's College, which occupied Ebenezer] and probably it will be years before the order comes from the Government that they must be vacated. [161]

Phillips's views were apparently not shared by the LMS Foreign Secretary in London, F.H. Hawkins, who asked Lenwood to respond to Phillips. In his response, Lenwood described the Ying Wa College issue as 'one of the most worrying things' he had had to deal with at LMS headquarters in London.[162] He did not wish to say so, but 'a report is a matter of record', and if Phillips' 1924 report should become an official record, there were one or two things he thought he ought to say. Lenwood suggested that many things indicated that Ying Wa College could have paid $250,000 for Craigellachie but was unable to sell it on for a sum sufficiently above that to pay the interest required. Very importantly, Lenwood wrote:

> Your report does not mention that the profit you were hoping to make on a purchase of $250,000 was $200,000 - 80% - and that from another Mission [the Rhenish Mission]. I think that for the credit of everyone concerned, you are well advised to say as little about that as possible. I am thankful the [LMS] Board has never got to know that some of its missionaries could approve such a scheme.[163]

Lenwood's statement suggested that sensitive facts surrounding the Ying Wa College issue had not been disclosed in full to the LMS board. Lenwood resigned from his LMS position very shortly after the Ying Wa College issue had come to light. It was only many years later, that people recognised that his resignation was due to his theological struggle over Jesus' divine sonship.[164] In his farewell letter, Lenwood appeared still to be troubled by his Hong Kong experience. He mentioned an unusual subject, i.e., Christian standards and the danger of a Christian organisation lowering its standards:

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161 Phillips' annual report on Ying Wa College for 1924, Hong Kong, 31 December 1924, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 6 (1924-1934), SOAS.

162 Lenwood to Phillips, 28 March 1925, CWM/LMS/South China/Reports, Box 6 (1924-1934), SOAS.

163 Ibid.

164 Brian Stanley, "Manliness and Mission: Frank Lenwood and the London Missionary Society," *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, vol. 5, no. 8 (1996): 458-477.

> Along the Society's history there are stories of men, Boards and Committees, who forgot their ideals and lowered the standards of common service. We know that for us, too, the same temptations lie in wait. Above all, the mechanics of our service - committees, sub-committees, and official dealings generally - are not always overruled by the simplicity of the New Testament.[165]

The Ying Wa College issue was a hard lesson for LMS missionaries and associated individuals in Hong Kong. On hearing of Lenwood's resignation, Pearce sent sincere thanks to Lenwood for his counsel in respect of GMT affairs:

> My indebtedness to your goodwill and kindly counsel in the affairs of the Hongkong German Missions' Trust appears to need the kind of personal acknowledgment that can best be made in an interview. Your correspondence on the subject was of special value at a trying juncture when a sense of responsibility was becoming acute. You have my very hearty thanks.[166]

The Ying Wa College issue further illustrates that Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles was not a wholly effective safeguard for German mission work in Hong Kong. British missionaries in Hong Kong might not necessarily have been fully aware of the spirit of Article 438 and how it was being implemented in other British colonies. This made it difficult for them to challenge colonial government officials, who had their own agenda regarding German mission affairs, it appears. Moreover, the contradiction between the notion of trusteeship and the material benefits which British missions reaped from the use of German mission property also made it difficult for them to remain impartial in their safeguarding of the interests of German missions in Hong Kong. For example, even though they knew about the financial difficulties of the Rhenish Mission's China station and their desire to sell their properties in Hong Kong, Pearce nevertheless petitioned the Hong Kong government to allow Ying Wa College to occupy Craigellachie until the end of 1927, equivalent to the case of St. Stephen's College at Ebenezer, as mentioned by Severn in his letter to the GMT in 1925.[167]

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[165] A farewell letter from Lenwood to 'Friends', marked as written on 14 June 1925, but sent on 15 October 1925, CMS/LMS/Home/Odds, Box 23, SOAS.

[166] Pearce's letter to Lenwood, 8 December 1924, CWM/LMS/South China/Incoming Correspondence, Box 23, Folder 2, 1924, SOAS.

[167] Severn to C.B. Shann, secretary of GMT, 5 June 1925, Enclosure 2 to the proposal submitted by Stubbs to Amery (7 July 1925), CO 129/488, pp 539-564, 558, TNA

Return of German Missions to Hong Kong

In late 1925, changes to key personnel in the Hong Kong government and the GMT gave new momentum to negotiations between the GMT and the four German missions. Despite the readiness of the GMT trustees to do the right thing, integrated German mission accounts created major problems for any settlement process. While the Basel, Rhenish and Berlin Women's Missions all had access to sufficient rental income to support their work or their beneficiaries in Hong Kong, the Hildesheim Mission's only income in Hong Kong – the $200 monthly rent paid by St. Stephen's College for Ebenezer – was insufficient to cover what the CMS charged for the care of its blind students and workers. Funds of the other three missions had been used to support the Hildesheim Mission's work all the time. By 1926, the Hildesheim Mission had accumulated a debt of $19,373.[168] Before the Hildesheim Mission cleared its debt, the GMT could not balance its accounts and return the funds and properties to all four German missions.

The China missionaries of the Basel, Rhenish and Berlin's Women missions were not happy to learn that the Hong Kong government had been using their funds to support the Hildesheim Mission's work. Some even believed that the arrangement was done intentionally to delay the release of funds to their individual original owners. The Berlin Women's Mission leader wrote:

> I cannot rid myself of the suspicion that the British government has deliberately integrated our finances with those of the Hildesheim Society in order to delay payment. It was, of course, very wrong of the trustee board [the GMT] not to write to us about it. It should have told us long ago that the government had bought the house [Bethesda, the foundling home] and that money had been 'borrowed' from us to provide for those in Hildesheim care. If it did not know our address, it could have written to Oldham, who also did not understand why he was not in receipt of an answer [to his query] about the foundling house. [169]

Because of its own financial difficulties, the Rhenish Mission was particularly keen to be reimbursed by the Hildesheim Mission. Dr. Genähr expressed great disappointment when the Hildesheim Mission rejected a purchase offer for Ebenezer by a Canadian mission at a price of $60,000.[170] This sum might have

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[168] The German Missions Trust's Balance Sheet as at 8 September 1926, bmw1/1806, ELAB, accessed 19 November 2020, http://kab.scopearchiv.ch/Data/7/D35603.pdf.

