

**Building in turbulent China: The Baptist Missionary Society and  
building fusion and localization during the early 20th century in  
China**

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## **Abstract**

The research focuses on the building practices in China of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), which worked in China from 1860 to 1952. During these 92 years, the BMS primarily worked at building up the Christian community during the chaos in China, which included the T'ai-Ping Revolt (1851–64), the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901), the Revolution of 1911, the May Fourth Movement of 1919, World War I, World War II and the inauguration of the People's Republic of China in 1949. From 1900 onward, the BMS had missionary stations which rented local buildings and were largely destroyed by the Boxer Rebellion. After the 1900s, the BMS missionaries, as one of the earliest Western groups, set up buildings in China outside the Western-controlled areas such as the colony or concession. In their building works they carried out a series of building practices in which Chinese architecture was mixed with British building elements, instead of the makeshift buildings in China's missionary stations. Their building practices show these efforts to fuse Western building spaces and functions with China's traditional building style. The BMS buildings were designed and constructed in the gap between the Catholic churches in China before the twentieth century and the influence of modern Western building in China after the 1910s. This study examines the diversity of Western building practice forms in China. The research also intends to connect the gap between the Catholic 'hybrid building' which appeared from the early nineteenth century and Henry Murphy's 'adaptive building' from 1914, and represent the progress of Western building dissemination in China, which continues to influence the appearance of Chinese urban buildings today. This research investigates how the buildings were designed to create a connection with local people and to stimulate the making of a Christian community, and explores the impact of the missionaries' subjective factors on BMS building style. This research demonstrates evidence of the earliest practices of concessions to China's environment of Western building, and also reveals the progress of the style's appearance and examines the building's effects.

## Contents

|  |    |
|--|----|
| 1. Introduction .....  | 4  |
| 1.1. Building in China from 1840 to 1949.....  | 11 |
| 1.2. Research Methods and Methodologies .....  | 14 |
| 1.3. The Research Structure and Case Studies.....  | 16 |
| 2. Historical overview of the BMS in China and the BMS building strategy change after 1900.... | 17 |
| 2.1. In turbulent China, BMS history and BMS history in China.....                             | 18 |
| 2.2. Building Construction from 1900 to 1914.....  | 23 |
| 3. BMS building cases in Shandong.....   | 25 |
| 3.1. Hope and Recovery, the First Building Practices .....                                     | 26 |
| 3.2. The Appeal and Jinan Museum.....  | 29 |
| 3.3. Professional Architects and Churches in China .....                                       | 37 |
| 3.4. 'All Things Become New' and the Qilu University Medical School.....                       | 44 |
| 4. <i>Building cases in Shanxi from 1902 to 1915</i> .....                                     | 50 |
| 4.1. The Church Laid Waste and the Chinese Quadrangle Yard .....                               | 51 |
| 5. Conclusions .....   | 58 |

Appendix

Bibliography

# 1. Introduction

'I have done my utmost to meet Chinese ideas, and at the same time to introduce western improvements into their style of building.'<sup>1</sup> This was the reaction that the building of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) museum in Jinan (Figure 1) elicited from J.S. Whitwright in 1905. The museum, which is a kind of building which had no precedent in traditional Chinese museum buildings, presented a specific design and arrangement. Traditionally, North Chinese architecture had the appearance of rectangular blocks. The rectangular blocks and the walls were organized as courtyards. The traditional space of the courtyard could be seen in the palace, yamen,<sup>2</sup> temple, residence and private park.<sup>3</sup> Then, traditional walled-garden lacked public space models (Figure 2), let alone providing relative models of spaces such as the Western concept of museum, hospital and school. The BMS museum in China was planned with almost no reference to the prevailing principles of museum design in Britain, while the buildings were arranged in the manner of the Northern Chinese traditional vernacular quadrangle courtyard, as their first non-religious building in China. Churches, colleges, hospitals and schools were also explored by the BMS work in the years leading up to 1914. Some of the BMS cases directly use the garden with high wall and traditional buildings to organize the space. Some BMS cases tried to convert local buildings to fit with its models in the Western concept. Either way shows the effect of the missionaries and their architects in the history of the spread of Western architecture in China. It has to emphasize that both religious and non-religious BMS buildings have a connection. The non-religious development process had a religious aim and was influenced by the BMS religious building in China. All this progress appears in the hinge age of the spread of Western architecture before the modern architecture spread in China. It also represents the BMS's attempt to create a new building style with traditional Chinese building as a foundation. The BMS building also shows the progress of the Western building development process in China.

The BMS was a Non-conformist Protestant society with the aim of evangelizing the global population.<sup>4</sup> The BMS was active in China from 1860 to 1952.<sup>5</sup> Bertrand and Dunch have argued that to understand the Christian missions as 'cultural imperialism' is to oversimplify their history.<sup>6</sup> Although the missionary societies have been considered as part of the presence of cultural imperialism in popular discourse, both these scholars emphasize the independence of the missionary societies, especially in China, and that the missions were in favour of the notion of 'cultural exchange'. Conflicting views appear not only today, but also appeared during the time of the Christian missions. In 1900, the Boxer Rebellion broke out and spread from

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<sup>1</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records. *BMS The minutes of committee 1905*, p179 a missionary letter from China 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Yamen, 衙门, government office in ancient China

<sup>3</sup> Liu Dunzhen, 刘敦桢, *Zhongguo Gudai Jianzhushi 中国古代建筑史, The history of ancient Chinese architecture*, Zhongguo Jianzhu Gongye Chubanshe, 中国建筑工业出版社, China Building Industry Press, 1984

<sup>4</sup> Brian Stanley, *History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792–1992*, T.& T. Clark, 1992, p.2.

<sup>5</sup> H.R. Williamson, *British Baptists in China, 1845–1952*, Carey Kingsgate Press, 1957, p.20.

<sup>6</sup> Bertrand, Claude-Jean. "American Cultural Imperialism—A Myth?" *American Studies International*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1987, pp. 46–60. Dunch, Ryan. "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity." *History and Theory*, vol. 41, no. 3, 2002, pp. 301–325.

Shandong to provinces in North China. Shandong and Shanxi were at the centre of the Boxer Rebellion, and in Shandong the BMS suffered damage to property, while in Shanxi the BMS suffered from slaughter.<sup>7</sup> The BMS in China witnessed this controversial event, and it is clear that it changed how the missionaries operated. The Society's aim was to change China into a Christian country,<sup>8</sup> and everything they set out to do was in connection with this aim. After the Boxer Rebellion, however, they realized their missionary methods needed adjustment.<sup>9</sup> At the end of the Boxer Rebellion, the Society set up a series of buildings in China to replace the previous makeshift buildings, the construction taking place in the period from 1902 to 1914, and the buildings including museums, hospitals and colleges. The BMS missionaries in China were heavily involved in the design process of these buildings. (The earliest examples of Western building systems in China are not in the scope of the current study.) More diverse missionary methods were applied after the Boxer Rebellion, and more missionary stations were also constructed after the Rebellion. The BMS in China attempted to modify traditional Chinese structures to achieve its missionary work.

