Ts’ai Yung-ch’un’s Life and Work
Fully Chinese and Fully Christian

Yale Divinity School Library Occasional Publication No. 14
carved in marble

The distance the great walled city of Peking. The jade fountain and pagodas and the roads leading to the Western Hills beyond.
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TS’AI YUNG-CH’UN’S LIFE AND WORK
FULLY CHINESE AND FULLY CHRISTIAN

by
Hugh Barbour

Yale Divinity School Library
New Haven, Connecticut

2000
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Hugh Barbour

In gratitude for the integrity which his family and friends learned from the saintly Ts'ai Yung-ch'ün.
Preface

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Hugh Barbour was born in Peking, China in 1921, the son of George and Dorothy Barbour, faculty members at Yenching University. Barbour received his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1952 and was professor of Church History at Earlham College for many years. He was inspired to write this essay by the Ts'ai family’s personal friendship with himself and his parents. He has been dependent on help from Ts’ai’s family, especially for translations of Ts’ai’s guidebook and selections in Chinese from the New Testament. Dr. Franklin Woo, whose wife is Ts’ai Hsiu-ying’s niece, was the first and so far only scholar to review Ts’ai Yung-Ch’un’s Columbia University theses on Confucian funeral rituals and the Neoconfucian philosopher Cheng Yi. Other basic sources have included Ts’ai Hsiu-Ying’s biography of her husband, My Companion, Ts’ai Yung-ch’un (privately printed, 1995) and George B. Barbour, In China When..., (University of Cincinnati, 1975).

Chinese personal names in this essay are transliterated in Wade-Giles phonetics, as their contemporaries knew them, but place names are in pinyin, to the extent that we have been able to determine the correct transliteration. In some cases, the alternative transliterations (Wade-Giles or pinyin) have been supplied in parentheses following personal or place names.

Martha Lund Smalley
Curator of the Day Missions Collection
Yale Divinity School Library
Ts’ai Yung-ch’ün’s Life and Thought
Fully Chinese and Fully Christian

by Hugh Barbour

Born Christian in Fujian

I feel I must first work toward the discovery and full understanding of essential Christian truths and their relation to China’s life today & yesterday, ...her philosophical, religious & cultural background. For to work for the promotion of an imported religion is to assume a responsibility unsurpassed toward the nation. Besides seeking the Xn truths I must seek also some understanding regarding the church, the embodiment of the truths. ...After these studies, I think I will go to some virgin field and try to realize the church that ought-to-be, probably with some like-minded co-workers.... After some ten or fifteen years of experience, I hope either to build a training school for church workers, or go & teach in some theological school. Writing would be a by-product, but would then be with some real contents of hope.¹

This essay will show how these hopes expressed by Ts’ai Yung-ch’ün (Cai Yongchun) to his American friend Dorothy Barbour at age twenty came to fruition in his later life. Throughout his life, Ts’ai tried to be both fully Chinese and fully Christian, and therefore fully responsive to Chinese ethics and philosophy, both classical and current.

Ts’ai Yung ch’ün’s life provides a model in miniature of the evolution of Christianity in 20th century China. He was born of Christian parents on March 16, 1904 in Jinjing near Xiamen (Amoy) in southern Fujian province. His father, Ts’ai Chien-shi (Cai Jianxi, 1868-1948) owned a prosperous mixed-goods store and several river boats for supplying it. His mother, Kuo He-yuan (Guo Heyuan, 1871-1956), a recent convert, dedicated Yung-ch’un at his birth to be educated for Christian ministry. His two older brothers, Ch’uo-peng (1890-1956) and Cheng-te (1897-1997), were likely also Christians and attended a Christian school. Other siblings were younger brother Shih-wei and sister Hsiu-feng, who closely followed Yung-ch’un’s actions, ideas, and attitudes, as well as five additional sisters: Hsiu-tzan, Hsiu-shiang, Hsiu-mei, Hsiu-chi, and Hsiu-shan.

Yung-ch’un attended Yuying elementary school, where he often was kept after school for being slow to memorize the Four Books and Five Classics by rote. His family attributed this to his physical weakness and recurrent tuberculosis. He went on to Beiyuan Middle School in Quanzhou, where, in 1919, his English school headmaster rebuked him and fellow students for participating in the May 4th national movement of protest against the Versailles Treaty. At fifteen, Yung-ch’un joined the local congregation of Presbyterians (Zhonghua Jidu Jiao Hui), later admitting this was partly because "the traditional value hsiao made me willing to realize what mother had hoped for."² After graduating from Beiyuan as an outstanding student, Yung-ch’un taught in Beiyuan for half of 1922 and then entered Yenching University in Beijing.
Ts'ai Yung-ch'un's childhood path reflected the influence of a century of Western mission work—a century that brought devastating clashes of Western and Chinese cultures. The conflict of cultures had been felt most keenly in the southern Chinese coastal cities and in the minds of their students. There, the British "Opium Wars" of 1839-42 and 1856-60 forced an "open door" for Western trade, set up foreign-governed enclaves ("concessions") in the port cities, and granted "extraterritoriality" of legal jurisdiction, which allowed Westerners immunity for travel amid local wars throughout China. Amoy was designated as one of the first five "Treaty Ports" conceded by the Qing government by the treaty of Nanking in 1842. This was after the first "Opium War," which included a day long battle at Amoy in 1841 between well-armed shore batteries and a British fleet that included nine warships, and only overcame the forts by landing 3,500 troops behind them. Missionaries soon followed, from the Reformed Church in America, the London Missionary Society and the English Presbyterians, in 1842, 1844, and 1850. The first Protestant church in China was built in Amoy in 1848. By 1909 there were eight mission stations up river, with 75 congregations, 8,000 baptized members, 30 pastors, a Union boys Middle school and Union Theological College, 80 schools, and ten hospitals, under 100 missionaries.

[Cf.. Rev. Philip Wilson Pitcher, In and About Amoy; (Shanghai & Foochow: Methodist Publishing House, 1909) ]

The parents of Ts'ai's friends George and Dorothy Barbour were among those who had come to China in connection with the Western missionary enterprise. George Barbour's parents visited Presbyterian mission schools in southern Fujian in 1891. Dorothy Barbour's father, Dr. Robert L. Dickinson of Brooklyn visited Chinese mission hospitals in 1919 to assess their postwar medical needs. While in China, Dickinson also made sketches of boats on the China coast, such as that below of an ocean-going junk, and the drawings inside the back cover of this publication.
George Barbour, who, with his wife, became friend and colleague to Ts’ai, had arrived at Yenching University early in 1921 to teach Geology and Physics. Dorothy Barbour joined the Yenching faculty to teach Religious Education, and her sister Jean Dickinson was already teaching in the Sociology Department.\(^3\)

Yenching University had been formed by the merging of three Christian colleges, and at this time was beginning to lay out a new campus on a former prince’s estate. Designed by architect Henry Killam Murphy, the Yenching campus made innovative use of reinforced concrete in Chinese style.\(^4\) Though Yung-ch’un had won a scholarship to Yenching, he allowed it to transfer to the otherwise financially limited Wu Ren-jie. Enrolled in the Sociology Department, under John Burgess, Hsü Shih-lien, and Wu Wen-tsoo, Ts’ai was inspired to work on literacy with peasants in the villages. From the beginning he also took courses in Religion.\(^5\)

Ts’ai was not among the 500 delegates on the special train that reached Beijing in time to take part in the World Christian Student Conference on the Qing Hua University campus in April 1922, and did not play a large role in the Christians’ "Life Fellowship" and its journal *Shen-Ming*, but he must have heard much about them from his professors. He early tried to combine their emphases on Christianity and social reform, which applied to China the "Social Gospel" interpretation of Christianity then current in America. Ts’ai had learned a new way to faith:

All the Christian doctrines must be accordant with rationality. One should not accept these doctrines without rational understanding. I became acquainted with the rational Christians in my secondary school years and was critical of fundamentalism and spiritualism. I believe that religion is from human nature and God’s revelation. We are born with the need of spiritual belief; God has revealed himself to us incessantly in history.\(^6\)

During Ts’ai’s first years at Yenching, 1922-1926, the University was still in temporary quarters at K’uei-chia-ch’ang in the southeast corner within the walls of the "Manchu city" of Peip’ing, where the students shared political concerns with those of the national Peking University. Beijing and Tianjin changed hands often in the civil wars between local warlords: Japan-backed Chang Tso-lin, versus Wu Pei-fu, and the “Christian” Feng Yu-hsiang. Meanwhile, control of South China, and later much of the Yangtze valley, was secured by the Nationalists. A flood of tracts against imperialism published by the Anti-Christian Student Federation and May Fourth Movement solidified students’ nationalism and led them to demand the secularization of the Christian universities was demanded. In response, the Chinese Christians’ own publications preached the "Social Gospel" of justice and reform, the integration of faith and reason, and historical study of the Bible.

National Turmoil and Vocational Testing

In March, 1925, Sun Yat-sen died in the Rockefeller Hospital in Beijing, having asked for a Christian funeral. It is possible that Ts’ai was present for the funeral in the chapel of the Peking Union Medical College and heard the reading of Sun Yat-sen’s will, which commended Christianity, amid efforts of rioting Marxist students to disrupt the funeral. Ts’ai was still in Beijing on May 30th, 1925 when British soldiers in their concession in Shanghai fired upon a student demonstration on Nanking Road arising out of labor disputes. The reaction of students in every university throughout the country was to strike against all lectures and final
Dorothy Dickinson Barbour, c.1914, before her marriage to George Barbour.

George Barbour as a geologist in the field (photo used as advertisement for Leica cameras and on cover of Barbour’s memoir, *In China When*)
examinations, to try to arouse the press and the city workers, and to close down the colleges and the foreign treaty-port concessions. Ts’ai took part in drawing propaganda posters with his intimate schoolmate, Qiao Situ, later a famous painter. Yenching students were among the foremost in protesting, but the University did not close, in order to protect students who wanted to complete the term.