[169] Knak to Rev. Müller, 23 July 1923, bmw1/1807, ELAB, accessed 20 June 2021, http://kab.scopearchiv.ch/Data/7/D35604.pdf.

[170] Genähr to Kriele, Inspector and Director, 27 August 1926, File 2.195, Box 7, Personal file of Genähr, AMS.

enabled the Hildesheim Mission to settle its debt immediately. What Genähr was not aware of was that, apart from the money owed to the three missions, the Hildesheim Mission itself owed a reimbursement of $46,000 to the Hong Kong government for its outlay on the care of the Ebenezer students and the blind workers at the Blindenheim before September 1923.[171] The Hildesheim Mission could not sell the Blindenheim, because it was built on land which had been granted by the government, and the lease specified that the land must be returned to the government when it was no longer needed. The sale of Ebenezer by the Hildesheim Mission at that time was also considered unwise, since the Hong Kong property market had declined significantly due to the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike of 1925. Any sale would have meant the loss of Ebenezer, but the Hildesheim Mission would still have been left with a considerable debt.[172] Moreover, the Hildesheim Mission still had moral responsibility for the blind workers at the Blindenheim. The CMS was reluctant to take on the work permanently, fearing that it would further burden its already tight finances.[173] The Hildesheim Mission's huge debts and the care needs of its blind workers presented it with a major problem. In the end, it was only the solidarity and cooperation among the German missions that broke the deadlock over their difficulties; the Basel, Rhenish and Berlin Women's Missions agreed to settle the Hildesheim Mission's debts directly and not demand repayment until such time as the Hildesheim Mission was financially solvent.[174] This allowed the GMT to return their property to the German missions, unencumbered by the Hildesheim Mission's debt.

In August 1927, the GMT Secretary Rev. Shann sought confirmation from the three German missions that they had agreed to approximately $8,000 being deducted from each of their GMT accounts, which sum the Hildesheim Mission would subsequently owe each of them.[175] At the same time, the Hong Kong government waived the $46,000 owed them by the Hildesheim Mission.[176]

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171 Lowe, Bingham & Matthews to the Trustees, GMT, 2 December 1926, bmw1/1806, ELAB, accessed 21 July 2021, http://kab.scopearchiv.ch/Data/7/D35603.pdf.
172 Annual Report of the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind, 1925-1926, 2, HML.
173 Acting Secretary of the CMS to Blanchett, 13 May 1926, CMS/G1/CH1/P4, South China/Home Letters/1926, CRL.
174 Annual Report of the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind, 1926/1927, 5-6, HML.
175 Shann to President of the Basel Mission, 31 August 1927, A-03.12.2, BMA.
176 Annual Report of the Hildesheim Mission for 1926/1927, 5, HML.

Further, it allowed the Hildesheim Mission to resume its work in Hong Kong, on condition that only former Ebenezer students or local blind students would be admitted to its institution.

Sophia Moritz, a Hildesheim missionary in Guangdong, was sent back to Hong Kong in 1928 as the supervisor of the blind workshop called the Blindenheim. Although the Hong Kong government forbade the admission of new blind students from outside the colony (as mentioned above), the Hildesheim sisters found a way round this: they admitted blind children from the Chinese mainland to their day school, as long as they were cared for by Christian families in Hong Kong.[177] The reoccupation of Ebenezer met with a small but significant hurdle, however. Rev. W.H. Hewitt, the St. Stephen's College warden and headmaster, insisted that the Hildesheim Mission should reimburse him to the tune of $30,000 for the improvements he had made to Ebenezer, including the building of a tennis court, an automobile garage and an assembly hall.[178] This sum was more than twice the total amount paid as a monthly rent of $200 by St. Stephen's College for its six-year occupation of Ebenezer. The CMS Executive Committee distanced itself from Hewitt's claim, saying that this was 'strictly speaking, a transaction between the warden of the College and the GMT'.[179]

The Hildesheim Mission was, not surprisingly, unwilling to pay for these improvements. Moritz stated that the tennis court and the garage were clearly not necessary for a facility for the blind, while the assembly hall – which was being charged to the mission at $1,000 – was also too large for a blind school with only fifty or so students.[180] In the end, the Hildesheim Mission settled the matter with an agreed one-time payment of $1,000 to St. Stephen's College to end the college's occupation of Ebenezer at the monthly rent of $200.[181] In the spring of 1929, St. Stephen's College finally moved out of Ebenezer. Ebenezer once again became a home for blind girl students and women in Hong Kong, including

177 Annual Report of the Hildesheim Mission for 1927/1928, 4-5, HML.
178 Minute of the Executive Committee meeting, CMS South China, 9 March 1926, CMS/G1/CH1/O/1926, CRL.
179 Blanchett to Mann, 17 March 1926, CMS/GI CH1 P4, CRL.
180 Annual Report of the Hildesheim Mission for 1928/1929, 5-6, HML.
181 Newsletter of the Hildesheim Mission, No.2 (March/April 1929), 2, HML.

former Ebenezer students brought back from the Sheki Mission in Guangdong.[182]

In late 1929, a full decade after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, the GMT and representatives of the four German missions signed an indenture relating to the handling of German mission property under custodianship.[183] The German missions acknowledged the receipt of their former property and the remaining balances in their GMT accounts, and released the GMT trustees from all claims and demands in respect of this matter. Having completed the task devolved to them under the 1923 GMT Ordinance, the GMT trustees were also officially discharged from their duties. However, prior to that date, the Basel, Rhenish and Hildesheim Missions had already resumed their mission work in Hong Kong.

For the Basel and Rhenish missions, a major concern was whether their indigenous churches still wanted their missionaries to return. Christian churches in China had already been moving energetically towards a new era of self-sufficiency/independence. Foreign connections with a Protestant church - regardless of its name, origins, resources or management - aroused suspicions among ordinary Chinese.[184] Their Chinese churches in Hong Kong had also become self-sufficient in accordance with "three self-principles" (self-governance, self-support and self-propagation) after they were forcibly separated from their German parent missions during the War.[185] Nonetheless, the response of the Chinese churches was positive. The Hakka churches did not want to be separated from their parent missions. They welcomed the notion of the return of the Basel missionaries to Hong Kong, 'even if only as loyal advisors and friends'.[186] In the case of the Chinese Rhenish Church, although it had formed a good relationship with the LMS, it still looked forward to a reunion with its parent mission. A letter written to Kriele by its pastor, Rev. Wang Ai-tang, reflected this wish:

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182 Section 3 of Chapter 5: 'Xingguang shuyuan' 心光書院 [Ebenezer Blind School], in *Xianggang jidujiaohui shi* 香港基督教會史 [The History of Protestant Churches in Hong Kong], ed. Liu Yue-sheng 劉粵聲 (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Chinese Church Union 1941), 211-213.