Thomas Coomans theorized Roman Catholic missionary buildings as 'hybrid buildings' (Figure 4) and introduced sub-category names, such as Chinese-Gothic and Chinese-Renaissance.<sup>10</sup> The term 'hybrid' has been most recently associated with the work of Homi K. Bhabha. His analysis of colonized relations stresses their interdependence and the mutual construction of their subjectivities. The concept of 'hybrid buildings', as theorized by Coomans, suggests a type of building that tried to emphasize the independence of the Catholic missionaries' work and to distinguish it from 'cultural imperialism' or colonialist building. The cases of 'hybrid buildings' cover the period from the later Qing dynasty in the 1840s to the Republic of China (1912–49), but are restricted to churches and abbeys. The Protestant BMS building process is not in the field of 'hybrid building' (Figure 4) which was restricted to Catholic religious buildings, although if we consider the origin of the term 'hybrid', then the BMS building work can be included in the concept of 'hybrid building'. The building undertaken by the BMS was also earlier than the building style created by Henry Murphy's 'adaptation of Chinese architecture' (Figure 3) after 1914. Henry K. Murphy, who was an American architect working in China and the most influential architect in China in the period from 1914 to 1935, named his type of building 'adaptive architecture'<sup>11</sup> (Figure 5). His 'adaptive architecture' borrowed the concept of 'American Renaissance' to construct a new concept of 'Chinese Renaissance', which adapted traditional Chinese architectural elements to re-innovate Chinese architecture. As has recently been claimed by Chinese architecture historians,<sup>12</sup> before early modern China, the government controlled the building styles. After the Opium Wars of 1840, the government gradually lost power. This process created building diversity and reframed Chinese architecture in all areas, including building style, architectural education and construction system. The diversity mixed with local Chinese building and framed the appearance of

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<sup>7</sup> See E. H. Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi*. Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1903

<sup>8</sup> Stanley, *History of the Baptist Missionary Society*, p.303.

<sup>9</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*. p.70-74

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Coomans, 'East meets West on the Construction Site. Churches in China, 1840–1930', *Construction History*, Construction History Society, Cambridge University, volume 33, p.73.

<sup>11</sup> Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's Adaptive Architecture, 1914–1935*, The Chinese University & University of Washington Press 2001

<sup>12</sup> Lai Delin, Wu Jiang, Xu Subin, *History, Zhongguo Jindai Jianzhusi 中国近代建筑史*, China Construction Industry Press 中国建筑工业出版社, 2016

Chinese buildings today.

Therefore, the BMS missionaries were in the area outside of the colony and concession (Figure 6).<sup>13</sup> The BMS in China was attempting to use the Chinese local building system to create non-religious buildings which was a breakthrough from the limitations of the Catholics' church buildings. It also extended the scope of building types in China and aimed to provide space for the Chinese general public as well as for Christian believers. In examining the building work of the BMS, this research aims to fill the current research gap in the area of 'hybrid buildings' and 'adaptive architecture' in China.



Figure 1. The Jinan museum, 1906. The museum had already become a group of buildings organized around a walled garden . However, the schools mentioned in the record had not yet appeared. The man on the right is J.S. Whitewright. Photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.

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<sup>13</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*. p.20-36.

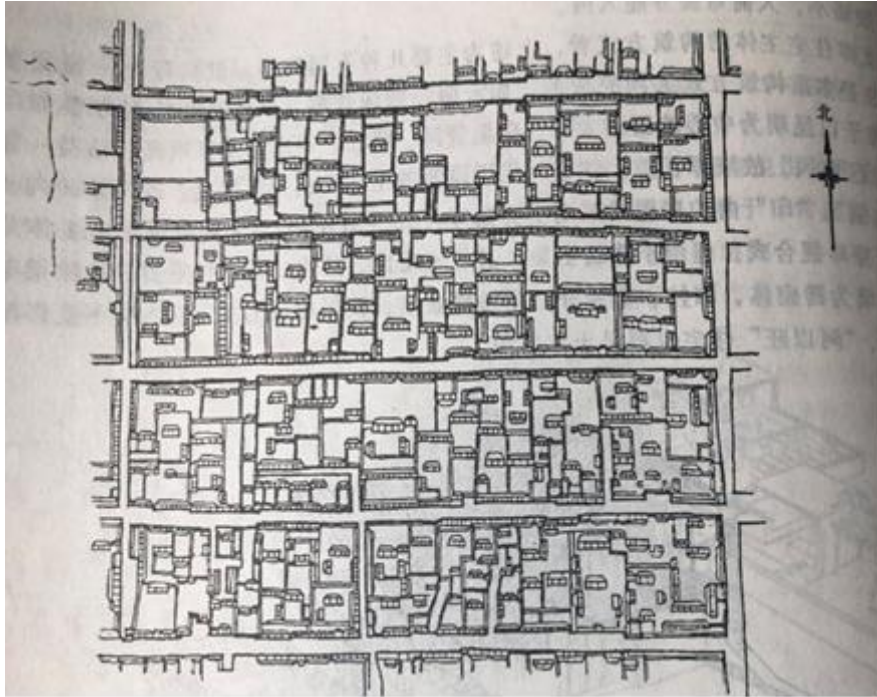


Figure 2. The plan of Beijing civil area, a part of 'Qing Long Capital map' (乾隆京师全图), Qing dynasty Emperor Qianlong (1711-99), map from the Liu Dunzhen, 刘敦桢, Zhongguo Gudai Jianzhushi 中国古代建筑史 1-154.