When the term ended, George and Dorothy Barbour, impressed with Yung-ch’un’s good judgment and creative ideas, invited him to their summer seashore cottage at Beidaiho to help Dorothy write a book for Christian teachers of religion, which had been asked for as part of a series by the Christian Church in China. Dorothy wrote to her parents:

I have written a book.... It didn’t seem I could, but it suddenly dawned on me that Ts’ai Yung-ch’un, the student who was with us while recovering from an operation, was the very person to do the version in Chinese. So we persuaded him to delay his home going a couple of weeks. We planned together, then I wrote the English, and he the Chinese translation. He left last night. 7

But Ts’ai had already discovered that he was ill with tuberculosis, and was compelled to return to Fujian for treatment. He was in Hungling Hospital from September 1926 to January 1927. He wrote in 1927 that for four years his faith had been crumbling:

I am going to tell you something about our religious life at home. The religion that the church teaches makes my mother suffer a great deal, & set us in great difficulties. The church places church attending above everything else. Take away Sunday worship, prayer meetings, home evening worship, formal prayers, & the morning watch that some of the members keep, and the church has no religion left. ...Now for four years and half I have been in a period of religious doubt which my mother cannot understand, and have not passed out of it even now. 8

The recovery of Ts’ai’s health took several years, though he wrote in July, 1925,

I learned all the rules for the recovery of my disease. Curious to tell, most of the things & knowledge I got not from the Doctor but from [your] letter and from a booklet called Rules for the Recovery of TB. Dr. Strick indeed laid too few rules for me. I am not afraid of rules. And I have tried my best to keep the rules I know. ...I no longer regret for my ill health. Bitter though the experience is, it is at any rate a lesson ...no less valuable than college courses. With regard to religion, I seem to have come to the stage of rebuilding of faith. I am trying to have daily reading of the Gospels and I am reading it with new interest & appreciation. I am learning to pray ....I love to read some great lives,...men like Jesus, Tagore, Gandhi, Beethoven, Tolstoy & Lincoln, leading socialists & other seekers & lovers of truth ..I can read ...only very little each day. 9

His return of faith was linked with his experience when bandits seized him on November 11th, 1927:

I was just writing & drawing a Christmas card to send to you when the bandits came.... They take me and my sister’s two children of 5 & 8 years, and a clerk from the store. They beat my mother when she tried to stop them. We walked for 30 里 that day and the little child being only a girl was left at a village. The same night they heard there were soldiers near. We were tired and I took hurt from my bonds. At first I was angry and worried because of the pain they caused to my mother and fear she would have much worry about me. But afterwards I knew that she would receive strength to suffer it, and that I should not worry. I have only one life to live...and if I am meant to live I should see her again. And so I felt that Jesus’ way with me was best and did not hate these bandits. And I told them this, for I could forgive them. And often we talked together. I was with them for 45 days. Mostly in the hut which was wet and uncomfortable and the food was dirty, and for 22 days there was no water to wash and all the time I could not change my underwear. But my body was made strong enough so that I feel this experience was far better for me than a year at Yenching. Our business is ruined. Will you tell me how to get window wires to keep the flies out of the kitchen? 10

The Ts’ais had to pay a ransom in order to gain Yung-ch’un’s release. Dorothy Barbour recounted this story
often, using pseudonyms, and adding details she may have learned orally.

By July 1928, Ts’ai had moved to Guangzhou (Canton) for his health at the suggestion of Xu Si-an, Principal of Beiyuan Middle School. He studied agriculture at Lingnan University, where he worked in the chicken house two hours a day for 24 silver yuan a month, and took three-hour labs. "With regard to the decision of future work," he wrote, "the approach of the problem by studying social needs will not help much, because in present-day China practically everything is needed." In the course of his year at Lingnan, Ts’ai found his health would not let him be a chicken-farmer, and that most of the professors of agriculture were on furlough. He transferred to the College of Liberal Arts, and rejoined a church after attending the White Cross Bible class. There he met Huang Hsiu-ying (Xiuyin), a fourth-generation Christian who graduated from Lingnan in 1930, and became his fiancée.

In September 1929, Ts’ai returned to Yenching to study sociology, and wrote a thesis on China’s population that won him election to Phi Tau Phi and Phi Beta Kappa. Hsiu-ying, at his suggestion, enrolled in the Yenching School of Religion for a Bachelor of Divinity degree, completing it in 1933.

In the summer of 1930 Yung-ch’un was again at Dorothy Barbour’s Beidaiho cottage, helping her write a second book, this one on child care for illiterate Chinese mothers, titled Chi-tu-hua-ti Chia-t’ing Chao-yu. They began by constructing a vocabulary that would add ten words per chapter, for illiterate mothers, and would begin with universal issues such as what to do when the baby cries. Dorothy Barbour’s letters to her husband, who was away in Scotland for his mother’s illness and death, are full of details:
I will take Ts’ai Yung-ch’un to Peitaiho to help me, [on book on Childcare, doing another book first]; having discovered, when the first book was written in English and translated, that there remained a ‘foreign smell’. D and Ts’ai discussed in Chinese, he wrote it out in a conversational educated vocabulary and read it to her, she suggested changes; he rewrote it, and finally it suited them both in ideas and style; written for High School graduates in language they would talk to each other...Ts’ai has had word today: that the family junk was robbed of $7,000 worth of goods - the third attack by bandits. They have not yet repaid all the debts resulting from the first robbery, and he thinks it will mean the complete failure of the family business, and that his sister cannot go to college. It seems a crying shame. His work on this book shows a maturity and honesty and clarity of thought I do not see in any of our theological faculty except T.C. Chao. We decided to pray overnight, and if he still feels clear I will see Jimmy Yen about possibilities for him in Mass Education.

To T’an Hui-Ying, an ex-communist "who now would have no money," DDB assigned [to T’an Hui-Ying, an ex-communist "who now would have no money," DDB assigned] the translation into English of the book, because the National Christian Council of N. India wanted to use it and could find no-one who knew both Chinese and Marathi. The translation was literal but accurate and used in China also as a ‘pony’ by missionaries, as an [English] textbook in Middle schools. Its Chinese original was reprinted 31 times in the first year or two.

Ts’ai and I began revising. The height of his standards is excellent. He comes back and back for illustrations more within a small town mother’s ken.

T. T. Liu is wanting to Father it;... He talked about the book ‘we three’ were writing, and about putting his name on the title page;... [At Yenching] Saturday we had 8 students for dinner and a farewell party for Ts’ai, a most hilarious success.13

Hsiu-ying was invited to Beidaiho for a week in August, but her visit was cut short by Chang Hsueh-liang’s troop movements. In September, Yung-ch’un began a ministry in Dingxian where he could work with Lu Hongzhou on "Jimmy" Yen’s literacy program.14 But bicycling through inclement weather back and forth between Dingxian and its villages for seven months brought a relapse of his tuberculosis. In May, 1931, he had acute appendicitis, and was rushed by the Barbourss to Peking Union Medical College for an operation.15 He was at Xi-shan Sanitarium, west of Beijing, for twenty-two months. His marriage waited until June 6, 1933. Their honeymoon was at Qingdao.

During Ts’ai’s first hospitalization, Chiang Kai-shek had led the Nationalist armies from Guangdong on the Northern Expedition of 1926-27, trying to unify China. Chiang’s alliance with the Sungs and his purge of the Communists from the Party in Shanghai in April were momentous for the future of China. Chinese idealistic nationalists, notably those who called themselves Christian socialists, were disillusioned by the resulting brutalizing of both the KMT and the Communist Party.16 More immediate crises came from Chiang’s march into Shantung in 1928. In July, the Japanese found their puppet warlord Chang Tso-lin uncooperative with their plans to take over Manchuria, and blew up his private train. The young Japanese officers involved met no check at home or abroad. They sidelined peace loving civilian leaders such as Baron Shidehara, and by 1931 had made Manchukuo autonomous under "the last Emperor" Pu Yi.

During Ts’ai’s second hospital stay, the Japanese navy bombarded Shanghai. The resulting national boycott of Japanese goods was led by the students, who held a massive anti-Japanese rally in Beijing on December 9, 1935. Ts’ai had adopted Christian pacifism as his personal stand, and the moral chaos of the time seems to have moved his central concern from social service and the rebuilding of Chinese society, to a deeper exploration of the bases of morality.

In a short happy interval at Yenching in 1933 to 1936 the Ts’ais’ daughter Hong-yu (taking as her English name Joan, for Joan of Arc) was born on July 10, 1934. As a student at Yenching School of Religion,
under continuing health restraints after a discouraging X-Ray, Yung-ch’\’un was still testing his vocation, mulling over "the relation of Christianity to myself and China’s national life. Is Christianity a vital religion to me? Does China need such a religion? How can Christianity be fitted for modern China? What am I going to do with the existing Church? What real good is it doing to China?"\textsuperscript{17}

Ts’ai studied for his B.D. degree, and saw Dorothy Barbour’s book through the press. George Barbour, between field trips with Pierre Teilhard de Chardin across northwest China, visited the Ts’ais in hospital upon their child’s birth. He also advised them on a gynecologist, lent Barbour’s used furniture to Ts’ai’s sister, discussed with him a cover for the new edition of the "green book" for Chinese mothers, and accepted Ts’ai’s suggestion to reverse an illustration and cut out an English introduction so it would not seem "foreign" to the mothers.\textsuperscript{18} Hsiu-ying worked throughout 1934-35 under Mabel Nowlin preparing Sunday School materials. Yung-ch’\’un may have worked with Nowlin in setting up a village school in TaWangChuang where "a group of 5 girls about 15 years old who have learned how to read the first 1000 characters ...are the nucleus of the volunteer teachers."\textsuperscript{19}

During 1936-38 the Ts’ais were back in Fujian. Yung-ch’\’un taught Church History and the life of Jesus, while Hsiu-ying taught Psychology at Minnan (also known as South Fujian) Theological College in Xiamen.\textsuperscript{20} On July 7, 1937, the Japanese army staged the "Marco Polo Bridge" incident west of Beijing, and then proceeded to occupy North China and the lower Yangtze valley, massacring a quarter million civilians in Nanjing.

In March 1938 Ts’ai was arrested as a traitor and imprisoned for three weeks with thirteen others in a room four feet by fifteen. As his wife related:

The reason was a talk which he was asked to give at an all-day meeting organized by seven Christian schools for prayer, talk, and discussion. The subject of the meeting was "Christians and the War," and [he] gave the main talk. ... He prepared this talk carefully, and went next door to pray for more than an hour before he gave it. For three weeks all we heard was praise. Then suddenly there appeared in the local newspaper an article accusing him. The writer used perhaps half a sentence which [he] used, ...and then continued as if [he] said it all. [He] did not discuss the question of war, but he did say that the cruel deeds done by Japan are sin, and sin is a hateful thing, ... We hate the sin but we can still love the sinner. ...Two detectives took him away....I was able to see him two days later. It was a surprising wonder to see him so quiet, calm and joyful. ...Many students have gone in and have been inspired by his attitude:....We have come to comfort you, but you comfort us." While he is in prison we can send in one meal each day.... The little room was so dirty, but ...he asked for two buckets to be sent in, one with a cover for a toilet, the other to wash the floor. The soldiers were thrilled to see him doing this, even with chains on his feet. Books are allowed to be sent in, and he prepares work for his classes to do and sends out lecture notes. He asked for separate copies of the gospels and gave them to other prisoners. ....We are sorry for the human slaughtering in "Christian Europe.\textsuperscript{21}

In July, 1938, Xiamen was occupied by the Japanese. The Ts’ais then retired to Hsiu-ying’s family home in Hong Kong. There, meditating at a turning point in his life; Yung-ch’\’en felt he heard God commanding "share the lot with your people." Declining invitations to be Religious Dean at Puiching Middle School and Mandarin-language chaplain in Hong Kong, from 1938 through 1940 Yung-ch’\’un and Hsiu-ying were on the faculty of Canton Union Theological College.\textsuperscript{22}

From September 1938 to March 1939, Ts’ai worked with refugees in camps near the former Lingnan University campus outside Guangzhou, organizing the students to distribute food and medicine,
conducted Bible study with the women and children, and teaching them to sing Christian hymns. The Japanese bombed the harbor, and occupied the city in October. Daughter Hong-yu had been left for her safety with Hsiu-ying's family in Hong Kong.