183 A draft of the Indenture between the four German missions and the GMT, 28 June 1929, bmw1/1806, ELAB, accessed 23 July 2021, http://kab.scopearchiv.ch/Data/7/D35603.pdf.

184 Yamamoto Sumiko, *History of Protestantism in China: The Indigenisation of Christianity* (Tokyo: Tokyo: The Toho Gakkai/The Institute of Eastern Culture, 2000), 35.

185 Ko, "From Native to Independent Churches," 11, 74.

186 Annual Report of the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society for 1925, 27, BMA.

> Although the Hong Kong [Rhenish] church is now reluctantly separated from the parent mission for the time being, no force could cut off our spirit of unity. The responsibility I currently bear in Hong Kong is weighty. Like a feeble servant taking care of his young master, I am always frightened. Every day, I look forward to the return of the young master's father so that I may deliver the young to him.[187]

The remaining issues facing the Basel and Rhenish Missions in terms of their resumption of work in Hong Kong were merely technical. The Hong Kong government had already confirmed that it no longer objected to their return to the colony.[188] In 1927, a pre-War ordinance was re-enacted to provide for the incorporation of a legal person as the President of the Basel Mission in Hong Kong.[189] Rev. Heinrich Giess was appointed to that position, with legal authority, and the mission premises in Kowloon Tong were returned to him as his accommodation. Genähr was also transferred back from Guangdong to Hong Kong in September 1927. He began preaching at the Chinese Rhenish Church once a month, in support of Rev. Wang Ai-tang.[190] In the same way as their counterparts in other British territories, the Basel and Rhenish missionaries needed to adapt to their new relationship with the indigenous Chinese churches in Hong Kong. As Genähr described:

> [S]ince the community is a self-sufficient community, I must naturally exercise the greatest restraint and seek to gain influence over community affairs from "behind the curtain", as the Chinese expression goes. The changed times require that one act in an inconspicuous manner, but one can still do some good and avert harm to some extent.

After a wait of over a decade, the three German missions could finally return to Hong Kong, which had been the setting for an important part of their mission work in China at the outset. The resumption of mission work in Hong Kong became even more significant decades later, when these German missions, like other western missions, lost their mission fields in the Chinese mainland, when they were expelled by the newly communist China in 1951.[191]

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187 A Chinese letter written by Rev. Wang Ai-tang to E. Kriele, 25 November 1921, RMG 3.072, AMS.

188 Paul Schmid, Chief Pastor in China, to the President, 5 May 1926, A-3.08.03, BMA.

189 *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, Ordinance No.5 of 1927, An Ordinance to Provide for the Incorporation of the President in Hong Kong of the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society, 16 September 1927, HKGRS.

190 Genähr to Rev Schmidt, 26 September 1927, File 2.195, Box 7, Personal file of Dr. Immanuel Genähr (1856-1937), AMS.

191 Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 28, no. 4 (December 1955): 301-14.

Conclusion

The trustee bodies formed by British missionaries in Hong Kong after the War were supposed to be independent bodies tasked with the impartial supervising and management of German mission work and property, and ensuring that it was used for missionary purposes. However, research findings suggest that their longstanding relationship with the colonial government caused the CMS missionaries in Hong Kong to act more like agents of the government in handling German mission affairs. At the same time, the trusteeship of German mission work and property in Hong Kong produced additional resources for the CMS South China, enabling it to expand its ministry at a time of severe retrenchment.

For the LMS South China Mission, the research findings for this thesis indicate that it made sincere attempts to look after the orphaned Chinese Rhenish Church in Hong Kong and facilitate the return of German missions to the colony as soon as possible. However, as a member of the GMT, the LMS's Pearce was limited by government policy as to what he was able to do. Moreover, the occupation of the Rhenish Mission property by its associated Ying Wa College led to conflict of interest in the LMS's dual role as trustee (represented by Pearce) and beneficiary. Ying Wa College's attempt to acquire Craigellachie illustrates the significant differences between the attitude of the LMS home mission in London and that of the LMS's Hong Kong-based missionaries regarding the handling of German mission property under LMS custodianship. The former was intent on observing meticulously the spirit of Article 438 and the solidarity of Christian missions, while the latter was perhaps less conscious of the international agreement and more concerned with the material interests of its local ministry.

The integrated accounting method adopted by the British trustees in the early stages of trusteeship showed itself to be a major impediment to the prompt restoration of German mission property to its original owners. The resultant problems were only solved after the other three German missions – in a spirit of unity – agreed to defer the repayment of their loan to the Hildesheim Mission until the Hildesheim Mission was financially solvent again. In the late 1920s, the Basel, Rhenish and Hildesheim Missions overcame various challenges and returned to their old mission fields in Hong Kong, thus ending their decade-long wait caused by the War and other issues.

Conclusion

Although Hong Kong was the operational base of German Protestant missions in South China, their missionaries were always concerned about the colony's 'worldly' nature. The Basel Mission's pioneer missionary in China, Rev. Theodor Hamberg, once described Hong Kong as 'a haven for pirates, thieves and all sorts of evil'. He said that missionaries would be easily put off by the 'cunning, lying and hypocritical' nature of the colony's residents.[1] Hong Kong's 'commercial and corrupt environment' was also the main reason why the Basel Mission moved its first girls' school (established in Saiyingpun in 1862) to Longheu (now Longhua district, Shenzhen) in 1889.[2] Hamberg and the Basel Mission were not overreacted to the worldly nature of Hong Kong. As demonstrated in this thesis, both the Hong Kong colonial government and the British trustee missionaries seem to have been more interested in profiting from German mission assets than in supporting German mission work under Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles. This thesis seeks to demonstrate that it was commercial consideration rather than patriotism, national security, or concern for indigenous people, that determined how German Protestant missions and those under their care were treated in the prosperous colony of Hong Kong.