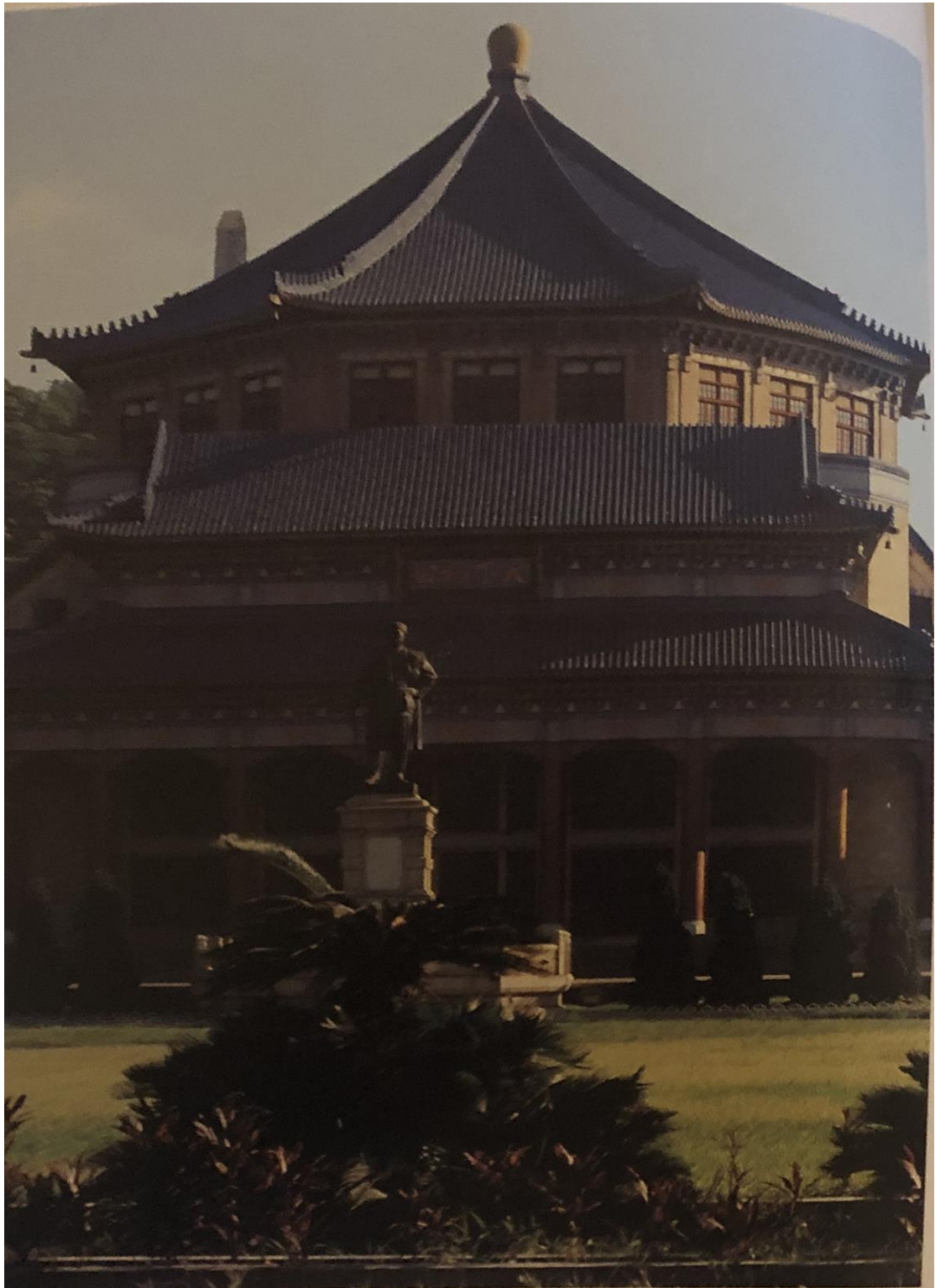


Figure 3. Sun Yat-sen (The founder of the Republic of China and the first Interim President of the Republic of China) Memorial Hall (Sun Zhongshan Jiniantang), Guasngzhou, designed in 1925 by Lu Yanzhi, who was the founder of Chinese architecture and Henry Murphy's assistant. Photo from Jeffrey W Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's Adaptive Architecture, 1914–1935*.



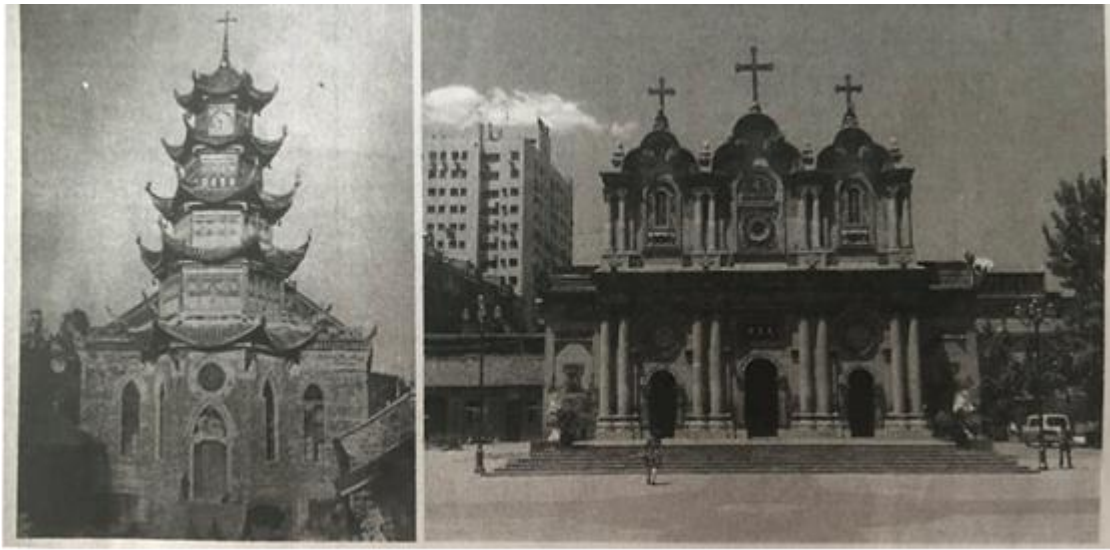


Figure 4. Two remarkable Chinese-Gothic and Chinese-Renaissance hybrid cathedrals: Guiyang (贵阳, Guizhou Province) built by French missionaries in 1874–76, and Xi'an (西安, Shaanxi province) built by Italian Franciscans in the 1880s. Photo from Thomas Coomans, *East meets West on the Construction Site*, p.73.



Figure 5. One of the main buildings designed in the early 1920s by Henry K. Murphy and his associates at the former Ginling College for Girls, Nanjing, photo taken in 1988. Photo from Jeffrey W Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's Adaptive Architecture, 1914–1935*.

In this process the BMS became one of the Protestant building explorers in China to explore the new building styles. It has to be claimed that the aim of the BMS's non-religious building also had a religious purpose, but the exploratory building process had extended the non-religious building with a religious aim. The church's Sunday school in the eighteenth

century is an example which contributed to forming a modern school space.<sup>14</sup>

Overall, the purpose of this study is to investigate a branch of early modern building in China. It focuses on the progress of the BMS in setting up their buildings, and it helps to daptive starts between the current study of 'hybrid buildings' and 'adaptive architecture' by cases from 1902 to 1914. It includes how the BMS explored building style and function against the background of turbulent China through the historical documents which represent BMS building in China as a kind of structure that had not previously existed. This research investigates the needs of missionaries and the reason for missionaries exploring building styles with their cultural background. The dissertation also examines the influence of the buildings on local Chinese people and answers the question as to why there were no further such cases of this building style after the 1920s. The type and style of buildings of cultural importance, through these cases in China, reflect China's early architectural engagement with the West through missionary work. The research deconstructs buildings in early modern China in order to track the origins of some of today's Chinese buildings. The building activity of the BMS was like a central mountain, resulting in its influencing the appearance of surrounding buildings constructed in the last 20 years. The history of BMS building in those areas also relates to the problem of 'authenticity' in the protection of buildings and monuments.

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<sup>14</sup> Thomas A. Markus, *Building and Power, Freedom and Control in the origin of Modern building Types*. Routledge, 1993 p48