Canton Union Theological College (and Lingnan University) withdrew to Hong Kong. There, the seminary joined with Huazhong (Central China) University, which was escaping from Wuhan. Through mediation by Bishop Ronald O. Hall, they were invited by Yin Hsin-chu, a wealthy merchant, to resettle in his home town of Xizhou (Hsichow) ten kilometers north of Dali (Tali) in Yunnan. The Ts'ai's agreed to move with them to West China, choosing to "share the lot of the people" and postpone taking up a Student Friendship Fund Fellowship to Union Theological Seminary, New York.23

Missionary Scholar of West China's Minzhia tribes & Confucian funerals

In 1937 to 1939, ten million Chinese migrated westward to escape Japanese rule and the ravaging of Shanghai, Nanjing, and Guangzhou. After Nankai University in Tianjin was terror-bombed and shelled in August, 1937, and other universities targeted, thirty-three of China's 108 institutions of higher education also moved "en masse" to Yunnan, Sichuan, and Gansu behind the mountains. Seventeen were closed. Others moved, often only temporarily, to Western protection in Hong Kong and Shanghai, or to Hunan, Guizhou, and Guanshi.24

Many Westerners went with their Chinese colleagues while others spent much of the war in internment camps after the Japanese attacked the American, British, Dutch, and French Empires in Asia in December, 1941. The Canton Theological College joined the trek to Yunnan, traveling steerage by steamer to Haiphong and taking the weekly one-car train up the French-built railway to Kunming. When the Ts'ai's theological school arrived, Kunming was hosting already two new college-level schools, four emigré art, medical, or physical education schools, as well as the Southwest Associated University of the former faculty and students of Nankai, Qing Hua, and Peking Universities, and Sun Yat-sen at Chengkiang, 200 kilometers to the south. Xizhou lay 250 kilometers west of Kunming along the newly hand-hewn “Burma Road” running west to Bhamo or Myitkyina, which was opened in 1938 and blocked by the Japanese in 1942. Xizhou, known for its fine carving of beams and doorways from cedar in the neighboring forests, was "already overrun with people" coming overland from Huazhong (Central China) University.25

Yung-chun, though also teaching at the Seminary and Central China College, took on as his main work initiating a mission among the Petso people, called by Han Chinese Minzhia (Min-chia) in the valley from Dali northward and in the surrounding hills. The Minzhia had kept their language and culture distinct from the Han Chinese who had lived in the main towns among them for 1800 years. Ts'ai's work at Shang-Yang-Chi village in 1940 had the approval of tribal chiefs and President Francis Wei of Central China College26; it was suggested to him by Wu Wen-tsao and John Burt Foster.27
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<td>2200 km.</td>
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Though Lutheran and other missionaries traveled through Dali en route to Tibet, the only mission there, that of the China Inland Mission, had converted only a few dozen. Anthropologists had shown that most individuals there were mixed in blood and grammar, but the Minzhia language had never been written. Yung-ch'un, a sociologist as well as a missionary, was able to make a script for Minzhia, for the first time, he believed. He aimed at "entire reconstruction of village life."
In 1940 the Ts'ai's second daughter, Liang-Yu, was born and given Mrs. Barbour's name, Dorothy. But Ts'ai's tuberculosis again flared up, and he was forced to withdraw to recuperate for most of the next two years, living in the home of Yin Hsin-chu, the wealthy Confucian merchant who had invited Canton Union Theological College to resettle in his hometown of Xizhou. Ts'ai's health prevented him from going with the seminary when it moved back to northern Guangdong province because Dali was threatened by the Japanese invasion of Burma, just to the west. At Xizhou, he was treated as a family member by the family of Yin Hsin-chu, whose Confucian funeral rites he could thus share in directly.

From 1942 to 1943, Ts'ai was Lecturer for the Church of Christ in China in their Kunming church, "established newly only since the war against Japanese broke out. Most of its members were capitalists and intellectuals from the Southeast." The minister was Chiu Teng-kiat, brother-in-law of Ts'ai Hsiu-ying. Hsiu-ying wrote that:

Ts'ai was his assistant, responsible for the co-ordination with the students and staff of the Southwestern University. Ts'ai left a deep impression on the people. A professor at Yunnan University remembered that "Yung-ch'un was a pastor. He preached every week, but he did not speak like most pastors, asking people to join the religion ... What he taught was full of philosophical wisdom and was very convincing." The chief secretary of Kunming YMCA, Wang Tse-hing, wrote of Ts'ai's preaching as "rich in content, and convincing." Mr. Li Chu-ming, who worked at the student association of the Southwestern University, Wang Shan-guo, who came from Shanghai, grew up in a Christian family, and was a lover of music, came to our church every Sunday....In 1980 he wrote ... "Mr. Ts'ai's preaching in Kunming, always [is for] me a wonderful memory.”

However, when Ts'ai was examined in 1956, he wrote:

Because I had not received the doctrine of Christ, I could only preach on the doctrine of God. .....I felt I must overcome this problem. Otherwise I could only resign from my position at the church. At that time I tried hard to find a solution from Western theological literatures, and discuss it with a number of Christians.

In the summer of 1943, Ts'ai had an important heart-to-heart talk with Bishop Ronald O. Hall, who was returning by air “over the hump” via India to his new base in west China after a fundraising year in England. Hall lent Ts'ai H.Richard Niebuhr's book The Meaning of Revelation, with its pragmatic approach to truth, and his doubts were overcome.

[Ts'ai] fully accepted Christ. He was liberated from many years of uncertainty. His faith, his theological thinking made a great leap to a new height. He was joyful, excited, fulfilled, and relieved. But more so, he was thankful. He meditated many days on a passage in St. Augustine's Confessions: ‘My God, I knew only this one point, and I give thanks to you.' Since then, Ts’ai preached about the grace that God gave his only Son to man, ..on the mystery of salvation, incarnation, and justification by faith.

Having worked in the United Church of China with American Congregationalists and Scottish Presbyterians, Ts’ai showed the ecumenical spirit of Christian China by transferring to and being ordained a priest in the Chinese Episcopal Church. Ts'ai's Yenching teacher Dr. Chao Tze-ch'en (T.C. Chao; Zhao Zichen, 1895-1979) also had accepted Episcopal ordination in 1941. The two individuals most influential in the thought and turning-points in Yung-ch'un’s life were Ronald Owen Hall and Chao Tze-ch'en.
Ronald Owen Hall (1895-1975) and his wife Nora were the children and siblings of generations of Church of England clergy. From 1927 through 1932 Hall served an industrial parish in Newcastle-on-Tyne, where his father had served in his boyhood. His classics education at Bromsgrove School and Brasenose College, Oxford had been interrupted by four years service in World War I. His maturity and charisma had led to his first post on the staff of the British Student Christian Movement. In that role he attended the 1922 World Student Christian Federation conference at Qing Hua College near Beijing, after which its organizer, Dr. T.Z.Koo, invited him to be his own assistant in the Shanghai YMCA Student program in 1925-26. It was thus with the support of both the Church of England and the Chinese bishops of the Shenggong Hui that he was ordained in 1932 to become bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, presiding over all South China Episcopal churches and dioceses except Fukien. Before he retired in 1966, he had founded 30 churches, 50 primary and 15 secondary schools, and sponsored a rural reconstruction project in line with Jimmy Yen's, in Zhenghung, Guangdong. He headed the relief work in which the Ts'ai's were so active around Guangzhou when the Japanese seized it in 1938, and the refugee problem had become almost too big to handle. Hall arranged for the universities’ trek to Yunnan, sending his suffragan Allen with them. After 1941 he was a head of the Chinese Red Cross. He was in England raising funds when the Japanese took Hong Kong on Dec.8, 1941, so could return by plane "over the hump" to his new base at Kunming and travel intensively in wartime China. He created the separate diocese of Yunnan and Kweichow under Quentin Y.K. Huang in 1947. With the Chinese bishops' approval, he authorized in 1943 the first sacrament-giving deaconess, Li T'ien-Ai (Lei Tim-Oi in Cantonese) for Macao. On his "6-month sabbatical" in 1941-2 he wrote The Missionary Artist Looks at his Job and China Fights for Freedom, and preached on A New Church Order for the World-Wide Episcopal Church at Evanston in 1941.

Hall's talks with Ts'ai reflected his concern to see the Chinese Church through Chinese eyes, led by Chinese, "no longer a daughter but a sister Church [where] his task would be to do as much as an eager foreigner could do, to help the Chinese Church leaders to do their own work by doing for them things [he] could do in spite of being a foreigner." Hall strongly affirmed what God had been doing in Chinese history: "The relevance of the Christian movement in China is easiest understood as intensification of what God began when He made the Chinese people, and what He has gone on doing.... God would not be God if...His dealings with every people were the same as His dealings with the Jews or with the European peoples. In Christ, God intervened to restore, redeem, fulfil, complete, intensify what He had begun." Hall had always been a disciple of Frederick Denison Maurice, whose idea of an organic society was close to socialism, and so had no trouble in affirming the new Communist order in 1947 as closer to Christian ideals than the by then corrupt and discouraged nationalists. Before and during the war he talked at length both with the Chiangs and Chou En-lai. His hopes for the Church as an independent institution were disappointed, when after the "Hundred Flowers" era, the Shenggong Hui was merged by Chou's policy into the single national "Three-self Church." After 1958 Hall had to re-define himself as Bishop of only Hong Kong and Macao, but his faith did not waver. He retired to England in 1966 and died there in 1975.

Ts'ai's mentor at Yenching was Dr. Chao Tze-ch'en. After long talks with Ronald Hall in 1939-40, Chao moved from an individualistic theology based on social reform to one centered on the Church as a divine instrument, and accepted Episcopal ordination in July 1941 in Hong Kong. Chao had been a friend of Hall's and the Ts'ai's for decades, and spoke in welcome at Hall's ordination in London (he took a sabbatical year at Oxford in 1932). In 1926 he was Dean at the Christian University at Soochow, before moving to Beijing. From then on he taught theology at Yenching University, and at its School of Religion, which he headed, until he was arrested and imprisoned for six months by the Japanese. Chao had been a Methodist, as he had earned his Divinity degree at Vanderbilt University in 1917, where he appreciated the "Social Gospel" ideals then rising. In 1922 he had taken part in the World Student Federation meeting near at Qing Hua and the formation of the National Christian Council of China in Shanghai. Chao was a thoughtful and original theologian: he wrote nine articles for the *Chinese Recorder*, twenty-six for seventeen other English-language books and collections, and some dozens in Chinese, especially for *Shen Ming*. Most of these were attempts to understand the role of Christ and the Church in terms which could be integrated with Chinese culture, social reform, and moral responsibility. For him the "indigenization" of the Church included the rejection of denominationalism, and of "spiritual imperialism" as well as political imperialism. He studied seriously John Dewey's pragmatism and the anti-Christian writings of the anti-imperialist students in 1925. After reacting against the rejection of ancient China in the May Fourth movement, he hoped to combine Confucian ethics and the Sermon on the Mount, the Personality of God and the immanence of Yin and Yang.