With a world war raging in the background, Hong Kong's story during and after the War was driven by actors and events in Hong Kong itself, as well as in Europe. The Hong Kong government and its British trustee missionaries each had their separate agendas for the handling of German missions operating in the colony. The German mission properties, located in the most sought-after area of Hong Kong, and with great potential for redevelopment, could relieve the colonial government of its problems with a housing shortage. The assets entrusted to British trustees also could support the continuous expansion of their mission work in South China during the post-War recession. However, the desires and actions of the colonial government and British trustees were not without constraints. The

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[1] Herman Schlyter (author), Goran Wiking and Daniel Chow (translators), *Hanshanming – ruidain diyiwei qianwang zhongguo de xuanjiaoshi* 韓山明 – 瑞典第一位前往中國的宣教士 [Theodor Hamberg – The First Swedish Missionary to China](Hong Kong: Tsung Tsin Mission Hong Kong, 2008), 135.

[2] Minutes of the Basel Mission Committee, 1887, Section 538. KP-01.58, 1887, S 538, BMA,

Hong Kong government had to comply with the Empire-wide policy governing German mission affairs and the international covenant specified in Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles. Its decisions came under the scrutiny of Colonial Office staff in London, including G. Grindle and William Ormsby-Gore, who were at pains to ensure that not only the letter, but also the spirit of these policies would be followed. The British trustee missionaries were likewise subject to pressure and influence from their home mission staff and international mission leaders. It was the great concerns of Frank Lenwood, the LMS Foreign Secretary, over the Rhenish Mission's interests that blocked the questionable acquisition of Craigellachie by Ying Wa College. It was the commitment of the Hildesheim Mission and Agathe von Seelhorst - a German woman missionary who was repatriated from Hong Kong in 1919 - to the well-being of blind students as well as the unity of the four German missions that enabled the Ebenezer Blind School to survive the War and continue to serve the blind in Hong Kong until the present day. Even more significant was the lobbying work of global Christian leaders, including Oldham. Without their intervention, Protestant German missions in Hong Kong would have been removed permanently by the colonial government in 1925. All these stories illustrate that the incidents that took place in the tiny colony of Hong Kong were not discrete local issues. They were always influenced by and interwoven with personalities and events around the world.

Enemy Mission Policy

This thesis discusses the Empire-wide enemy mission policy maintained by the British government during and after the War, and identifies the key parties moulding its development. Understanding the background of this policy casts in a new light the expulsion of German missionaries from British territories, and their long-due return after the War was long over. It indicates that the suspicions of and concerns about German missions and their workers grew from various incidents in Africa and India during the War. However, British government records confirm that there was never any solid evidence that German Protestant missionaries had ever betrayed the hospitality and trust of the British authorities in their mission fields. The restrictive measures imposed on German missions were introduced to prevent the potential harm that they might do to the Empire's interests in British colonies.

The findings of the research underpinning this thesis indicate that British merchants and global mission leaders were prime promoters of the development of the enemy mission policy and Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles. It was British merchants in East Asia, including Hong Kong, who were quick to question the political neutrality of German missionaries. It was also British merchants in various colonies who formed alliances to lobby energetically for Empire-wide entry restrictions for Germans after the War. Similarly, it was British merchants and their consuls who led to the British government's being misled about the nationality of the Basel Mission Trading Company. This incident led to an embarrassing international legal case for the British government and the respective colonial governments.

In addition, the British government's attitude towards German mission work in its territories was also significantly influenced by Protestant Christian leaders, particularly J. H. Oldham. The expulsion of German missions from all British territories became the most significant threat to Christian unity around the world, which reached new heights after the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh. Being a British national and a representative of global Christian missions, Oldham was ideally suited as a diplomatic go-between for the German mission crisis. He involved himself and other Christian leaders in the discussion of British policies affecting German missions matters, tactfully striving for an all-but-impossible balance between loyalty to country, and religious faith. On the one hand, Oldham and his team had to support the British government in its desire to defeat Germany and its work to eliminate any threat to British interests. On the other hand, they had a religious duty to safeguard German mission work around the world, something that was seen as essential to establishing the kingdom of heaven on earth. The interventions of Protestant leaders achieved two important results. Firstly, the establishment of Memorandum A, B and C, which offered a feasible route for German missionaries to return to their former mission fields in British territories. Secondly, the guarding of German mission property against confiscation by colonial governments and the entrusting of them to British trustee missionaries. The latter subsequently transformed into an even more powerful international covenant, namely Article 438 of the Treaty of Versailles, which applied to German mission properties in all the Allied nations' territories. Oldham's memoir, which was written by Clements, reveals part of this story. This

thesis offers further evidence, gleaned from British government and German mission archives, to show how vitally strategic Oldham's contribution was.

However, exactly how British enemy mission policy was interpreted and implemented in individual British colonies was left to the respective colonial governments. In the case of Hong Kong, as explained in this thesis, the policy was interpreted fairly liberally, to the colonial government's advantage. Article 438 was built on the trusteeship principle that gave high moral justification to Britain's control of other peoples' lands and resources. The Article itself was a somewhat vague recommendation for the caretaking of German mission work and assets in Allied territories, with no specific guidelines as to the organisational structure and operations of the trusteeships, in the same way as those established under the Mandate System or the idea of an appeals provision which had at one time been suggested by the Vatican. It therefore created ample opportunity for individual colonial administrations to interpret the ruling entirely as they wished, in favour of their own agendas. London's Colonial Office was the ultimate gatekeeper of British enemy mission policy. In the case of Hong Kong, it intervened and amended the proposals and decisions by the governor in order to ensure what it regarded as fulfilment of Article 438 in Hong Kong.

International Cooperation among Protestant Missions

The second key research theme for this thesis concerns the response of Protestant missions to the British enemy mission policy. The War took place at a time when the unity of Protestant missions and churches had reached its peak following the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh. One might expect that a war among the core members would have brought this unity to an end. However, it turned out that the long-held desire for a heavenly kingdom on earth was strong enough to overcome the destructive power of the War.

The key was the new, more structured network resulting from the Edinburgh conference. The Continuation Committee and its successor institution, the International Missionary Council (IMC), representing global Protestant missions, strengthened the hand of Oldham and his allies in their negotiations with the British government on the German mission issues. The better communication among leaders of Protestant missions and churches facilitated discussion and joint

action, including the provision of financial aid and mission workers, to support the orphaned German mission work worldwide. Moreover, national missionary bodies newly established in key mission fields such as India and China also acted as lobbyists to influence the policies and actions of their governments towards German missions in their territories.