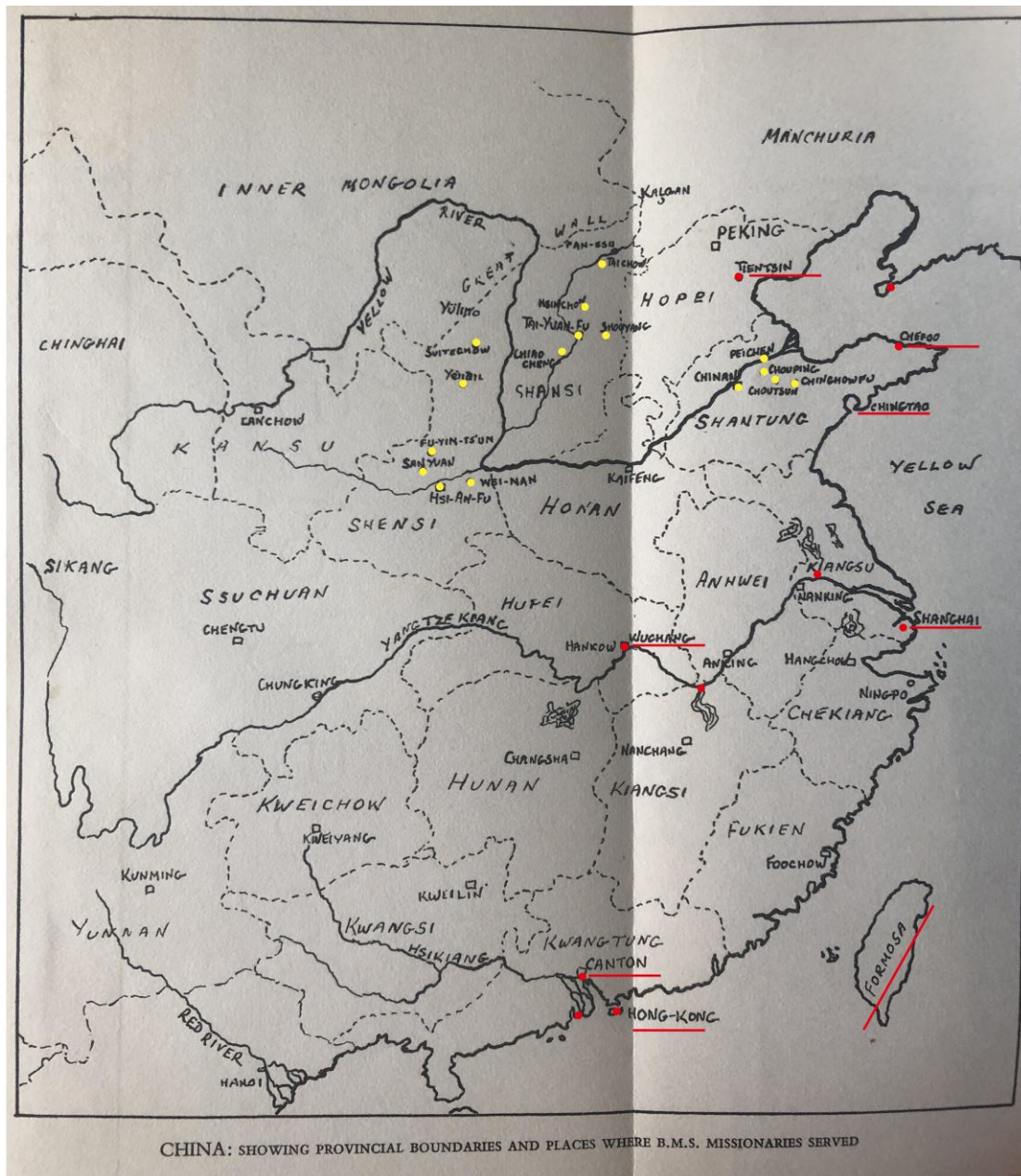


Figure 6. Map of China at the end of the Qing dynasty, 1911. Red dots show the colony and concession. Yellow dots show the BMS missionary stations. Map from H.R. Williamson, *British Baptists in China*.

### 1.1. Building in China from 1840 to 1949

Paul Cohen, currently an Associate of the Fairbank Center of Chinese Studies at Harvard University, raises three questions when he reviews the missionaries' effect in China:

The first – a problem for the student of communication – how clear was the missionary's message? How intelligible were missionary compilations and what exactly did they say? Second – what was the message? Missionary translators posed as transmitters of the best that Western civilization had to offer. A third and final question: who got the message? How

wide a readership, both social and geographic, did missionary writings have, and in what ways did patterns of readership change over the years?<sup>15</sup>

Historical research into the BMS has not as yet replied to these questions. My current research relied on primary material from the BMS only. Research into the objective item of architecture can partly reply to the second question and provide an access point to the third question. The construction of the BMS had the clear aim of a group of people to spread their message. The building research also shows the geographic extent of Protestant work

The Opium War in 1840 was considered the turning point of Ancient China and Early Modern China in the area of Chinese history. After 1840, Catholicism became a legitimate belief again and missionaries started working in China. Thomas Coomans<sup>16</sup> carried out a series of studies about Gothic building in China. His research focuses on the Catholic buildings in China, including the design and construction of Catholic church buildings in China. He uses the concepts of 'hybrid building' and 'Chinese-Gothic building'. His research provides material for the building construction organized in the later Qing dynasty. His research could provide another source of information to show the construction status in the period. The Protestants' church building did not feature in the scope of his study, and he cited Archbishop Celso Costantini's criticisms of Protestant building in China. Costantini criticized their lack of professionalism. This research was based on Catholic material. The research based on English Protestant material shows that the Protestant societies also undertook many meaningful and diverse building practices.

The most related research into Protestant building in China was the latest study of the Christian universities. The historians Daniel H. Bay and Ellen Widmer<sup>17</sup> conducted research into Christian universities in China. As most Christian universities had a Protestant background, all the chapters are devoted to the history of Protestant universities. In the chapter on 'American Geometries and the Architecture of Christian Campuses in China', Jeffrey W. Cody introduces the fusion between American and Chinese local building in campus geometries. The study emphasizes that the Protestant university layout was largely influenced by American campus design of the same age. Cody<sup>18</sup> also provides the connection of an American architect with Protestant building. The BMS building practice was constructed earlier than Murphy's promotion of his concept. The BMS building could be considered as a case of the transitional period before Murphy's building.

The scholars of Chinese architectural history have devoted works to early modern buildings. *China's Early Modern Building History*<sup>19</sup> represents the collection of their achievements in recent years. As they mention, the Protestant missionary societies in China were

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<sup>15</sup> Paul A. Cohen, *The Cambridge History of China, Chapter 11, Volume 10. Late Ch'ing 1800-1911*, part 1, Cambridge University Press, 1978, p. 581.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas, 'East meets West on the Construction Site. Churches in China, 1840-1930', *Construction History* 33/2 (2018): 63-83.

<sup>17</sup> Daniel H. Bay and Ellen Widmer, *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*, Stanford University Press, 2009

<sup>18</sup> Cody, Jeffrey W., *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's Adaptive Architecture, 1914-1935*. The Chinese University & University of Washington Press, 2001.

<sup>19</sup> Lai Delin, Wu Jiang, Xu Subin, *China's Early Modern Building History*, Zhongguo Jindai Jianzhushi 中国近代建筑史

'Fundamentalists (基要派)' or 'Modernists (现代派)'. The 'Fundamentalists' is to describe the conservative missionaries who tended to work in churches and avoid communicating with local Chinese culture. The 'Modernists' worked with more flexible methods to touch the potential believer. The diversity of building had a direct link with the 'Modernist' missionaries. But the research of *China's Early Modern Building History* lacks further discoveries of the influence of missionaries in building design work. The cases in the book reflect the defect due to the lack of tracking the missionaries and their background society. In the case of the Qilu University building group, the buildings' timespan is from the Jinan museum in 1905 to the 1920s and this was considered a messy example because the styles of building lacked consistency. But the reason for the messiness is easy to reveal in that the building process was mainly led by both the BMS and the American Presbyterian Mission (APM) but with independent funds and administration which led to the buildings also having independently developed processes.<sup>20</sup> The building group should be considered as two independent units, and then the messiness no longer appears. The Protestant building in China, I argue, should be researched in the light of Protestant building needs based on the Protestant societies rather than restricted to a geographical concept. The links and logic can be found in the construction organization rather than just in the geographic city name.

The BMS had a British and Welsh cultural background. The background was an important factor in the BMS exploration of building practice. As Jeremy Till<sup>21</sup> states, the sociology of architecture has to grapple with its fascinating context, requiring a theoretical approach sensitized to the specificity of architecture as a form of cultural production, which involves revealing the contingencies. Paul Jones<sup>22</sup> mentions that Victorian state architecture from 1837 to 1901 involved a self-conscious national construction, with explicit attempts being made to use the architecture of a national character to develop and reflect 'appropriate' national identities. According to Jones, many British public buildings of the period 1850–1901 give testimony to the self-confidence of the Victorian nation as an imperial power. Anthony Jones<sup>23</sup> and Kathryn Wilkinson<sup>24</sup> discuss Non-conformist chapels in Wales. The Welsh Non-conformist building developed differently from the classic Anglican church building in England. The early leaders of the BMS, such as Timothy Richard and A. G. Jones, were of Welsh background. The BMS was also a missionary society with a Non-conformist background. The BMS building in China was partly precipitated by Victorian culture. It attempted to absorb traditional Chinese building into its missionary work, to cater for the local people and present a Christian identity at the same time.