Chao played key roles in the International Missionary Conferences at Jerusalem (1928), Tambaram (Madras, 1938) and Whitby (Canada, 1947). The ecumenical movement gave hope and unity to Christians throughout the world in the dark days of the war against Nazism, and for the post-war reconstruction of nations from the ruins. It was therefore natural that at the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948 Chao was chosen one of its six Presidents. He renounced that title in 1951 when the World Council office endorsed the United Nations' role in the Korean war. His hopes for a rebirth of Christianity and of the Yenching School of Religion, as part of the rebirth of China, were shattered in 1950, when the government closed the school, denounced him and put him on public trial. He tried to work within the Three-Self Church but was defrocked. Ronald Hall found Chao deeply bewildered by events in 1956, and Chao told Winfried Gluer in 1976 that he was no longer a Christian. Yet he was buried as one.

Ts’ai was disappointed that his health prevented him from calling on his Kunming parishioners, and especially the poor, to "share the lot of the people." Bishop Hall suggested he accept instead the post of chaplain at the C.M.S. (Episcopal Church) Huidian Hospital in Kunming, where his experience of sickness would help doctors and nurses as well as patients. In 1944 Ts’ai designed and supervised the construction of the hospital chapel, and persuaded its administration to let the staff contract monthly with the Hospital canteen, as a hedge against the hyperinflation of Chinese money. He became President of the Zhuqing Foundation to cover medical fees for the teachers’ families of Southwest and Yunnan Universities. Ts’ai was still in Kunming in 1946 when a letter came from Chao inviting him to teach Comparative Religion at the newly reconstituted Yenching School of Religion, and to prepare himself for it by study in England or America.

T.C. Chao’s invitation and the opportunity to study abroad allowed Ts’ai to combine his lifelong interests in sociology and theology, as well as analyze and study his own new data from Dali. His scholarship to Union Theological Seminary in New York did not cover the expenses of bringing over his wife and children, who stayed from 1946 to 1947 in Oakland, California, where Hsiu-ying earned free board and lodging as manager of the Home of Peace, a small inn for missionaries. Ts’ai had to use his father’s inheritance to cover travel costs. Bishop Hall provided a small subsidy in 1947-49 parallel to those for missionaries on leave.

Ts’ai studied at Columbia University and Union Seminary during 1946-1947, taking an eight hour course at Columbia, and at Union Seminary “Introductory Church History” under John T. McNeill and Paul Tillich, “Religions of India & Southeast Asia”, and “Religions of China, Korea, and Japan” with August K. Reischauer, “General Survey of the History of the Philosophy of Religion” from Richard Kroner, plus the “Christian view of History” from Reinhold Niebuhr, and “Advanced Problems in Systematic Theology with Tillich” - altogether an array of talent then unmatched anywhere in the world. He started but dropped a course in medieval art, instead taking French in the Spring Term.

Ts’ai’s M.A. thesis was written in the same academic year under Reischauer and Rev. R. H. L. Slater of Cambridge University on "Tali Funeral Rites: Study in ‘Ancestor Worship’ and his degree was granted in May 1947. Always the dedicated scholar, in 1947-48, Ts’ai took a seminar on “Christianity and Tragedy” with David Roberts, Old Testament with Samuel Terrien, two more courses in Christian Ethics from Niebuhr, and at Columbia six hours each in the “History of Philosophy” and “Problems in the Philosophy of Religion.” He had also learned to read Greek, Hebrew, and German, and later learned Russian.

During his West China years, Ts’ai’s thinking returned to the central issue for classical Chinese philosophy - good and evil in human nature. During his talk with Bishop Hall "by the pond" in Kunming, he had asked why Buddhism had been able to integrate with Chinese culture to a degree that Christianity had not, and was reassured that "the difference between Christianity and Buddhism is that the former enters the world, the latter escapes from the world; the former seeks to resolve people’s suffering, the latter only seeks that fortune in the next life."

During this period Ts’ai became interested in the teaching of family loyalty (hsiao) through the traditional Chinese mourning ceremonies, which, in the cultured Confucian home where the Ts’ai family lived for three years, were kept in purer form than he had known in his Christian boyhood. Neither Ts’ai nor his host
took part in an annual fertility rite in which a secret society of people from local places danced and sang lewd songs in a procession through each village from Xizhou to a lake port near Dali. His host, "Uncle Yin", was a "Confucian scholar turned merchant," who had built a wealthy estate and trained his sons, who naturally had homes in his household, but included a KMT army major and the Chamber of Commerce chairman of Xiagwan, the Burma Road market town south of Dali. Ts'ai role as a "participant observer" in Yin Hsin-chu's home was influential in the preparation of his 1947 M.A., which gave him a chance to compare his findings with other scholars.

James Thayer Addison, though never in Dali, was an Episcopal missionary whose book on Chinese ancestor worship is one of the few modern works Ts'ai cited in his thesis. Like Addison, Yung-ch'un was centrally concerned with the meaning of the rituals for those who took part, in their relation to Christianity, and in their rootage in the Confucian classics: Rites, (Li Ji) Analects (Lun Yu), The Mean (Zhong Yong), etc. Both men knew these books well, though Addison focused on the paradigm accounts in the Odes (Shi Jing) and History (Shu Jing), and Ts'ai on the more cryptic sayings attributed to Confucius himself. Both spoke of the love as well as reverence aroused for the parents, and of "carrying on the unfulfilled life purpose of the parents." Both discussed disagreement among Chinese today about whether the spirits of the dead were present and acted benevolently. Both described the "Rites Controversy", the three centuries of debate of Dominican and Franciscan missionaries in China against the Jesuit scientists in Beijing over whether reverence for ancestors was idolatry.

Like polygamy in Africa, and caste in India, renouncing idols was required of converts by missionaries of most churches in China. Unlike the Popes and Presbyterians, the Anglicans concluded that reverence for parents was not idolatry; (both Addison and Ts'ai warned against Buddhist and Taoist gods and ideas). Ts'ai saw that the key issue was the meaning for the participants of food sacrifices to the dead. He noted the importance in the Classics of Li, the conduct proper to "a good father, a good son, a good ruler, a good subject," by which "cultured forms [are] given to naive emotions: genuine feelings coming from within are harnessed in restraint and provided with reasonable, aesthetic, and socially adequate expressions" for achieving a harmonious society. He was seeking, as were the Marxists in economic areas, a basis in nature and human nature for social ethics.

After setting the stage, Ts'ai's thesis described in detail the rituals he had experienced in the Yin family's main hall, beginning with his own condolences to the family, who were already in white mourning sackcloth, on the morning of Yin's death, October 10, 1941. Traditional Confucian rituals are led by the sons of the deceased, without priests; and the Yin family added only a monks' two-hour service on the third day to "open the way" to the Buddha's "Pure Land," (a Shamanist medium reassured the women about Yin's arrival there). Of Taoist elements they used only the role of a "Feng-shui" expert, the burning of paper animals and money, and a major sacrifice to the Earth or Mountain Spirit at the approach to the tomb. At the end of the first day, the body was placed in the coffin. The first week, "Simple Mourning" gave the villagers time to pay their respects, and be served tea by a "guest-receiver"; but schoolboys simply bowed. The women held weekly ceremonies for five weeks thereafter. After seventy days, two days
of Formal Mourning were held, with continuous music indoors, thousands of visitors, each bringing offerings of money, rice, a chicken or a goat, and members of the clan (except those senior to the deceased) offering incense, and performing kotow. Chia-chi, the family's own triple sacrifice, of incense, wine, tea, fruit and food, and the burning of paper money, and three offerings by the women, was the central ceremony, "the most moving sights of a similar nature that I have ever seen. One could find no better way to teach the uneducated people to love and revere their parents."40 The chih-wen (sacrifice address) summarizing the life and titles of the deceased was read by the oldest son, and ceremonially burned to send it to the spirit-realm. Ts'ai, like Addison, describes the writing of the "Ancestral Tablet" by a Confucian scholar, but includes the chih-wen dedication text, details of the consecration and ceremonial "dotting" which makes it the home of the deceased's spirit. Ts'ai was detailed about order and sacrifices (with an altar-table and tso-yi in the middle of the road) in the funeral procession of several thousand from the home to the family tomb. He included the text of the invocation of the Mountain Spirit, and ceremonial family visits there four times yearly, notably tsing-ming in April, ending in a joyful picnic.

The last pages of Ts'ai's M.A. thesis discussed which elements in the ceremony were Confucian and may be honored, and which were Taoist and should be dropped. He compared serving meals and kotowing to the living and the dead, and concluded with a suggestion for a ceremony combining Christian and Confucian elements. "We do not mean ...the church is to encourage or revive the Confucian rites [but] that the Church may tolerate them."41

The Neoconfucian Ethics of Cheng Yi

In the summer of 1947 the Ts'ai's stayed in the author's parsonage at South Coventry CT, where Hsiu-ying provided delicious meals and lively Vacation School classes, and made the lifelong friendship of Eloise Schweyer Ryan and Pauline Little. Yung-ch'un was already working on his doctoral thesis on Neo-Confucianism, but he did not speak of who had led him to study Cheng Yi (Cheng Yichuan).42 As his daughter summarizes:

the aim of Yung-ch'un's studies was to find a way to combine Christianity with Chinese culture, so that the church could take root in China. In his opinion, although Christianity was disseminated into China during the Tang dynasty [by Nestorians] (608-907), and again [by Franciscans] in the Sung dynasty (960-1270), each time it did not last long. The reason for its withering away was that its thought, rites, and customs were incompatible with Chinese culture. Therefore he laid emphasis on comparative religion and the history of religion, including the history of primitive religions and the main world religions, especially the intrinsic religion of China and the history of Chinese philosophical thought. Since his Ph.D. topic must be creative he decided on the thought of the Ch'eng brothers.

Ts'ai did not find it easy to become a scholar in the field because, after his secondary school immersion, he had not been schooled as a Confucian, as had William Hung, Yenching professor Hsu Pao-ch'ien (Xu Baoqian), and Wu Lei-ch'uan, the Vice-president (1926-29) and Chancellor (1929-34) at Yenching. Until 1947, Neoconfucian studies (though earlier studied in Europe) had centered in Shanghai, where the Commercial Press had resumed reprinting the Basic Sinological Series of classical texts; and in Beijing, where William Hung was organizing the Sinological Index Series under the Harvard-Yenching Institute and Dirk Bodde was working with
Fung Yulan to translate into English the second volume of Fung’s *History of Chinese Philosophy*. T’sai knew these volumes and also used the lively, compact work of J. Percy Bruce in England, *Chu Hsi and his Masters* (London, Probsthain, 1923), and Alfred Forke’s 200 pages on the Neoconfucians, from Shao Yong through Chu Hsi (Zhu Xi), in his folio *Geschichte der neueren chiinesischen Philosophie*. (Hamburg, 1938).

T’sai’s thesis, "The Philosophy of Ch’eng I," was dedicated with fitting hsiao to his parents, but was written for Professors Horace Friess, Arthur Jeffrey, and L. Carrington Goodrich of Columbia. Like Fung, Forke, and Bruce, T’sai focused on key concepts, represented by single Chinese characters; but he mainly avoided the comparisons with Plato’s and Aristotle’s metaphysics of the other writers.

Among the 11th century Neoconfucians, T’sai chose the most crucial and least studied, Cheng Yi, who most clearly aimed to combine morality and the laws of nature and human nature, minimizing Taoist or Buddhist metaphysics, inner meditation disciplines, and magic. Since the austere Cheng Yi outlived by twenty-two years his more charismatic, intuitive, and monistic older brother Cheng Hao (known to his disciples as Cheng Weiming), T’sai, who did not lump them together, found it logical to consider Cheng Yi’s texts first and in 1950 lacked time to study Cheng Hao also.