However, the salvage plan for Protestant missions and churches was not without problems. For a relatively long period of time, the acquisition and trusteeship of German mission work and property by Allied missions in affected areas aroused the suspicions of and discontent among German mission leaders. They considered it to be a daylight robbery of their assets and the fruits of their missionary efforts. Only after the War was over and both sides could meet and discuss freely did German mission leaders realise the noble intentions behind the plan formulated by Oldham and his allies. The caretaking of the orphaned German mission work and property by non-German missions, in their original plan, was supposed to be temporary. When German missions were allowed to return to their former fields, the caretaking mission was supposed to facilitate the transfer of work and assets to their original owners. Nonetheless, in reality, German missions were disheartened on finding that not all the Allied caretaking missions followed the advice of Oldham. Sometimes, the long wartime separation between German missions and their indigenous Christian churches had created almost insuperable obstacles to the return of the German missions to their former mission fields. It was evident that some indigenous churches actually preferred the non-German missionaries who had taken over the supervision, having formed a strong attachment to them during the War. Other churches, for example the Chinese churches in Hong Kong, had already achieved financial self-sufficiency, and had been self-managing and preaching independently. The indigenous Christians welcomed the returning German missionaries back as partners or advisors, but not as supervisors. In short, the War had brought about permanent changes to which all returning German missionaries found they had to adapt.

It may be that the most undesirable outcome of international cooperation among Protestant missions vis-à-vis the German mission crisis was the confiscation of the Basel Mission Trading Company's (BMTC) assets in the Gold Coast and India. The erroneous designation of the entity as a German mission company led to the unlawful transfer of the BMTC's assets and businesses to the

Commonwealth Trust Company (CTC), a new British entity established by Oldham and his Christian entrepreneur friends. Furthermore, the collapse of cocoa prices took away the only benefit of the controversial deal, when the CTC was unable to generate any profits to support the missionary work in the two respective British colonies.

The British Hong Kong Story

The main focus of this thesis is how the British government's enemy mission policy was interpreted and implemented in Hong Kong. This subject has never been seriously examined in Hong Kong colonial history or church history. This thesis therefore represents a novel attempt to explore this long-ignored topic. This episode reveals how the colony's housing shortage problem generated a partnership between Anglican missionaries and colonial officials for the purposes of acquiring German mission property in Hong Kong, as well as the resultant trials and tribulations which rose between German missionaries and their British counterparts.

There were three different governorships of Hong Kong during the period between 1914 and 1925, and their attitude towards German missionaries varied considerably. Of the three, May was the governor who appeared to be most sympathetic to German missionaries and also the most concerned about the well-being of their beneficiaries. The protective stance under his governorship represented the least problematic period for German missions in Hong Kong after the beginning of the War. If May had been the governor implementing Article 438 after the end of the War, the fate of the German mission foundlings and blind girls might well have been different. May's tolerance towards German residents put him under fire from his military colleagues and also British merchants, who favoured the complete elimination of German nationals from the colony after the War. Owing to health reasons, May submitted his resignation, resigned and left prematurely, in January 1919, a departure which marked the beginning of the greatest challenge to German missions operating in the colony.

Present in Hong Kong for most of the time between 1914 and 1925, Claud Severn played a key role in implementing British enemy mission policy in the colony. For most of this period, he was the Colonial Secretary, but, during the

interregnum between May and Stubbs (September 1918 - September 1919), he was Acting Governor. It was under Severn that the Hong Kong government acquired the premises of the Berlin Foundling House in 1919 and agreed with the CMS South China mission as to how the foundlings and blind residents should be cared for. Severn's close collaboration with the CMS in respect of German mission affairs might be attributable to his personal attachment to the local Anglican Church and his keen interest in large-scale infrastructure and property development in Hong Kong. It was German mission property, not the foundlings and blind children, that received the focus of his attention. However, Severn's further attempt to acquire yet more German mission properties was prevented by Article 438 in late 1919, which stipulated that German mission property should be taken away from colonial government and entrusted to British trustee missionaries.

While Stubbs was still Acting Governor of Ceylon, prior to becoming Governor of Hong Kong, he was already advocating the permanent removal of German missionaries from British territories.[3] After he became Governor of Hong Kong, he was still in favour of this notion. His thought was that the sale of German mission properties, particularly in the coveted Mid-Levels district, would help solve the acute housing shortage in Hong Kong. British government records reveal the determination of Stubbs's Hong Kong government to gain direct control over German mission properties. However, the Stubbs government's efforts were noticed and put a stop to by the Colonial Office. London officials, including the liberal mandates system expert William Ormsby-Gore, was intent on adhering to the British government's obligations under Article 438. Without the Colonial Office's intervention, the Hong Kong government, under Stubbs, would have sold off, in 1925, all the properties belonging to the four German missions. This would have made any resumption of mission work by the Basel, Rhenish, and Hildesheim missions in Hong Kong well-nigh impossible.

The Hong Kong situation was one of the rare cases in which the Colonial Office did not employ the 'man-on-the-spot' principle, i.e., that of letting locally-based colonial officials have the final say when it came to local matters. This

[3] Reginald Stubbs, the officer Administering the Government of Ceylon to A. Bonar Law of the Colonial Office, 9 December 1915, CO 323/662/75, TNA.

departure from usual practice may well have been because the issue at hand involved an international treaty (the Treaty of Versailles) which the Colonial Office wanted to be seen to uphold. It is also possible that the British government was keen to avoid another diplomatic controversy in relation to German mission assets following the embarrassment caused by its erroneous seizure of the assets of the Basel Mission Trading Company. Moreover, the interpretation and implementation of British enemy mission policy in Hong Kong served to reinforce the importance of the property market in influencing the policy-making of the Hong Kong government, as is the case to this day.

This thesis also explores how the War affected the relationship between British Protestant missionaries and German Protestant missionaries in Hong Kong. At the behest of the Colonial Office in London, in 1923 the Hong Kong government set up the German Missions Trust (GMT), a statutory body whose purpose was to caretake and manage German mission property. All five members of the GMT board were British missionaries or clergymen: the Anglican Bishop of Hong Kong, one representative of the CMS, one of the LMS, one of the Kowloon Union Church, and one of the Hong Kong Methodist Church. Both the CMS and the LMS South China stations faced severe retrenchment following the War. The trusteeship presented the GMT trustees with a good opportunity to take advantage of German mission resources to advance their own ministries. The domination of government officials at the GMT meetings further provided the perfect excuse for the British trustee missionaries to overlook the requests raised by German mission leaders and Oldham. The cases of the CMS's No.2 Accounts, its St. Stephen's College and the LMS's Ying Wa College are testament to the conflicts of interest and loyalty dilemmas arising from the British trusteeship of German mission property. They also exposed the deep divisions between the home mission in London and the Hong-Kong-based missionaries in relation to the objective of Article 438 and their stance towards German missions after the War.