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<sup>20</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records. *Shantung Christian University, Ch/33* Shantung Christian University British Joint Board Suggested Revision of draft of By-laws p6

<sup>21</sup> Till, Jeremy, *Architecture Depends*, MIT Press, 2009

<sup>22</sup> Jones, Paul, *Sociology of Architecture*, Liverpool University Press, 2011

<sup>23</sup> Anthony Jones. *Welsh Chapels*, Sutton Publishing Limited. 1984

<sup>24</sup> Kathryn Wilkinson, *The Vernacular Origin of Welsh Nonconformist Chapels*, 2009

## *1.2. Research Methods and Methodologies*

### **Research Methods**

The research focuses on the issue of BMS building exploration in China. It investigates how the BMS pursue trust to promote building design. As the research focuses on the BMS' building development process, the essential work is to identify the primary sources from archives to represent the historical progress of the BMS building construction process in China. Because of the frequent rebuilding and renovation, it is difficult to date BMS buildings in China from the existing cases alone. In addition to archival study, missionary memoirs represent another resource to support the research. The subjective view of missionaries is important for discovering the building design process.

Regent's Park College in Oxford has the Angus Library which holds the BMS archive. It comprises printed books, pamphlets, journals and other artefacts from the history of the Baptists and other Non-conformists in Britain and throughout the world, from the late fifteenth century to the present day. The historical research into missionaries in China provides the foundation of the missionary environment in that age, and the archive information provides convincing records for researching the missionaries' subjective mind. The BMS material about China includes committee minutes, personal missionary documents and relevant literature. The BMS kept records of their daily meetings and work reports. The language report provides the BMS missionaries' experience in China and in the language, and the missionaries' attitudes toward their building works. The meetings include those of the London General Committee and all the subcommittees, such as the China, Building, Medical and Zenana subcommittees. Due to the lack of instant messaging capabilities at that time, the BMS usually used letters and telegrams to connect different stations. Thus, the manual record is still preserved in the conference minutes. The personal missionary documents depend greatly on the individual missionary's condition. Missionaries such as Timothy Richard and A. G. Jones left relatively complete material when they were in China, and J. Smith left a day-to-day diary from 1887 to 1906. Unfortunately, for some missionaries, there is only their necessary information, such as work application letters, and some missionaries' material was lost or damaged due to the wars in the first half of the twentieth century. The content in the archive also has many personal records to track the missionaries' personal thoughts, views and personal tendencies. Personal records such as those of G. A. Perriam have his candidature documents which provide his religious, work and educational background before his enrolment as a missionary. J. S Whitewright's documents preserve his letters from his last years and a newspaper clipping of his obituary. The documents are useful material for representing his daily life and work, and the BMS' influence over Chinese thought and emotion can be discovered through the abundant material.

With the influx of Western culture into China in this period, Chinese building experienced a typological explosion: Western-style schools, hospitals and government buildings appeared in

China.<sup>25</sup> Some of these tried to blend with local buildings, and the research will review the process of how Western buildings were introduced into China. Protestant missionaries arrived in China later than their Catholic counterparts<sup>26</sup> and, unlike Catholic missionaries, the Protestant missionaries did not restrict their ministry to churches and monasteries but employed a variety of missionary methods. These included medical missions, education work and being in touch with Chinese officials.<sup>27</sup> These methods created the need to establish independent schools, hospitals, colleges and training centres. The traditional Chinese buildings could not provide space for the needs of the Protestant missions. The BMS buildings in different provinces represent different appearances. In Victorian Britain it was usually accepted that to build was to create meaning: architecture was 'phonetic', it had 'expressional character', and it exhibited 'particular moral or political ideas'.<sup>28</sup>

The BMS, as a British Christian global missionary society, worked in the Victorian age, and the buildings also had a tendency to express their Christian character. In China, with the BMS in each province, the building construction work was directly led by each province's subcommittee. On account of independent people having different policies and social environments, the buildings in the different provinces show different routes of development. The BMS in Shandong had a stronger trend to explore architectural forms, its churches, museums, schools, hospitals and colleges showing a continuous progress of building exploration. By contrast, the practice in Shanxi province showed a more conservative development path, with local buildings being reorganized around walled gardens. Therefore, the research typologically defines Protestant building as a characteristic building type in early modern China. This classification emphasizes the buildings' investors and focuses on the subjective will on building appearance and building space.

Research concerning the subjective will of missionaries in China is in the realm of emotional history, which summarizes different people's and groups' emotions in history. Recent summaries like Susan Broomhall's *Early Modern Emotions, an introduction*<sup>29</sup> provide research application examples concerning different groups of people. As explained by Martin Willis and John Cromby,<sup>30</sup> this is qualitative research and concerns emotional habitus and emotional practice. Rob Boddice<sup>31</sup> has stressed that any historical discussion of emotions requires the analysis of historical documents to unscramble the writer's emotions behind the words. Early modern research into emotion and global Protestant missions<sup>32</sup> discusses the emotions of both indigenous people and missionaries. The BMS, as a Protestant missionary society, can be viewed as a part of Protestant global missions, and the analysis of their emotional history can help as a tool to analyse the BMS's motives. There is an interesting consistency in how Jacqueline V. Gent<sup>33</sup> describes the Moravian example of the process of adaptation in

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<sup>25</sup> Edward Denison. *Architecture and the Landscape of Modernity in China before 1949*. Routledge, 2017.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.63–83.

<sup>27</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*. p.253

<sup>28</sup> Mark Crinson, *Empire Building, Orientalism & Victorian Architecture*, 1996, p.9.

<sup>29</sup> Susan Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions, an introduction*, 2017

<sup>30</sup> John Cromby, 'Bodies, Representations, Situations, Practices: Qualitative Research on Affect, Emotion and Feeling', *Journal of Qualitative Research in Psychology*, Volume 17, 2020

<sup>31</sup> Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions*, Manchester University Press, 2018

<sup>32</sup> J. Van Gent and S. Young, *Early modern research into emotion and global Protestant missions Special Issue: 'Emotions and Conversion'*, *Journal of Religious History*, 2015

<sup>33</sup> Jacqueline V. Gent, *The Burden of Love: Moravian Conversions and Emotions in Eighteenth-Century*



emotionalism. Emotion is used as a key concept to explain the motives and subjectivity behind behaviour, as does the architectural historian Sara H. Edraimi using the example of how the CMS gained trust through hospital building. Likewise, the BMS documents show that trust was an aim of their building work too.

Emotional history is not, however, a tool for examining the spatial result of building, this being reliant on formal analysis. Spatial mapping can be introduced into research in order to analyse BMS buildings. The missionaries were not professional architects, and their buildings did not always turn out according to their original intention. Therefore, other tools should also be used to examine BMS buildings. Thomas Markus<sup>34</sup> provides a graphic to explore the influence of buildings on people. His analysis of space as social production has connected abstract material space with the standard method of graphs. For the BMS cases, the research method summarized by Markus provides standard tools to analyse buildings diagrammatically and spatially. The method abstracts the building space to a hierarchy of relations of spatial mapping to discuss the effect of buildings on people.

### *1.3. The Research Structure and Case Studies*

The aim of the thesis is to explore the BMS's building development process in China. The BMS had a long period before constructing buildings after 1900. The history needs to be revealed to explain the changes of mind with the process. The BMS worked in complex and chaotic conditions in China and was involved in the anfractuosity of early modern China's reform issues. So the thesis needs a separate chapter in order to discuss the history. The BMS building work was scattered throughout their missionary stations in Shandong, Shaanxi and Shanxi provinces. The following chapters consider cases in Shandong and Shanxi, which show two different building development processes of the BMS in China.

Chapter two begins with the BMS's missionary progress in China, because for a long time after their arrival in China the BMS did not have a practice of building. The historical background before 1900 is an important factor when considering the reasons for BMS building construction in China later. When talking about the BMS's architectural history in China. At the same time, the BMS's general history after 1900 is needed to show how the BMS's mind changed with China's reform and Revolution and how this influenced their building practice.