After summarizing the Chengs’ background and family history, T’sai’s second major section examined critically the textual source material. T’sai’s five detailed appendices may represent the most thorough analysis ever made of the authenticity of the texts of the Cheng brothers. Franklin Woo notes that T’sai had learned "higher critical" methods regarding the Bible. Equally vital was his faithful continuing to the textual criticism by Chinese scholars, from the "Old" and "New Text" debates of the Han dynasty up through the remarkably alert comments of Chu Hsi himself as he edited the basic *Erh Ch’eng I Shu* and *Erh Ch’eng Wai Shu* collections of sayings of the two brothers.

Other cultures with sacred texts, such as the Torah, Koran, and Christian creeds, have developed in the Mishneh, Shariah, and medieval dialectic their own methods for comparing and evaluating sayings and manuscripts, but Chinese scholars’ methods were as early and as sophisticated as any, once the Chinese canon of the Five classics and the Four books was established in the late Han Dynasty. The price of each such tradition has been the stereotyping of starting points. In Cheng Yi’s case this meant that the one book he felt central enough to write out himself was a commentary, *I Chuan* (Yizhuan), on the Book of Changes (*I Ching*) which for him as for two millennia of Chinese framed their thinking about the cosmos, even though it had begun as simply spelling out the meanings when the yarrow stalks and Eight Trigrams were used for divination. Most of the *Collected Sayings of the Two Ch’engs* and those in Secondary and derivative Sung era collections could only be attributed to one or other brother based on the similarity of their ideas to sayings whose speaker is identified, and some collections were regarded even by Chu Hsi as reshaped by editors to reflect classical language forms. This has led to small, brisk arguments between commentators, early and late, but not to the kind of wholesale questioning of the authenticity of major books that has occurred with Biblical and Buddhist works and even with some early Chinese classics. T’sai’s detailed textual study, therefore, expanded with hsiao an old tradition, and overthrew no idols. The English style is lively, idiomatic, and compact, notably in telling the life stories of the Cheng brothers, their debt to their mother, and their relative independence from their teachers Shao Yong, Chou
Tun-Yi (Zhou Dunyi), and Chang Tsai (Zhang Zai). He made the Chengs' court careers vivid without describing national events, but noted carefully conclusions of Ming and Qing dynasty Confucian scholars about the Sung books, and the roles of printed editions from the Chengs' days onwards.

For his long section on the Chengs' ideas, Ts'ai, like the Chengs' Neoconfucian followers, and later Fung and Graham, outlined their ideas under key Chinese words, which often involved repeating single epigrams in the context of each term, ignoring the often unknown settings in which they were said. Ts'ai began with terms "above forms": Tao which he treated as the Way of Heaven, and Li, which he translated as timeless Natural Law, and which the Ch'eng brothers defined as the Ultimate, replacing the T'ai Chi or Supreme Ultimate, upon which their teacher Chou Tun-Yi had tried to base the Sung dynasty Confucians' metaphysics. Li, however, takes diverse concrete implementations "below forms". These are produced by Yang and Yin, which the Chengs saw as not simply sky and earth, male and female, (or whole and broken lines in the Trigrams) but as the essence of change and quiescent stability, outpouring and return, through which Tao acts in the cosmos. Cheng Yi, said Ts'ai, was refuting Taoist and Buddhist ideas that the Great Ultimate was inactive, or men should be. "The mind of Heaven and Earth is revealed in movement rather than in stillness." 45

Ts'ai tucked into his discussion two ideas that recur throughout Chinese philosophy, the Mean=Chung, interpreted as balance (as in the Chung Yung), and Cheng=Integrity, holding true to one's nature, to which Ts'ai returned later. Ts'ai explained Cheng Yi's claim that timeless Li as Natural Order is nevertheless not prior or posterior to its concrete manifestation in every concrete thing. In humankind it is opposed to selfishness and in human artifacts it is the mental pattern but not the derived diagram. Ch'eng wanted his students to recognize the Li or essence of being "a good son," a good father," a good ruler," or a "good servant," and to express them in suitable rituals. 46

Ts'ai came only in his next chapter of Cheng's ideas to Li's polar partner, Ch'i, which Ts'ai wisely translated as "energy," rather than as "ether" (an idea modern physics has long since outgrown) or DeBary's "material/force." China's tradition and grammar do not encourage ideas of static matter versus dynamic ideas or Principles, but rather the transformation of everything into everything else. 47

Ts'ai made a third chapter from the Chengs' cyclical theory of history, which, though they buttressed it with remarkably detailed knowledge of events, developed Chinese ideas of successive reigns and ages based on Yin and Yang and the Five Elements (like Western ideas of an Iron Age succeeding an Age of Gold) as well as Buddhist ideas of continuous decline throughout the kalpa'aeon from primitive purity into corruption. Ts'ai wanted to show that for Cheng Yi, no Deity intervenes in historical cause and effect, and that Ming, which Fung and Graham elevate as divine Decree, and DeBary as Destiny, should be translated as mysterious Fate; an interpretation no doubt reflecting the fact that Ts'ai had lived through the two World Wars and the Civil Wars in China. Cheng Yi said that humans should live by righteousness and not by dictates of fate.

Ts'ai's fourth and central chapter was on Cheng Yi's idea of Human Nature, Hsing (Xing), which since Mencius the Confucians had insisted, against Hsun Tze (Xunzi), and the Buddhists, was essentially good, though in need of cultivation and education. Ts'ai, who had lectured on this question at Kunming, digressed at once to ask the source of human evil in the Chengs' philosophy. Clearly it was in the "clouded' state of humans' Ch'i,
Energy or material, rather than in human Li, but the Chens could not consider Ch'i itself as evil, because of the Yijing (I Ching)'s key idea of cyclical Changes of Yang and Yin and the Chens' desire not to accept Buddhist otherworldliness. For them the cleansing of human nature combined Confucian ideals of straightening by study and self-discipline or austerity. "When a learner is conquered by his Ch'i, or carried off by habits, he can only blame his own will."

Ts’ai’s fifth chapter, "Fundamentals of Ethical Teaching," took him beyond the scholars like Fung and Forke who were interested mainly in metaphysics. Cheng Yi "was never interested in any intellectual pursuit for its own sake [but for] the sole purpose of understanding moral truth and ... the achievement of perfect manhood. ... The fundamental presupposition of Ch’eng I’s ethical thinking is that there is a universal ethical order. Right must be done for its own sake, not because it can bring desirable results or happiness."

Right action must be based on natural order, the aspect of Li which sets men in ranks and families: "Filial Piety = Hsiao (Xiao), and fraternal love describe instinctive service, which without stopping to calculate is to "fulfill your mind; that is equal to knowing your nature, and knowing your nature is equal to knowing Heaven." Like medieval Western "Natural Law" ethics, Confucianism creates hierarchical societies, and teaches Ming, which is fate but also the Mandate of Heaven. "Chou Pai-wen asked about ‘serving Heaven.’ [Cheng Yi] said ‘simply obey.’" Ts’ai did not ask how far "the people" could put the same kind of obligation upon a person, but said that, since for Cheng Yi Li is universal and impartial, it implies that Jen is Kung = disinterested, the opposite to self-interest. Here Ts’ai’s Christian and his Confucian ideals fused.

Ts’ai, like other scholars, noted Cheng Yi’s emphasis on Ch’eng = integrity or sincerity - being true to one’s cosmic nature, allowing the power of Li to work through one, which can be recognized by men universally. A man’s resting place is given by his social role as father, son, ruler, and servant. If one cannot fulfill this role with integrity, one is not following Tao, one’s fundamental nature, as Cheng Yi explained when he felt he must resign from his court post.

Ts’ai built a sixth, concluding chapter on "the Two-fold Way to Perfect Manhood", Chih jen (Je Ren), Cheng Yi’s phrase in an essay written when only nineteen years old: "What Did Yen Hui love to learn," and a prose poem "the Four Admonitions." Their aim was to distinguish the Sage, who is not born one, from the ordinary man, who can become a sage by the achievement of knowledge and the cultivation of personality. Ts’ai outlined the goal of learning (perfect manhood), the Scope of Learning, and the Unity of Knowledge and Action (always vital for Ts’ai), through anecdotes of Cheng, his quotations from the Classics, and ideas from Chou Tun-ye.

Ts’ai appended a fifty-page essay on Cheng Yi’s political and social ideas. These assumed the four traditional strata in Chinese society: king, ministers, scholars, and common people. Ts’ai summarized debates through 1947 about how many scholars were sons of officials. While the king as T’ien Wang "acts in reverent accord with the ways of Heaven" his decrees are T’ien Ming, but, as Mencius said, if he rules only by cleverness it is only the Way of Princes, Pa Tao. Later, as tutor to the young emperor, Cheng Yi taught that even a Sage-king needs at least three years to transform the empire by his example, and asked him to trust the wise ministers his predecessor had appointed, and to find and appoint worthy scholars to screen worthy men for new
appointments. When only eighteen (before Wang An-shih’s reform) he wrote that the Sage-king’s benevolence for his people will secure grain reserves enough for two famine years, and keep the central army small to be no burden.

The good minister, wrote Cheng Yi, must put first the peace and welfare of the people, but also protect and encourage the scholars. Selected from primary schools for academic training and study from the ages of fifteen to forty, the scholar is to be supported, and separated from the farmer. The common people, though the root of society, can mostly not keep their Li pure enough. "The Confucian idea of government is essentially rule ‘For the People’ [not] ‘of the people’ or ‘by the people.’" But the will of Heaven, represented by the will of the people, may lead to a revolution to fulfill the principles of change of I Ching, if the ruler does make changes at the proper time. Ts’ai noted [p.311] Cheng Yi’s warnings that "one of the greatest difficulties of Chinese ethical and political life, namely the relation of family love to political justice." He discussed the Chengs’ role in debates between Wang An-shih, Ssu-ma Kuang and Chang Tsai about land reform of the "well-field" (ching-t’ien) village system, to base taxation on this Confucian ideal. Education in the sense of self-cultivation was for Cheng Yi both a condition and a duty of good government. As an overseer of the Imperial Academy, he proposed a guest house for visiting scholars, and advocated tutoring rather than frequent exams, and adequate dormitories. Ts’ai assembled Cheng Yi’s duly Confucian sayings on Propriety, Li and the Rectification of Names. He did not equate severe laws with Li, and aimed at the causes of crimes, but was scornful of second marriages and adultery, not of divorce, taking a Yang-over-Yin attitude to women. Even in families, "a certain amount of severity and sternness is required."

It is likely that Ts’ai wrote this essay in 1949-50, the last year he worked in America. Ts’ai, T. C. Chao, and Wu Lei-chuan had taken upon themselves the challenge of of the May Fourth Movement and of both Nationalists and the Marxists, to be Chinese, at the same time that they were active as Christians in the Life Fellowship (Shen-ming she). They felt as a moral challenge the chaos of the times, and the corruption of the Kuomintang after the devastating war of 1937-45. The Communist alternative inspired Wu, Chao, and Ts’ai with more hope for a new Chinese society (though Chao rejected any Party authoritarianism).