Wartime history shows that the harmony which existed among British and German Protestant Missions in Europe, like the political ideology of trusteeship, failed to be transplanted successfully to the 'worldly' Hong Kong. However, it did bring about an unexpectedly positive result for the development of German-associated Chinese churches in Hong Kong. The War and its subsequent removal of German missionaries from the colony confirmed that, when given

opportunities, Chinese Christians clearly had the wherewithal to run and develop their churches independently. Last but not least, this thesis illustrates that in the wartime with threats and opportunities, ordinary people such as Oldham and von Seelhorst can still do extraordinary things for others in need, even their enemies.

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Appendix 1: The Position of German Missions At the Outbreak of the War

	Stations	Missionaries			Baptisted Christians	Schools	Students
		Males	Wives	Single Women			
Japan							
General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Union	2	2	2	-	333	8	400
China and Hong Kong							
Basel Mission	18	42	33	3	11,056	101	4,829
Rhenish Mission (Barmen)	7	18	14	4	2,509	24	1,021
Berlin Missionary Society	15	29	25	7	9,408	96	2,328
Berlin Women's Union for China	1	1	1	4	130	1	83
Hildesheim Mission to the Blind	2	0	0	7	140	3	80
Liebenzell Mission	12	23	19	20	523	8	216
China Alliance Mission (Barmen)	10	16	14	8	1,369	19	715
The Kiel Mission to China	2	1	1	2	183	19	180
St. Chrischona Mission	3	3	2	6	146	3	46
Women's Missionary Union (cooperating with China Inland Mission)	1	0	0	4	0	0	0
Frievenshort Deaconesses	1	0	0	4	0	0	0
General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Union	2	3	3	3	0	4	300
Total	**74**	**136**	**112**	**72**	**25,464**	**278**	**9,798**

	Stations	Missionaries			Baptisted Christians	Schools	Students
		Males	Wives	Single Women			
India							
Leipzig Mission	33	25	18	9	19,408	260	10,887
Basel Mission	26	89	53	15	19,762	211	21,071
Hermannsburg Mission	10	12	10	3	3,116	138	2,862
Schleswig-Holstein (Breklum) Mission	11	23	20	7	14,192	64	1,994
Gossner Mission	30	51	47	9	88,884	344	10,172
Moravians	4	10	10	1	162	6	173
Total	**114**	**210**	**158**	**44**	**145,524**	**1,023**	**47,159**
British Borneo							
Basel Mission	2	2	2	0	1,129	11	322
Dutch East Indies							
Rhenish Mission	67	102	93	16	180,833	697	45,146
Neukirchen Mission	12	15	12	9	1,766	42	1,825
Total	**79**	**117**	**105**	**25**	**182,599**	**739**	**46,971**
Australia							
Moravians	3	3	3	1	116	3	229
Neuendettelsau Mission	2	1	1	0	80	1	25
Total	**5**	**4**	**4**	**1**	**196**	**4**	**254**

	Stations	Missionaries			Baptisted Christians	Schools	Students
		Males	Wives	Single Women			
New Guinea							
Neuendettelsau Mission	19	36	21	2	3,978	41	1,523
Rhenish Mission	5	14	10	0	96	15	578
Total	**24**	**50**	**31**	**2**	**4,074**	**56**	**2,101**
Caroline and Admiralty Islands							
Liebenzell Mission	8	9	7	5	3,098	34	1,905
South Africa and Mandated Territory							
Moravians	24	33	31	1	21,955	70	5,567
Berlin Mission	58	74	68	17	60,131	248	10,528
Hermannsburg Mission	49	49	42	0	74,097	98	7,205
Hanover Free Church Mission	10	12	10	0	6,495	21	1,017
Rhenish Mission	11	13	12	1	21,394	18	2,624
Rhenish Mission (mandated territory)	31	32	10	0	23,375	47	2,381
Total	**183**	**213**	**173**	**19**	**207447**	**502**	**29,322**

	Stations	Missionaries			Baptisted Christians	Schools	Students
		Males	Wives	Single Women			
Tanganyika Terriotry							
Bielefeld Mission	14	18	-	5	2,168	63	3,620
Berlin Mission	20	31	-	8	3,927	257	13,119
Moravians	15	27	-	1	1,781	128	6,786
Leipzig Mission	14	24	-	5	2,729	87	8,270
Adventists	15	19	-	0	211	43	4,380
Neukirchen Mission	3	7	-	0	0	0	0
Schleswig-Holstein (Breklum) Mission	3	3	-	0	0	0	0
Total	**84**	**129**	**-**	**19**	**10816**	**578**	**36,175**
Kenya Colony							
Neukirchen Mission	4	6	4	1	469	13	623
Leipzig Mission	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gold Coast							
Basel Mission	11	72	22	4	20,558	128	7,819
Bremen Mission	2	3	1	2	3,561	30	2,061
Total	**13**	**75**	**23**	**6**	**24,119**	**158**	**9,880**

	Stations	Missionaries			Baptisted Christians	Schools	Students
		Males	Wives	Single Women			
Togo							
Bremen Mission	7	17	-	2	7,780	157	5,250
Basel Mission	1	3	-	-	-	-	-
Total	***8***	***20***	**-**	***2***	***7,780***	***157***	***5,250***
Cameroons							
Basel Mission	16	53	-	10	15,112	384	22,818
Baptist Mission	6	13	-	6	3,124	57	3,563
Gossner Mission	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Total	**23**	**68**	**0**	**16**	**18,236**	**441**	**26,381**

Source: J. H. Oldham, "The Position of German Missions at the Outbreak of the War", a printed document with the name 'J. H. Oldham' and a time 'July 1921' at the end, QK4.6, BMA. The beginning of the document explained its objective: "In October 1919 an article was published in the *International Review of Missions* dealing with German missions before the war. The statistics given in that article were based on sources of information available at the office of the *Review*, which were incomplete. There is now available the official report on the position of German missions at the outbreak of the war submitted by the German missionary societies to the Foreign Office in Berlin and it seems desirable to print for reference this authoritative statement." The document also states that some missionary societies were working in Palestine but statistics were not given in the German report: Moravians, Syrian Orphanage, German Mission to the East, Evangelical Karmel Union, Christian Mission to the Blind in the East, Jerusalem Union, The Kaiserwerth Deaconesses, The German Help Association for Christian Philanthropy in the Orient.