Chapter three discusses the construction process in Shandong province, and the BMS work with the American Presbyterian Missions (APM), American Baptists Mission (ABM), The English Methodists, Canadian Presbyterian Mission (CPM), etc.<sup>35</sup> This led to the BMS building alongside neighbouring societies' buildings with different cultural backgrounds. At the same time, in Shandong, Yantai (Cheloo) was occupied by British while Jiaozhou (Qingdao) was

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*Labrador*, *Journal of Religious History*, Volume 39, Issue 4, Special Issue: Emotions and conversion, 2015

<sup>34</sup> Thomas A. Markus, *Building and Power, Freedom and Control in the origin of Modern building Types*. Routledge,

<sup>35</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records. *Shantung Christian University, Ch/33 Shantung Christian University British Joint Board Suggested Revision of draft of By-laws p1-2*



occupied by Germany. The relatively safe environment led Shandong's building construction to have an intact process. The process began with the chapel in Zouping in 1902 and progressed to the Qilu hospital in 1914. The sub-chapters partly use Edwards' *Baptists in China* chapter headings in order to represent the link between the general history of the BMS and its architectural history.

It was a different environment in Shandong province. The number of Protestant societies in Shanxi province was not so much. Chapter four discusses the construction process in Shanxi province. Unlike Shandong province, Shanxi province is far from the coast with bad traffic conditions at that time, and the local government toward the Christian people was more cautious. So the BMS in Shanxi mainly relied on the local Christian community. This meant the building appearance was different from the building cases in Shandong province. The building cases in Shanxi province had more reliance on the local building system.

In the concluding chapter, the thesis concludes the findings of the review toward a model of building constructed in the mainland area in China in the early modern age. The achievements of BMS building construction in China is reviewed.

## 2. Historical overview of the BMS in China and the BMS building strategy change after 1900

The chapter has two sections in order to discuss the history of the BMS on two different levels. The first is a review of BMS history relating to building work. The BMS became involved in China in 1860.<sup>36</sup> They worked in China from 1860 to 1952, a period during which China experienced a turbulent time. The historical process of the BMS in China has been divided into seven time periods by H. R. William, but I summarize it as four time periods based on his time span, as follows: before 1900 was the early exploratory age; the missionary restoring age was from 1900 to 1912; the steady development age was from 1912 to 1924; and the cast-down age was from 1925 to 1952. The history review focuses only on the first, second and early third periods which were related with the building construction. The second section examines the changes of view toward building through the historical record.

The details of BMS missionary progress in China can be found in the BMS archive. In the archive, the committee minutes provide details. Dr Timothy Richard, who worked in China for almost half a century and was one of the most influential Protestant missionaries in China, wrote his personal reminiscences, *Forty-Five Years in China*, which is a reference book for BMS history in China. Brian Stanley<sup>37</sup> and H. R. Williamson<sup>38</sup> provide the record of BMS history in China. Williamson was a missionary who went to work in China in 1908 and lived there till 1938, was retiring as the Chairman of the BMS in 1951. His book contains some

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<sup>36</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.20.

<sup>37</sup> Brian Stanley, *History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792–1992*, T.& T.Clark, 1992

<sup>38</sup> H. R. Williamson, *British Baptists in China, 1845–1952*, Carey Kingsgate Press, 1957

primary material for research into the history of the BMS. Other primary materials include the relevant literature contained in many missionary memoirs, social journals and other books. The BMS missionary E. H. Edwards<sup>39</sup> emphasizes the hostility and asserts that the 'trust' between Christians and local people was too weak to protect Christian people in most of China's missionary stations, which was made doubly evident by the Boxer Rebellion. The crisis of the Boxer Rebellion showed the BMS whose missionaries were slaughtered in Shaanxi that 'trust', at least from 1878 to 1900, had not been established in Shaanxi province. In order to work in the complex Chinese situation, the missionaries had to adjust their mindset in the period of turbulent China. Other autobiographies and memoirs include *New China – A Story of Modern Travel*<sup>40</sup>, *In China Now*<sup>41</sup>, *The Way of the Doctor*<sup>42</sup>, *In the hidden Province*<sup>43</sup>, and *Memoir of H. R. Williamson*<sup>44</sup>. The memoirs concentrate intensely on the period from 1900 to 1937. This period also covers the peak time for BMS building and community development in China. All the primary material provides the historical background of the BMS in China. Historical details from the archival information and the memoirs give convincing evidence.

In addition to the BMS records, general historical research also reflects the influence and impact of the BMS. *The Cambridge History of China* has been edited by Western sinologists since the late 1960s. Almost all influential sinologists have assisted in the work, leading to it being the most complete Chinese history book edited by Western scholars. Before the publication of *The Harvard History of China*, it was the only full-scale encyclopaedic history book about China in the Western world. For Chinese scholars, the book has also been highly influential. The book was translated by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Despite the Chinese research having been criticized concerning the ancient part's historical material and conclusion, the early modern part has not been widely disputed, and its material has been widely used by current Chinese history researchers. Protestants contributed to history in China as positive reformers in the later Qing dynasty to change the old empire. Timothy Richard as an important participant in the later Qing reforms is mentioned in the book. *The Cambridge History of China of Later Qing and Republic of China* could also be used as a historical frame of reference to the age of BMS building work in China. Daniel H. Bays, who is also an editor of *The Cambridge History of China*, wrote a series of books on the contributions of Protestant missionary work, which included education projects, charitable work and the emancipation of women, especially in opposition to foot binding.

## 2.1. In turbulent China, BMS history and BMS history in China

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<sup>39</sup> E. H. Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1903

<sup>40</sup> W. Y. Fullerton and C. E. Wilson, *New China – A Story of Modern Travel*, 1909

<sup>41</sup> J. C. Keyte, *In China Now*, 1924

<sup>42</sup> R. Fletcher, *The Way of the Doctor*, 1929

<sup>43</sup> Kathleen M. Shuttleworth, *In the hidden Province*, 1937

<sup>44</sup> *Memoir of H. R. Williamson*, 1969

### 2.1.1 A brief history of the BMS

The BMS was founded in London in 1792 for overseas mission. The society was the first Non-conformist society to send missionaries to India with the sole aim of evangelizing people.<sup>45</sup> From 1793, the BMS' first missionaries arrived in India to work. The BMS missions soon spread to include the Cameroons, Congo, Ceylon, Pakistan, Bangladesh India and China. After 1952, when the BMS left China, the missionary area was extended to Latin America, Zaire and Angola.

The Baptist denomination has a Calvinistic and Evangelical background.<sup>46</sup> It is also a participant of Non-conformism.<sup>47</sup> The BMS, as the Baptists' overseas organization, was led by the committee in London. Their missionaries were British people recruited from Protestant believers who had a related religious background. In the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, Protestants experienced a series of religious movements such as regional revivals in Wales,<sup>48</sup> along 'Young Men's Christian Association' lines.<sup>49</sup>

### 2.1.2 Arrived in China, BMS in China before 1900

The claims of China had been occupying the minds of the BMS Committee for some time before 1860.<sup>50</sup> From the beginning of BMS work in China, the society continued to urge to create the 'self-support' Christian community.<sup>51</sup> In spite of all BMS work was an appearance of track the result to construct such a community, but the first step of establishing the 'trust' with the potential local believer cost a long and complex process. The wars, rebellions, history events constantly interrupt the missionary work until the BMS left China. History is a necessary part to claim to reveal the subject mind when their design building.