Ts’ai asked Prof. John Bennett at Union Seminary for a list of books on Marxism and went to a night school organized by Armenians that introduced Marxism. Like most idealists in China, he had accepted from American and European teachers faith in the superiority of Western science. Marxism won students by stressing its claim to be objective social science. The churchmen believed, however, that science did not in itself provide adequate basis for social morality and service to the people, which they felt was more personal in the Christian "social gospel" than in Marxism.

Hsu, Wu, and Hung were all drawn, as Ts’ai was, to scholarly study of the Chinese Confucian classics in which human goodness is established by self-cultivation of Jen (Ren), benevolence, (which they equated with Christian love), and Li, cosmic principle or natural law, which defines and governs equally physical elements and human social relationships. "The full and natural expression of this ethical goal was to be found in no-thing otherworldly, but rather in the service of men and in the building up of an ideal social order."52

Hsiu-Ying summarized a letter Yung’ch’un wrote to a nephew in March 1950:
1. In terms of revolutionary theory, Mao is the most lucid among Chinese. Chinese believe that government is established according to the decree of heaven. But heaven hears through the people and sees through the people...The government which people abandon ought to collapse. This is the most democratic way... China has changed 25 dynasties. Now the people have abandoned Chiang Kai-shek.

2. In the past hundred years the expansion and aggression of Western imperialism has deepened the pain of the Chinese people. This led to their resistance to the West.

3. China has a long history. We ought to read history with a long view. Westerners tend to be impatient. Since there was no alternative, we should give an opportunity to the Communists for a few decades, so they may experiment with their approach.

4. For the last several decades, China has seen America as its best friend. The unfortunate experience has only been since the war. I hope that the U.S. government will immediately acknowledge the Chinese Communist government. Acknowledgment does not necessarily mean adopting the system or ideology of the Chinese Communists, only that it respects the will of the Chinese people and the government that the Chinese people support. With respect to Taiwan, I sincerely hope that the U.S. will not send one more bullet or one more dollar, using the sweat and blood of taxpayers to arouse the anger of the Chinese.

5. Before 1948, the Communists did indeed persecute the Church. Since 1948, the Chinese Communists have allowed religious freedom. Christian churches, schools, and hospitals have operated normally everywhere in China and have not run into obstacles. The Church is going through a reform. Bishop Hall in Hong Kong said [in 1947] that God prepared the Jews to give birth to Christianity, and prepared the Roman Empire so that the Kingdom of heaven would grow into a big tree. Now God had reserved the Chinese culture as an interpreter to the Communist world. Obviously China still needs Western missionaries. [who] must be trained solidly in theology, but in addition must (1) be sympathetic to dialectical materialism; and (2) have an expert training in science, engineering and other disciplines, to testify to the Christian faith through life.

The files of the United Board for Christian Colleges in China, held at Yale Divinity Library, include an exchange of telegrams and letters in July 1949, between Yung-ch’un and T. C. Chao, who, after Beijing fell gently to the Communists in January, was still expecting to maintain the Yenching School of Religion (though necessarily independent of Yenching University). Chao asked Ts’ai to teach Anthropology, Apologetics, and Comparative Religion. Ts’ai, whose proposal to train himself in Agriculture was rejected, had heard that the prospects for the School of Religion were unfavorable, and proposed forming a church-based seminary for training lay or volunteer pastors, as was being done by night classes at Huron College, Ontario and in Washington D.C.

The Ts’ais, still at the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, had originally planned to return to Yenching to teach in September, 1949, but were held back by Hsiu-ying’s hysterectomy until the following June and again required financial aid. From August 9, 1949, the Ts’ai lived at the Grace Episcopal Church parsonage in Amherst, Massachusetts. Ts’ai preached monthly for Rev. John B. Coburn, while the Ts’ai daughters attended an Episcopal boarding school. Coburn later wrote in apppreciation of Ts’ai’s gentleness; others, of his preaching.

The Ts’ai’s sailed from San Francisco on the *Marchen Maersk* May 31, 1950, stopping over with the Barbours in Cincinnati and at Bishop Hall’s in Hong Kong.... "It took us 33 days to get to Hongkong, including 8 days in [various ports] in the Philippines [where] we met and visited hundreds of Chinese friends and
relatives."

Through the Great Cultural Revolution

From Hong Kong, Yung-ch’un had hoped to visit his mother in Fujian but failed to "because of the unsettled coastal situation." After five weeks with Hsiu-ying’s mother and brother, they sailed for Tianjin, which is only 2½ hours by train to Beijing. On October 20,1950 they wrote in a newsletter to "Dear Friends":

We arrived safely in Peking on August 24, after 3½ months journey.... We spent 3 weeks crossing the continent .We sailed from San Francisco on a Danish freighter. Arriving in China, we were impressed by the disappearance of inflation and corruption ....People live very simply, but they are nevertheless fed and clothed: wartime misery is gone.....The Christian churches in China have recently issued a declaration [which] re-emphasizes the self-government, self-support, and self-propagation ...towards which both churches and missions have been labouring for many years. Yenching University campus is as beautiful as ever...The School of Religion is in the best shape ever... The enrollment of students is the largest we have ever had. We ...arrived with a home already prepared for us at the Friends Center, started by Lucy Burtt [for] three Chinese families and Miss Burtt herself. We both began teaching three weeks after our arrival. Hsiu-ying offers courses in Religious Education and Personal Counselling. Yung-ch’un teaches a course in the History of Christian Thought and another in Christianity and Chinese Culture (a Survey of the History of Chinese Thought from the point of view of Christian Apologetics). Joan is enjoying...the Bridgman Academy, ...coming home every week-end when she has her meat meals, and her music lesson. ...Dorothy goes to the Practice School.

The Ts’ais had returned in deep loyalty to the people and future of China. Whether the crucial events of the year 1949-50, during which the Ts’ais postponed their return to China, shaped their lives differently than if they had been there earlier cannot be known. The churches in China, centered in the National Christian Council, had taken the lead in most religious and educational thought for half a century. Church buildings represented a leading economic asset, thanks to massive funding from American missions. Church schools and universities, though no longer the largest, still considered themselves the intellectual elite in many provinces.

In June 1950, as the Ts’ais were sailing from San Francisco, North Korea was encouraged by the Russians to attempt to reunify Korea by invading the South. By August, Americans under MacArthur, with United Nations support, had driven them back and overrun North Korea. As the Ts’ais were writing their newsletter in October 1950, the advance to the Yalu River brought into action the Chinese volunteer army and government, who involved the whole people in a "Resist America - Aid Korea " campaign.

Already in April 1948, Wu Yaotsung, the YMCA’s Publications director, had written in the journal Tien Feng the opening manifesto of what became the Three-Self Movement for self-support, self-government, and self-propagation of Chinese Christianity. Marxist in perspective, by May 1950 Wu’s statement had become the basis of a Christian Manifesto, eventually signed by 400,000 Protestants. By 1956, the government had nationalized church property, and required the unification of all Protestant churches in the authorized Three Self Church headed by Wu.

Church leaders met with Chou En-lai (Zhou Enlai) in April, 1951. At his suggestion, Chinese clergy as well as academic teachers began public accusation meetings at which missionaries and all foreign teachers except the Russians were condemned as agents of imperialism. Within the next twelve months, after a massive exodus slowed only by delays in exit visas, thirty-six out of 2,345 American and British Protestant missionaries, and two
out of 1,027 continental European missionaries who had been in China in 1949 were still there, and most of them under house arrest.

Within the same year, 1951, all the thirteen interdenominational Protestant universities linked to the United Board for Christian Colleges in China, including Yenching, had been taken over by the government. In October, 1949, only three months after the fall of Nanjing and Shanghai to the Communist armies, a People’s Political Consultative Conference in Beijing proposed to nationalize all university-level colleges in China, and details were presented at the First National Conference on Higher Education in June, 1950. The 217 institutions of higher learning, under four large regional centers, with 78,000 students in 1948, became 181, with only seven universities (though with larger enrollment) by 1953, besides a People’s University in Beijing.

Yenching University and its campus were taken over by Peking University (BeiDa) from February 12, 1951, and half of its faculty dispersed in August 1952. On February 14, 1950 Chou En-lai signed a treaty with Stalin which would align China with Russia in education as well as in military and world alliance. As a result, the Chinese universities were flooded with Russian professors, and adopted the Soviet policy of creating independent technical universities, especially in Engineering, by the splitting off or making over of formerly inclusive universities such as Qinghua, despite their faculties’ protest.

Even amid the clash of cultures, the integrity of many of those put on trial was remarkable. On February 10, 1956, D. Short wrote about Ts’ai to Mrs. Barbour from London: "Did you hear that when he got back to Yenching he was required to confess his old errors including his association with Western Imperialists? He said he was willing to confess his own faults but not those of other people, and for that reason was judged unfit to teach." The date of Ts’ai’s trial is not recorded but it was closely linked to that of his mentor T.C.Chao and led to Ts’ai’s house arrest for 7 months, and isolation thereafter. In November, 1952, the Yenching Commission for Inspecting Discipline announced that Yung-ch’un’s self-examinations and confessions were accepted, and he could resume his normal life. However, Chao’s successor as head of the theological school, which had been moved downtown into Beijing, tricked Ts’ai out of his job there, leading to his unemployment for four years - 1952-56. Yung-ch’un translated several books and papers at home, including *China Belongs to God*.

In April, 1956, Chou En-lai moved to reinstate Chinese scholars in place of Russians, as China broke with the Soviet Union following Khrushchev’s visit to America. Both Yung-ch’un and Hsiu-ying were recommended by their old Yenching friend Ts’ai Liu-sheng, Dean of the Chemistry Department of the Northeastern Peoples’ University in Changchun, Jilin, to its President Kuang Ya-ming, who invited Yung-ch’un to teach English and American History. The brief period of encouraging "a Hundred Flowers" of opinion, and the longer, unsuccessful economic "Great Leap Forward" of 1958-59 coincided with a campaign to decentralize education. In 1961 Ts’ai was transferred to teaching English in the Foreign Language Department and drafted an outline of his intended objective textbook on the New Testament for Chinese students.

In 1966, however, Chinese education was entirely torn apart by the "Great Cultural Revolution" of Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong). University ranks and examinations were abolished, preventing embarrassment to many sons of peasants and Party officials. Most universities were closed, at least temporarily; faculty were replaced by farmers, factory workers and soldiers, and old-style professors were sent to the collective farms to experience
productive labor. Ts'ai was detained, interrogated, beaten on his back and mouth, placarded at his gate, and paraded for ridicule through the town, being finally hidden in the home of his former maid.

In the winter of 1969, after the Zhen-bao incident on China's northeast border with Russia, Lin Biao ordered the dispersal of the Jilin faculty into the countryside. In March 1969 the Ts'ais were sent to Helong, a village of 100 families in Kirin province, near the Korean border, where life was very arduous, without running water, firewood, nor a market. During the season of snow and ice, the aging couple could not do everything for themselves, but sympathetic peasants helped them draw and carry water from the well, chopped firewood from the forest, and sometimes helped them to buy eggs and vegetables from their own private plots.