Appendix 2: Statistics of the German Missions' Work Before the War and the Caretakers During the First World War

Area	German mission	Stations	No. of Missionaries		Baptised Christians	Caretaking Mission / Individual
			Men	Single women		
India	Gossner Mission	30	51	9	89,500	Bishop of Chota Nagpur
	Leipzig Mission	31	25	9	19,408	Swedish Church with some assistance from the Danish Mission
	Schleswig-Holstein Mission	12	20	7	16,500	American Lutherans
	Hermannsburg Mission	8	10	3	2,789	American Lutherans
	Basel Mission	26	89	15	19,762	The National Missionary Council - Malabar area to Malabar Church; South Mahratta and South Canada by the (Swiss) Kanarese Evangelical Mission; the Nilgiri and Coorg by the Wesleyan Methodist Society; Hoavar by the National Missionary Society; Calicut by the Madras Christian College
South Africa	Moravians	22	32	1	21,459	The bill before the Union Parliament provided for the repatriation of only a limited number of Germans who had shown themselves undesirable and that a recent visitor formed an impression that a sufficient German missionaries would be allowed to remain.
	Rhenish Mission	11	13	0	21,394	
	Berlin Mission	58	74	17	60.131	
	Hermannsburg Mission	49	49	0	74,000	
	Hanover Mission	10	12	0	2,85	

Area	German mission	Stations	No. of Missionaries		Baptised Christians	Caretaking Mission / Individual
			Men	Single women		
British East Africa	Neukirchen Mission	5	6	0	469	-
	Leipzig Mission	3	5	2	95	-
Gold Coast	Bremen Mission	2	3	1	3,600	Native pastors and evangelists
	Basel Mission	11	72	4	25,042	United Free Church of Scotland
Hong Kong	Basel Mission	1	4	0	741	Archdeacon Barnett of CMS has, at the request of the government, been superintending the German institutions during the war.
	Rhenish Mission	1	1	0	285	
	Hildesheim German Blind Mission	1	0	7	109	
	Berliner Fauenverein fur China	1	1	4	130	
British Borneo	Basel Mission	1	2	0	1,120	The Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak
Japan	Allgemeiner Evangelish Protestantischer Missionsverein	2	3	-	270	The mission is allowed to continue at work
Cameroons	Basel Mission	16	67	9	15,112	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
	German Baptist Mission	6	13	5	3,124	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
	Gossner Mission	0	4	0	0	-
Togoland	Bremen Mission	7	19	2	7,780	-
	Basel Mission	1	3	0	0	-

Area	German mission	Stations	No. of Missionaries		Baptised Christians	Caretaking Mission / Individual
			Men	Single women		
German East Africa	Moravians	15	36	1	2,282	-
	Bielefeld Mission	14	35	2	2,016	-
	Berlin Mission	22	50	7	4,036	-
	Leipzig Mission	16	24	5	3,663	-
	Schleswig-Holstein (Berklum) Mission	3	3	-	-	-
	Neukirchen Mission	3	5	0	0	-
German South-west Africa	Rhenish Mission (including some work in Angola)	22	43	6	25,644	-
Caroline Islands and Admiralty islands	Liebenzell Mission	7	8	5	3,098	-
German New Guinea	Rhenish Mission	5	14	0	96	-
	Neuendettelsau Mission	18	35	2	3,978	-
Queensland	Neuendettelsau Mission	1		-	80	-

Source: Minutes of the second meeting of the Emergency Committee of the Co-operating Missions, London, 2 May 1919, IMC file 26.11.24, World Council of Church Archives.

Appendix 3: Properties Held by German Missions in Hong Kong, 1919
(Source: Attachment to the letter from Severn to Andrew Bonar Law, 7 April 1919, CO 323/793/33, TNA)

No	Mission	Particulars of Holdings					Particulars of Buildings		Estimated expenditure by missions on buildings $	Estimated present value of property as existing
		Lot. No.	Location	Area sq.ft	Nature of lease	When and how acquired	Class	Condition		
1	Berlin Women's Mission	I.L.607	1 & 1a High Street	46,125	999 years lease from 1859	Purchased from Government	Chapel	Very old	6,300	115,312
							European house for foundlings	Very old	16,300	
							Do. New Extension	New	38,200	
2	Basel Mission	I.L.681 Sec. D	97 High Street	2.975	999 years from 1861	Purchased privately in 1865	Semi-European house	Very old	5,000	11,900
3	Basel Mission	I.L.681 Sec. C s.s.3	95 High Street	2,200 about	999 years from 1861	Purchased privately in 1874.	School	Very old	1,000	8,800
4	Basel Mission	I.L.681 Sec. C.R.P.	23, 24 & 25 U Lok Lane	1.875 about	999 years from 1861	Purchased privately in 1874.	Chinese houses (2 are let & 1 is occupied by old women)	Very old	-	6,000

No	Mission	Particulars of Holdings					Particulars of Buildings		Estimated expenditure by missions on buildings $	Estimated present value of property as existing
		Lot. No.	Location	Area sq.ft	Nature of lease	When and how acquired	Class	Condition		
5	Basel Mission	I.L. 681 R.P.	96 Third Street	2.975	999 years from 1861	Purchased privately in 1865	Church	Very old	4,700	11,900
6	Rhenish Mission	I.L.609A & I.L.609D S.A.	82 Bonham Road "Craigellachie"	28.000	999 years from 1862	Purchased privately in 1899 for $16,000	Large European house	Very old	-	28,750
7	Rhenish Mission	I.L. 609D R.P.	84 & 86 Bonham road "Westbourne Villas"	27.600	999 years from 1862	Purchased privately in 1908 for $21,500	2 large European houses	Very old	-	28,480
8	Basel Mission	I.L.829	97 Hight Street & 98 Third Street	15.750	Charitable purposes only - 999 years lease	Granted in 1863	1 large European house	Very old	8,700	Nil
9	Basel Mission	S.I.L.138	Nos. 1-4 Basel Mission Shaukiwan Enst.	17.925	Charitable purposes only	Granted in 1861	3 small Chinese houses and 1 school	Very old	1,540	Nil