The T'ai-Ping Revolt started in 1851, and even in the view of a Protestant history researcher, it was also an uncooperative heterodoxy. 'The rebel kingdom announced social reforms and the replacement of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Chinese folk religion by his form of Christianity, holding that he was the second son of God and the younger brother of Jesus.'<sup>52</sup> 'Qing forces besieged the Taiping areas throughout most of the rebellion. The Qing government defeated the rebellion with the eventual aid of French and British mercenaries.'<sup>53</sup>

After 1860, the Society sent missionaries to China. They lived in the opened up ports in China. In the following years, there were only a few Chinese people who accepted baptism by their influence.<sup>54</sup> Timothy Richard (Figure 7), one of the most important Protestant missionaries, arrived in China in 1870. At that period, 'a number of Roman Catholic priests and nuns were

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<sup>45</sup> Stanley. *History of the Baptist Missionary Society*, p.1.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p.2-3.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, University of Wales Press, 1997.

<sup>49</sup> Kaiser, *The Rushing on of the Purposes of God*, p.118.

<sup>50</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.20.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* p.221

<sup>52</sup> Frederic E Wakeman, *The Fall of Imperial China*, The Free Press, 1975, p.143.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* p.156.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* p.2-4.

massacred in Tientsin ... [there were] rumours that the Chinese were about to massacre all the foreigners in Chefoo'.<sup>55</sup> The distrust between non-Christian and Christian people was the reason behind these rumours.<sup>56</sup> Richard took a trip out of the coastal city to visit the inland area. He visited Shandong and Manchu and communicated with local scholars and other religious leaders during the excursion.

Due to his journey around China, Richard continued to do the missionary adopting different strategies. With the famine of 1876, famine relief helped the missionary work to improve.<sup>57</sup> To reduce the misunderstanding between local people and the missionaries, the BMS made some changes. They tried to communicate with local people and set up a series of necessary charitable work for local converts. As regards the general public, the BMS missionaries hoped to change their prejudice towards foreigners by changing into Chinese dress.<sup>58</sup> In the period from 1875 to 1900, the BMS set up elementary schools for individual Christians and a training school for preachers and teachers.<sup>59</sup> There were no centrally organized medical facilities and work amongst women and girls was also improved in the period.<sup>60</sup>

'Richard believes the issue of China is not accepting "laws of God".'<sup>61</sup> China's history and cultural background led to Richard's awareness of a cultural gap influencing the community and he thought building up a system of modern educational institutions would be a valuable method to pursue trust.<sup>62</sup> The Chinese Christian community grew with the expansion of educational building in China. At the beginning of his time in China, Richard thought that, once Chinese officials understood the 'Laws of God' operating in nature, they would accept the Christian faith and seek the most significant benefit of their people.<sup>63</sup> And Richard believed that poverty were the result of China not being a Christian country.<sup>64</sup> This attitude is present in both his memoir and his political advice to the Qing government. In his concept, missionary work should convert the literate class to which the leaders in the Qing government belonged, then he hoped the literate class would use their ability to change the conditions of the Chinese people. In the 1870s, he saw a horrible famine. Thus he believed that China could be helped through immediate famine relief and teaching the people the true principles of Christian civilization and the introduction of new industries.<sup>65</sup> Like many Protestant missionaries in China, Timothy Richard attended the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese in 1887<sup>66</sup> (hereafter, Christian Literature Society (CLS)) to publish books in Shanghai. Before 1900, the BMS had a school and the Gotch-Robinson College and schools in Qingzhoufu, Shandong.

The BMS missionaries kept a connection with China's senior bureaucrats and attended the

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p.32.

<sup>56</sup> Su Ping 苏萍, *Rumors and modern religious conflicts 谣言与近代教案*, Shanghai Far East Publishing House, p.37.

<sup>57</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, pp.43-4.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p.37.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p.52.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp.54-5.

<sup>61</sup> Eunice V. Johnson, *Timothy Richard's Vision: Education and Reform in China, 1880-1910*, ed. Carol Lee Hamrin, Pickwick Publications, 2014, p.3.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp.4-5.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p.3.

<sup>64</sup> Richard, *Forty-five years in China*, p.201.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p.17.

<sup>66</sup> Johnson, *Timothy Richard's Vision*, p.65.

reform discussions as advisers.<sup>67</sup> After the failure of the war with the Japanese in 1894, in 1895 Timothy Richard was advising the Chinese court in relation to Liang Qingchao, who was exiled after the failure of the Hundred Days' Reform and the coup at the end of 1898, and the reforms obtained consensus in the Qing court in 1898.<sup>68</sup> But in the same year, the reforms failed due to a court coup and Germany occupied the east of Shandong province in December. This series of issues was a disaster for BMS missionary work. Some Qing government factions viewed the BMS as the enemy who had been involved in the Qing court's failure to reform, and the German occupation of Shandong directly stimulated xenophobia and led to the Boxer Rebellion which started in 1899.<sup>69</sup> Although the Qing government tried to introduce a Western educational system, educational reform stopped when political reform ground to a halt in 1898.<sup>70</sup> Then the BMS devoted their efforts to another pathway to adapt to the Chinese educational problem.



Figure 7. Mr and Mrs Richard in 1884, Timothy Richard, *Forty-five years in China*, London, T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, 1916, p.192.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p.299.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., pp. 191, 212.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.216.

<sup>70</sup> Hao Chang, *The Cambridge History of China, Chapter 5, Volume 11. Late Ch'ing 1800–1911, part 2*, Cambridge University Press, 1978, p.319.

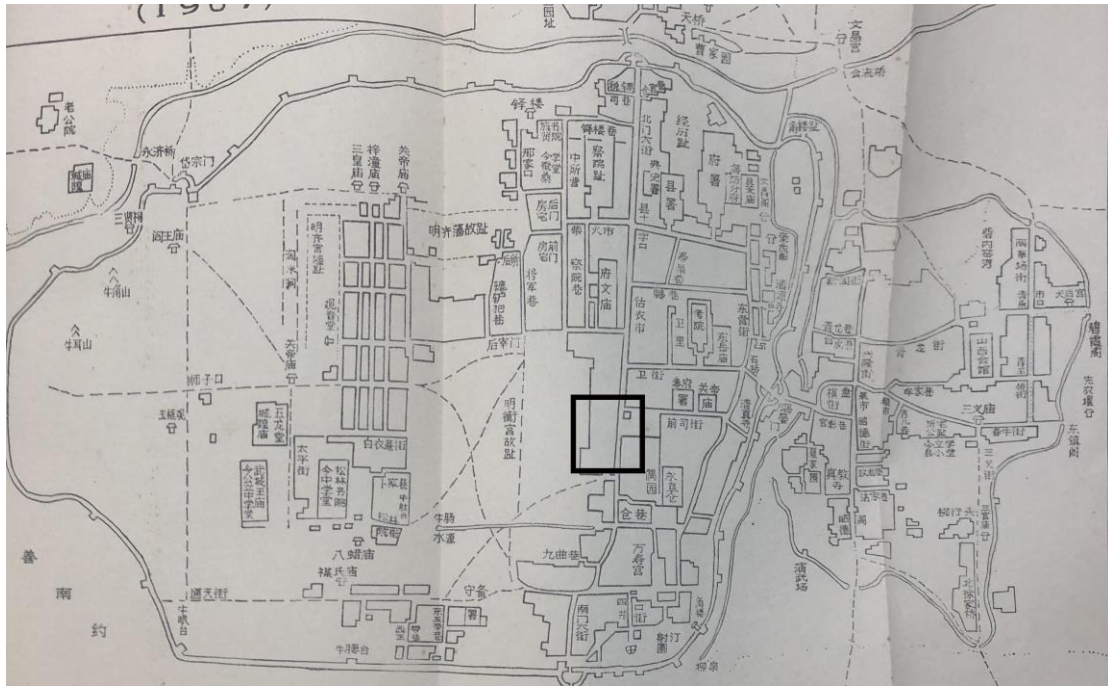


Figure 8. Map of Qingzhou in 1907. The black rectangle is the approximate site of the BMS. The BMS station in Qingzhou had a North and a South garden. The South garden contained the schools and hospital. Only the church building is preserved today. In 2013, buildings in this area were rebuilt on the site as a new ‘old city’ for tourists. Map from Qingzhou Local History Editorial Committee, *Qingzhou Shi Zhi, 青州市志, history of Qingzhou*, Nankai University Press, 1989.