Yung-ch'un was ill most of the time, and had to struggle to walk several kilometers to the clinic, sometimes half-carried by Hsiu-ying. In September he was retired in Jilin, and went on sick leave briefly to Maoming in Guangdong at Hong-yu's suggestion. In 1973 he helped take care of the new son of his daughter Liang-yu (Dorothy) in Beijing. In May 1975 his retirement became official and he and Hsiu-ying were settled in Xiamen, where Joan had been transferred to teach Biochemistry. In 1978 he began to edit and compile his solid little anthology of New Testament passages, which was published only in 1992 after his death. In 1979, Ts'ai was publicly rehabilitated and reinstated as professor in Jilin, from which he returned in 1980 to live with Liang-yu in Tianjin and Beijing.

Ts'ai Yung-ch'un died on May 24, 1983, a month before what would have been his fiftieth wedding anniversary. His health had never fully recovered from the Great Cultural Revolution, but he had resumed his scholarly work, now in the biblical field, and reinstated some ties with his friends overseas. He had maintained his lifelong commitment to being fully Christian and fully Chinese. Hsiu-ying quoted at length his essay "Justification by Faith":

[I] once had the hope to bridge Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Communism so that Christianity could take root in China...Hsiao made me willing to realize what mother had hoped for ... to devote myself to the service of the church [which] is to serve the society, the country, the human race. ...On the other hand, all of the Christian doctrines must be accordant with rationality. When I entered Yenching Seminary in 1933,..just married, [I chose] between theology and sociology..My interest in religion overwhelmed the interest in personal benefit.

Hsiu-ying wrote:

YC was very fragile in his last days. He recorded in his diary, in both English and Chinese, the "light" he saw in his daily reading of the Bible. Here are some excerpts:
1. On Universal Law: There is law, as well as life and consciousness in the universe. From humans' perspective, love is the highest value [but] men live in the universe [and] should obey the natural law and social law. [1980]
   Anyone who goes against the natural law will be punished. This punishment is an expression of God's love.[1982/6]
   The earth is merely a dust in the infinitely vast space of the universe. Humans are infinitesimal beings on this planet, as it says in Psalm 8:34: "When I consider the heavens, the work of your fingers .. what is man that you are mindful of him." [1982/11]
   There is rationality in the universe, and even more importantly there is emotionality. The two are united ... a mystery." [1981/5/12]

Hsiu-ying continued, "June 26th, 1982 was our forty-ninth anniversary. Because he was at the time very fragile, he could only afford to give a brief outline:
Mr. Ts’ai went through five phases in his pursuit of the truth.... In his youth he followed his mother’s wish to devote himself to the Church ...During the resistance against the Japanese invaders, he entered a period of pacifism, hoped for self-purification, and kept his belief in some difficult times. Third phase: his missionary work at the Huidian Hospital in Kunming made it possible for him to learn the social reality. He took the path of the social gospel, hoping to advance society through enhancing its spiritual practice. Fourth phase: he studied theology in the States. Before he returned to China he also studied agriculture and prepared to devote all of his knowledge to his country and people. After he returned he was attacked and was forced to leave the church. But he persisted in believing that one’s spiritual faith should be merged with his serving of his people. Fifth phase - In his late years he returned to "justification by faith."

When everyone was still suffering from the aftershock of the Cultural Revolution, Yung-ch’un was meditating on a very sensitive and incisive question - love ... the core of Christianity:

Love is neither merely thoughts nor merely talk. Love is compassionate action. Love is the holy cross. Love is the devoted concern for the interest of others. For [it] one is willing to sacrifice his own interest, to struggle without fear. With selfish or distracting thoughts, love cannot retain its purity. Love does not tolerate evil, but can treat one’s shortcomings justly. [1981/5/16] Love is infinite tolerance of the shortcomings of others, and compassionate help. One should review and meditate on the love he has been given so that he can understand what love is. [1981/5/18] To love your enemy is to love adversaries among brothers and sisters. It does not mean that one should tolerate evil without condemnation.... Condemning evil is love as well [1982/5/25]

To the end, Yung-ch’un reflected upon his faith. In 1981, he wrote to his dear friend Ts’ai Liu-sheng, urging him to resume his faith:

There are wonderful varieties and beauty in the universe. Every single creation and extinction, every single movement and action, all carry within themselves order. This proves that it would not be possible to retain the order without enormous wisdom and capacity. Therefore, there must be a creator. Every creation, including the sun and the galaxies, mountains, rivers, and human beings was created by God. This testifies the enormous love and care God has given us. ... We should trust his love and kindness in awe.

Though he returned to "justification by faith" in his last years, mental struggles remained:

The fundamentalists’ approach is through ‘the resurrection, the Holy Cross’, and ‘the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.’ But in what way should these be understood?.. It is difficult for the Chinese people to accept Christianity. At the time, Jesus and Paul were telling their contemporaries about the next world, redemption, precious blood, etc. But these concepts are absent in the minds of the contemporary Chinese people[1982/7/16]. I have built walls around me, separating myself from others... Therefore I have become a rather isolated person. Being a child of God who loves others wholeheartedly, this isolation is not justifiable. How can I break down those walls, so that I can be in harmony with the universe [1982/10/8]. The past years have been quite difficult. [I am asked]:‘If there is a place abroad where you can enjoy your last years peacefully, will you consider going?’ But what I hear [within] is: ‘Share the lot with your people.’ Although this appeared to me four decades ago, it still guides me even today [1982/11/23].
Endnotes:

1 Ts'ai Yung-ch'un (hereafter TYC) to Dorothy Barbour (hereafter DDB) 23 Nov 1934.
2 Ts'ai Hsiu-ying (THY), My Companion, Ts'ai Yung-ch'un (privately printed, 1995), Ch.9. Clearly this paper is also an act of hsiao.
3 The Barbours left China for a furlough of graduate study from 1927/2 to 1929/8, and for the sake of their children's health again in 1931/12. George Barbour returned for a season of geological field work in 1934. While in China they wrote weekly to their parents in Scotland and New York, often mentioning Ts'ai, who also wrote to them while they were away. Dorothy Barbour's China papers and letters, including those from Ts'ai, are in the Day Missions Library of Yale Divinity School, Record Group No. 8.
5 Religion was a university department headed by Liu Ting-fan until the government's edict for registering and secularizing Chinese universities, 1925-28, required setting it off as a separate Yenching School of Religion led by Liu and Chao Tze-ch'en.
6 Ts'ai, Ch. 9.
7 DDB to her parents, 7/24 (p.112) This may be the first surviving record of their work together. Letters from DDB to her cousin Eleanor Stabler Brooks in Worcester MA in 1924-31 describe the genesis of the book but not TYC's role, which is, however, fully acknowledged in the Prefaces to Dorothy Dickinson Barbour, Desired Bible (Shanghai, China Christian Educational Association, 1926), and its much revised American edition Making the Bible Desired (Garden City NY, Doubleday Doran, 1928), vii.
8 Ts'ai to DDB, 1927 Jul 27, as postscript to his letter of 1927 Jul 25.
9 Ts'ai to DDB, 1927 Jul 25.
10 This manuscript, undated, was written in George Barbour's (GBB) handwriting on Lingnan University paper, but Yung-ch'un himself corrected a version of the same (which may have been an original typed by his brother) and added a sentence about getting milk and tomatoes for his health.
11 Ts'ai to "Dear Brother," 1928/10/11. He regrets missing his brother's wedding "for the sake of economy."
12 See data sheet by TYC, Archives of the United Board for Christian Colleges in China, (Record Group No. 11) Yenching University files, 1946 - now at Day Missions Lib. She said later that she had declined a scholarship at the University of Michigan because she was already in love with Yung-ch'un and wanted with him to "share the lot of the people"
13 DDB to her parents, 1930/5/22; to her sister Jean, 1930/7/1; to GBB: 1930/7/2, 7/25, 8/2, 8/9, 8/15, 8/21, 8/22, 8/25, 8/26, 9/16. Cf. In China When, 198. Ts'ai Hsiu-feng, the sister, had been accepted to Jning School of Arts and Sciences, in Nanjing, and with the Barbours' help did in fact study there. The author remembers Ts'ai that summer playing "Nearer, My God, to Thee" on his guitar on our porch. The next year, he continued to keep touch with the book, suggesting verbal changes for the new edition (GBB to Millican of CLS from Yenching, 1931/6/13; GBB protests that the book, costing only 13 cents to publish, must not be sold at 40 cents). See also the Christian Literature Society's Education Notes, 1932, p.4.
14 Though Yen was a Christian, among the essays about his work in Changsha, Baoding-fu, & Ting Hsien in John C.K. Kiang, ed. Dr. Y. C. James Yen, His Movement for Mass Education and Rural Reconstruction, (South Bend, IN, 1976), only his Yale classmate Gardner Tewksbury and Justice William O. Douglas stressed his religion.
16 One army moving inland took Changsha and the Wuhan cities in 1926; Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong) aroused the Hunan peasants, while Chiang proclaimed a 33-point national platform. A civilian but Marxist national government was set up in Wuhan. Chiang meanwhile led the First Army up the coast through Fujian, preceded by agents speaking the local dialect, and took Hankou and Shanghai. But on 1927/3/24 the army that took Nanjing and later made it the national capital was involved in the looting and some deaths in the "compounds" of the missionaries, most of whom fled. This and the rejection of Chiang's civilian authority by the communist-led Wuhan Plenum of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee 1927/3/10-17, led to civil war. Jessie Lutz, Chinese politics and Christian missions: the anti-Christian movements of 1920-28 (Notre Dame, Ind., U.S.A.: Cross Cultural Publications, Cross Roads Books, c1988.), 24; Stuart R. Schram, ed., Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912-1949, (Armonk NY, East Gate/M.E. Sharpe, 1994) p.ii.
TYC to GBB, 1934/7/28 and 11/23. The opening quotation for this essay, as to his vocation, comes from the second letter, by which time his doctor, Sam Hall, was predicting his return to full-time work by the following autumn. In May, 1935 he wrote the Barbours again (this time to London) with a list of his recent reading and a report of tension over Hsiu-ying’s work.

GBB tp DDB. 1934 May 29-30.

Mabel Nowlin to DDB, 1935/9/25 from M. E. Mission, Changli, North China. Mabel Nowlin’s other papers in the Day Missions Library at Yale show her as immersed in village church and family life and rural evangelism: "China at the Crossroads" was published in The Missionary Visitor for August 1936 (p.266) and "Old Mrs. Wang’s Funeral" in Woman’s Missionary Friend (Nov., 1931). A similar person, Nettie Mabelle Senger of the Church of the Brethren, whose papers are also at Yale, helped Nowlin and Yung-ch’un complete the editing of DDB’s second book. Senger wrote on "Village Evangelism: Teaching Religion in the Villages." and a 31-page academic paper on "Christianity and Buddhist China." In May, 1935 Ts’ai wrote the Barbours (now to London) to list his recent reading & report tension with Nowlin.

The school moved to Zhangzhou in 1937 due to the Japanese attacks.

THY to DDB, quoted in Dorothy Barbour, China Trek. (New York, National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, Lent, 1941).

According to their daughter they were then the only Chinese on that faculty, their Chinese colleagues having left to avoid the Japanese.