No	Mission	Particulars of Holdings					Particulars of Buildings		Estimated expenditure by missions on buildings $	Estimated present value of property as existing
		Lot. No.	Location	Area sq.ft	Nature of lease	When and how acquired	Class	Condition		
10	Basel Mission	I.L.681 Sec B s.s.5 R.P. & I.L.681 Sec. B.s.s.5 S.A.	89 Hight Street	724	999 years from 1861	Purchased privately in 1880	Chinese house	Very old	-	2,890
11	Basel Mission	I.L. 681 Sec. B s.s. "4"	22 U Lok Lane	503 about	999 years from 1861	Acquired by Basel Mission in 1901 for $500	Small Chinese house	Very old	-	2,000
12	Basel Mission	I.L.681 Sec, B subsection "A"	84,86,88 Third Street	1954 about	999 years from 1861	Acquired by Basel Mission in 1892 for $1,950	3 Chinese houses	Very old	-	8,260
13	Basel Mission	I.L.681 Sec.C.ss.2. Sec. A	90 Third Street	607.25	999 years from 1861	Purchased privately in 1912 for $2,350	1 Chinese house	Very old	-	2,720

14	Basel Mission	I.L.629 Sec B s.s.1	77 Second Street	2,145	999 years from 1860	These properties were purchased by J.J.Lin A Yee in 1892 & 1893 respectively for the respective sums of $1,450 & $3,300. They now stand in the name of his executor Rev. J.H. Vomel a German missionary	3 Chinese house	Old	-	18,480
	Basel Mission	I.L. 630 Sec. A of R.P.	76, First street & 75 Second Street							
15	Basel Mission	I.L.1059	45 Whitfield /Road	1,050	999 years from 1887	Purchased by J.J. Lin A Yee in 1887. It now stands in the name of his executor Rev. J.H. Vomel	1 Chinese house	Comparativ ely new	-	2,100
16	Basel Mission	I.L.1060	46 Whitfield Road	1,050	999 years from 1887	do.	1 Chinese house	do.	-	2,100
17	Basel Mission	I.L.1216	Lyttelton Road No.1 to 6 Basilea	75,291	999 years from 1862.	Purchased by Basel Mission	6 European houses	Very old	-	78,200

						in 1912 for $80,000				
18	Basel Mission	K.I.L.623	3 Foochow Street, Fuk Tsun Heung	1,715	75 years from 1891	Purchased from Government	School & dwelling	do.	2,300	2,300
19	Basel Mission	K.I.L. 638	11 Main Street, Fuk-tsun-heung	600	75 years from 1893		Small Chinese house	Fair		1,370
20	Basel Mission	K.I.L.649	9 Main Street, Fuk-tsun-heung	560	75 years from 1894	Purchased privately in 1907	Small Chinese house	Fair	-	1,370
21	Basel Mission	K.I.L.643	7 Main Street, Fuk-tsun heung	560	75 years from 1894	Purchased privately in 1907 for $800	Small Chinese house	Fair	-	1,370

22	Basel Mission	K.I.L.650	To Kwa Wan	12,000	75 years from 1894 for the religious, education and charitable purpose of the Tokwawan Basel Mission School	Granted in 1894	School & out-house	Very old	2,430	Nil
23	Hildesheim Mission	K.I.L. 1123	To Kwa Wan	15,750	75 years from 1901 For charitable purpose only	Granted by Government in 1901	Large European house	Compar-atively new	22,250	Nil
24	Hildesheim Mission	R.B.L.136	Pokfulam	74,162	75 years from 1911	Purchased from Government in 1911 for $3,727	Large European houses designed for Orpanage	New	60.800	40,000

25	Basel Mission	N.K.I.L.1	Kowloon Tong	45,000	75 years from 1903	Purchased from Government for $1,620	1 large European house	Compar-atively new	28,200	15,000
26	Basel Mission	N.K.I.L.4	Kowloon Tong	18,000	75 years from 1903	Purchased from Government for $770	Garden	-	-	1,800
27	Basel Mission	N.K.I.L.7	Kowloon Tong	2,136	75 years from 1903	Purchased from Government for $148	Garden	-	-	220
28	Basel Mission	N.K.I.L.13	Kowloon Tong	3,150	75 years from 1903	Purchased from Government for $210	Garden	-	-	320

29	Rhenish Mission	I.L.1924	Bonham Road	16270	75 years from 1912 (Lease not yet issued) Use restricted to erection of Chapel, School & a house for a Chinese pastor, unless previous sanction of Governor in Council, be obtained for some other structure.	Purchased from Government in 1912	Church	New	27,000	Nil

Appendix 4: GMT Trustees Appointed Between 1923 and 1929[1]

Date of Appointment	Bishop	Church Missionary Society	London Missionary Society	Kowloon Union Church	Methodist Church Hong Kong
1923.7.26	C.R. Duppuy	E.J. Barnett	T.W Pearce	J.K. Maconachie	C.C. Porri
1924.5.15	H.C. Moyle*	C.B. Shann	T.W Pearce	J.K. Maconachie	C.C. Porri
1925.3.26	C.R. Duppuy	C.B. Shann	T.W Pearce	J.H. Johnston*	C.C. Porri
1926.2.26	C.R. Duppuy	A.D. Stewart*	T.W Pearce	J.K. Maconachie	J.H. Johnston
1926.4.6	C.R. Duppuy	A.D. Stewart*	H.R. Wells*	J.K. Maconachie	J.H. Johnston
1927.3.14	C.B. Shann*	A.D. Stewart*	T.W Pearce	J.K. Maconachie	J.H. Johnston
1928.1.20	C.R. Duppuy	C.B. Shann	T.W Pearce	J.K. Maconachie	J.H. Johnston
1928.10.5	C.R. Duppuy	C.B. Shann	T.W Pearce	J.C.K. Anstey	J.H. Johnston

Source: *The Hong Kong Government Gazette* for 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927 and 1928, HKGRS.

***** Temporary trustee appointed by the government during the absence of a trustee

[1] *The Hong Kong Government Gazette* for 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927 and 1928. Hong Kong Government Reports Online (1842-1941).