Data sheet by Ts’ai in files of United Board for Christian Colleges in China, at Yale.

Dorothy Barbour (loc.cit., written before the division of British India or the German invasion of Russia) called it "the greatest mass migration in history." Hubert Freyn, Chinese Education in the War (Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, 1950; Taipei 1974), 11; William P. Fenn, The Effect of the Japanese Invasion on Higher Education in China (Hongkong, China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940), 5-10.

Huazhong (Central China) University was a 1924 union institution of former Episcopal, Wesleyan, Reformed and Congregational colleges and Yale-in-China, from which “a truckload was arriving every five days - it took them fourteen months to move the two thousand one hundred miles” by way of Changsha and Guilin. Barbour, China Trek, 21. Freyn, Chinese Education in War, 67.

Barbour, China Trek, 22; his sponsoring committee included John Kunkle, Song Daoliang, Wu Shengde and Foster.

Christianity in China, 206. Foster was an Episcopal missionary who had become English secretary for the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives in South China in 1941, and worked from 1942-1947 for the U.S. State Department and Office of War Information. The papers of John Burt Foster at the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul MN include his manuscript comments on an unsigned article on the Minzhia, included in an undated letter from Foster in Faribault MN to Richard D. Shipman at Central China College in "Hsichow via Tali". The paper cites works Ts’ai could not have known by early travelers: a French Prince Henri d’Orleans from Tonkin (1896), and a British Major H.R. Davies from Burma (1909). I owe this data to David F. Barbour. Ts’ai feared the Japanese would invade up the Burma Road.

Ts’ai’s "Notes on the Minzhia People" and proposed script for their speech are lost. Others who studied the language used a great variety of phonetic renderings based on French, German, English, and Chinese: Wilhelm Credner [Cultural and Geographical Observations made in the Tali (Yunnan) Region, with special regard to the Nan-Chao problem (trans. Erik Seidenfaden, Bangkok, Siam Society, 1935) 8], claimed in 1930 to have first recorded the Minzhia vocabulary in 2 places.

Yung-Ch’un Ts’ai, "Tali Funeral Rites: Study in "Ancestor Worship," his 1947 Master of Arts Thesis for Columbia University under the faculty of Union Theological Seminary, said that on Oct.10, 1941, he and his family had been living in the home of Yin Hsin-chu, the rich Confucian merchant in Hsichow, for over 3 years. No other Ts’ai documents from these years seem to have survived. Notes for a talk by GBB in 1943 summarize Ts’ai letters on "War and Reconstruction" and cooperatives in West China, and refer to the Minzhia work and to changes in the Communion service in response to Antichristian attitudes.

THY, My Companion, 43ff.

THY, loc. cit.

“The Hueitien Hospital of our Church, with 130 beds, 20 doctors and 40 nurses, was considered the best and largest in Southwest China,” wrote Quentin K. Y. Huang, who was ordained suffragan bishop of Yunnan in 1946. Now I can Tell (NY., 1954), 7.

TYC to Randolph Sailer at the part of Yenching University still at Chengdu, 1946 Mar 14.

On 1946/3/14 he had written to Randolph Sailer from Kunming asking help in getting a U.S. visa, in light of American requirements about TB, despite clearance by local doctors. On 1948/3/8 he wrote to
C.A. Evans, Treasurer of the United Board for Christian Colleges in China, acknowledging two supplemental grants of $1000.

35 Transcript & information on professors, kindness of Philip Paris, Registrar of Union Seminary. Ts'ai's grade average was B+. He may have got credit for Yenching work.

36 Ts'ai, p.66, Addison, 56. Ts’ai did not use "filial piety" to translate his Hsiao towards Yin Hsin-chu, but certainly felt it. Franklin Woo, "Ts’ai Yung-ch’un’s Intellectual Legacy: a Paradigm for Theological Work in China in the Twenty-first Century" (Unpublished paper), 1, notes that "he himself was obviously moved by this funeral process, and his emotions come through the printed page" (2). Hsin-chu was Yin's "official name" with the title "Tuan-ch’ueh"; but in the ceremony he was addressed as "Abdieh" Papa ("Funeral Rites," 28).

37 Addison, 50-55; Ts’ai 49-50.

38 Ts’ai noted ("Tali Funeral Rites", 5) that in 1939/12 the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda had ruled that bowing "and other signs of civil respect" before the dead or their tablets "are to be considered licit and proper."

39 Ts’ai "Funeral Rites", 13, 19, 20, 39. Most Chinese do not consider these elements to be any more incompatible than Americans regard Christian and Platonic ideas of afterlife. Such books as Fitzgerald’s, Addison’s Chinese Ancestor Worship (Chung Hua Chung Kung Hui, 1925) and Cornelius Osgood, Village Life in Old China (New York, Ronald Press, 1963, based on a year in the village of Kao Yao south of Kunming in 1938) Chs.XVIII-XIX, assume their interpenetration. Osgood and Fitzgerald also discuss Mingchia and Miao shamans.

40 Ts’ai “Funeral Rites”, 24,13,19,20,39, 43. It may have been William Hung of Yenching, who had been Yung-ch’un’s "former teacher of historical criticism" there, who now headed the Harvard-Yenching Institute, with whom Ts’ai again consulted there in 1949.

41 Chinese written characters, by combining radicals, often define or limit the meanings of each, but Chinese grammar by using each as verb, noun, or adjective in different clauses, discourages Westerners from defining ideas’ relationships in ways based on grammar. Ts’ai notes the rebirth of then vernacular Chinese in T’ang literature.

42 In line with the Trigrams but not with Greek and most western philosophy, Li is not rooted in numbers. Ts’ai speaks as a subhead of Li about ke wu, the "Investigation of Things" which the Great Learning had made basic, but which Cheng Yi stressed as intuitive search for the inner Li of each outward thing, rather than as induction of facts as in Western science.

43 Even among the five basic "elements" of wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, whose relationships to colors, seasons, and directions were elaborated by the "Yin & Yang" school before the Neoconfucians. Ch’i in its root meaning as breath or air, is the source of continual creativity and the spontaneous generation of living creatures, is but not soul or spirit. The Ch’engs gave naturalistic explanations for lightning, thunder, and meteors, without detailed investigation, and in the Confucian tradition said that natural disasters reflected humans’ violating of Li.

44 The Cheng brothers’ disciples included their most famous synthesizer Chu Hsi (Zhu Xi) (1130-1200, living after the fall of Kaifeng, the Chens’ court capital, to the Tartars, which drove the Southern Sung court to Hangchow). Most of the disciples, even in their contemporary lecture notes. had not distinguished between the sayings of the two brothers. Ts’ai, the scholar, appreciated Chu Hsi’s efforts to do so.

45 Ts’ai, “The Philosophy of Ch’eng I,” 69.

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48 The human mind, as Li, completes the shaping of heaven and earth; but human feelings (Ch’ing) "muddy the waters." The Ch’engs saw Jen=Ren, humaneness or benevolence, as one of the Five Norms or root virtues, along with duty, propriety, wisdom and truthfulness Hsin=Xin but also as the Li or essence of human nature. Sympathy, as a feeling, is only its fruit, evoked by outward encounters, as is anger when appropriate. Ts’ai discusses the relation of the Ch’engs’ Li to Universal Mind, in Taoism and in Ch’an=Zen Buddhism, argued about by ancient and modern scholars, and notably by Fung Yu-lan, since there was no such idea in early Confucianism. "The Universal Mind, or Tao or Wu were all too abstract for the Confucian temperament. It was the Confucian genius to affirm ... ultimate Reality by putting moral content into it." Ts’ai thus tries to demystify Chung=Jung, the Mean which is also Tao, by a long discussion of Cheng Yi’s teachings about the classic Chung Yung. Chung is only meaningful as a balance between the passions. Chih, Equanimity, or resting in right relationships replaces Buddhist Meditation.

49 Ts’ai, 178, 180.
50 In practice, Tao is followed by Chung=Jung balance, for which Cheng Yi gave many examples in actions and feelings. Cheng Yi also measured right acts by their timeliness Shih. "Ethical conduct is not a set of fixed rules, but a timely adjustment to the living situation," just as the I Jing Hexagrams showed how different powers applied in different situations. On the other hand Duty I or Yi must be done regardless of reward or one’s own happiness or the results it will bring. "Some even sacrifice their lives to crown their true manhood." In tune with the trigrams, Ts’ai circled around again to the meanings of evil conduct as what is contrary to Tao, to the impartiality of Li, and to Hsing= Xing Human Nature, but is nevertheless the necessary complement to virtue. Aware of Cheng Yi’s own character, Ts’ai also assembled sayings on his lesser virtues: Caution as alert sensitivity; and Humility as fear of pride.

51 The "four admonitions" of Confucius to Yen Hui were depicted as "the three monkeys" of Nikko who heard, saw, (acted), and spoke no evil, namely contrary to propriety (Li, ceremony), thereby losing the purity natural to humans. The Scope of Learning moves from Chung= Jung, equanimity to Ching, "reverent devotion," that Ch’eng preferred as he grew older. It is an inner attitude including self-respect. To act rightly, "a learner should make efforts... But if he knows natural law clearly he will naturally be glad to follow it." Knowledge is of Tao & Li, so its essence is the words and deeds of past sages in the early Confucian Classics. He despised Confucians who turned aside to Zen out of weariness. (Yet Cheng Yi sometimes discussed reaching Enlightenment tun, wu suddenly, as did the Buddhists). As an alert psychologist, Cheng Yi warned that without detachment it was easy to wrongly transfer anger from those who did to those who did not deserve it. Ts’ai with reverent care translates Hao Jan Chih Ch’i (in a context where Cheng discussed Mencius’chapter on it) as "the Life of the Spirit" to be cultivated in humans: it means deeds as well as attitudes.

52 Ts’ai. P. 8. Ts’ai’s concern for “the Nature and Destiny of Man” predated his encounters with Reinhold Niebuhr at Union Seminary.

50 Letters in the archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia to and from Henry Seaman, Treasurer, C.A. Evans, Assistant Secretary, and Robert McMillan, Executive Secretary of the United Board, and concern extending the Ts’ai’s visas, various steamship reservations, and the repayment of loans. YDS, Record Group No. 11.

51 In June 1949, Ts’ai was still at the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, where he had lived for 1948-49 while working on his thesis in the Harvard libraries.


54 T.C. Chao’s faith did not recover from these shocks. Another Christian leader, Lu Chihwei, the President of Yenching since 1949, despite confessions in February & March 1952, was denounced by his own daughter in her self-criticism for having tried to suggest compromises to her father (Ibid 71-2 See also Bush, 196-9). The Yenching faculty was dispersed in August (West. 234-43).

55 The reports of the "brain-washing" of Western faculty members with a lifetime of involvement in China, hardened American attitudes to Communist China. Their Chinese colleagues were publicly denounced and made to confess sympathies with America, capitalism; they could not for their own safety even be named abroad.

56 His Guidebook to the New Testament for University students, published in the Religious Culture Series in 1992, with a preface by Bishop Ding, is mainly an anthology of key passages, but includes a bibliography of secondary works in English mainly predating 1950. In his last years he was still eagerly asking for more recent works. It is Ts’ai’s only published book, but excellent scholarship.
Ornate sterns in color or high relief along the coast.