### 2.1.3 The turning point, Boxer Rebellion and 1911 Revolution

The complicated relations between Christian and non-Christian people lasted for a long time. In 1897, the Germans occupied Qingdao, a region in Shandong province where two German Catholic missionaries had been killed.<sup>71</sup> The tensions between Christian and non-Christian people in Shandong rose to a new level. In 1900, the Boxer Rebellion broke out and spread from Shandong to North China in a matter of months.<sup>72</sup>

The ‘Boxers’ lacked organization and a united aim. This meant that the Boxer movement had different leaders and behaviours in different areas. During the Boxer Rebellion, with the help of the Shandong local government officials, the BMS missionaries retreated to Chefoo which led to the BMS in Shandong not suffering severe damage. One of the missionaries who retreated to Chefoo, Mr Shipway, reported: ‘We are all well, and wherever I go, I hope to have my teacher with me, so as not to lose more time in learning the language than is absolutely necessary.’<sup>73</sup> Some missionaries witnessed the looting of the school in Qingzhou in 1900,<sup>74</sup> in 1901 they found that the damage had been overestimated.<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately, the BMS Christian communities in Shanxi province were destroyed in 1900. The Boxer Rebellion was

<sup>71</sup> Susanne Kuss, *German Colonial Wars and the Context of Military Violence*, Harvard University Press, 2017, p15

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> The minutes of China subcommittee, No 3, p.245.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p.243.

<sup>75</sup> The minutes of China subcommittee, No 4, p.6.

declared illegal by the Qing government in 1901.

From this time, the Society became aware that it would not be possible to construct an independent Christian community in China. Such a community might get trust from some local people, but it would be too weak to survive in China's turbulent environment. The last decade of the Qing dynasty was a time for the BMS to repair the breaches and restore the paths.<sup>76</sup> The BMS restored the old stations and set up new stations in that period, setting up schools in every station and founding museums, hospitals and colleges in China.

The Qing dynasty ended with the 1911 Revolution. The Republic of China was established, and quickly split.<sup>77</sup> Then World War One began which influenced the funding of the BMS. The endless civil war in China meant the BMS had not had peaceful conditions for missionary work and the World War caused the BMS to have a lack of funds from the British. The situation was difficult for the BMS until 1952 when they left. The situation led to the BMS building design work being concentrated in the period from 1902 to 1914.



Figure 9. The first hospital in Qingzhou, photo from Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p247

## 2.2. Building Construction from 1900 to 1914

The BMS in China hoped to set up new permanent buildings at the end of the nineteenth

<sup>76</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.72.

<sup>77</sup> John K. Fairbank *The Cambridge History of China Volume 12: Republican China, 1912–1949*, Part 1, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p.208.



century. These buildings presented a unique feature which could be considered as a building fusion, mixing a variety of cultures, including Chinese, Victorian vernacular and Gothic revival. Before 1900, the BMS buildings for this work mainly relied on rented houses.<sup>78</sup> (Figure 9) In this process, Richard noticed that education work had potential to build up communication with local people and build trust.

The Boxer Rebellion became the turning point for the BMS. The activities of the BMS included famine relief, medical assistance, saving orphans, building schools, etc. That work resulted in the early community led by the BMS. The most significant damage of the Boxer Rebellion toward the BMS was that most Chinese converts died or apostasized.<sup>79</sup> The number of believers gradually recovered, but the BMS still changed their focus and tended to focus on training Chinese priests and supporting Chinese society. With the impact of the Boxer Rebellion, Richard's view was widely accepted by missionaries in China. For this missionary aim, the BMS believed that modern knowledge is the gift of God and spreading modern education was the best method to convert the Chinese.<sup>80</sup> This strategy changed BMS buildings. After that time, the BMS buildings used for the educational function for ordinary Chinese people were not limited to Christian people.

This social change was accepted gradually and influenced the process of building local Christian communities. In 1898, the Society purchased land in Zouping for a local orphanage and church. Due to the social problems and apparent danger of social riots, the building construction did not start. After 1900, the chaos caused by the Boxer Rebellion gradually disappeared. In 1901, the missionary work in Shandong restarted, due to the damage in Shandong being only slight. The Revd J. P. Bruce reported to London on 28 March: 'Men returned to Interior (Shandong). Official welcome, very gratifying... The loss is less than was estimated, building uninjured, museum, hospital, intact.'

Then A. G. Jones returned to Zouping, Shandong, around 1901, to restart construction. The new building in China 'would be to the great advantage of the Mission'.<sup>81</sup> Most BMS building in Shandong was carried out in the next 20 years. In Shandong, the BMS built a new church or chapel in every missionary station, including Jinan, Zouping, Qingzhou and Zhoucun around 1910.<sup>82</sup> The BMS and other missionary societies also set up Shandong Christian Union University (later named Qilu University, Qilu being another name for Shandong). As a participant in Shandong Christian Union University, the BMS migrated its schools to Jinan from Qingzhou which was the attached building for the missionary society. The BMS led the medical school, arts school and seminary school in Qilu University. The new site of the university was the main construction work of the BMS in Shandong after 1910.

As the massacre directed at the BMS had happened in Shanxi province. the BMS got an indemnity from the Qing government. Timothy Richard led the BMS to use these funds to build a university in Shanxi, named Shanxi University. And with the abundant funds, the BMS

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<sup>78</sup> Richard, *Forty-five years in China*, p.80.

<sup>79</sup> E. H. Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1903, p.62.

<sup>80</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.223.

<sup>81</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records. *Number 5 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.171.

<sup>82</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records. *BMS China schedule of property*.



restored the missionary stations in Xi'an, Xizhou, Yanan, Tongchuan, Weinan, Taiyuan and Xinzhou. These cities were scattered throughout Shanxi province.

Both Shandong and Shanxi provinces had two construction processes. In the first process, due to the lack of professional architects, missionaries set up buildings with local craftsmen and believers. In 1909, two professional architects, H. J. Fairburn and G. H. Perriam, went to China. Both of them had work experience in London. Fairburn was appointed as the architectural supervisor in Shanxi and Perriam as the architectural supervisor in Shandong. The stone building was designed and finished after they arrived in China. BMS construction work was concentrated in the years after 1909 and the Society soon employed new architects, H. Carey Edmunds and A. G. Toone, in 1913, as the assistants of Fairburn and Perriam. All the architects left China between 1915 and 1917<sup>83</sup> and only left record reveal Mr Perriam was drafted in World War I.<sup>84</sup>

### 3. BMS building cases in Shandong

The Boxer Rebellion did not impact much physically but it did mentally in Shandong province. It interrupted the building construction process planned in 1898. The building cases in Shandong province are a consistent process from Zouping chapel. Later, as the diverse missionary methods required, more diverse buildings were created in subsequent years. Other buildings include the museum, school and hospital. Teresa Sladen and Andrew Saint<sup>85</sup> and Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint<sup>86</sup> look at British church building in the same, late Victorian, age. Markus<sup>87</sup> presents the development of schools and museums in the industrial age. G. Cook<sup>88</sup> shows the popular plan of the hospital in Great Britain. The BMS building has some elements or design principles related to other buildings in the same age, but the building result was very different from cases of the same time in Great Britain. The cases in Shandong present a continuous process between different types of building.

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<sup>83</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p367-368

<sup>84</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records., Perriam Personal documents.

<sup>85</sup> Andrew Saint, Churches 1870–1914, *The Victorian Society Studies in Victorian Architecture and Design*, Volume III, 2011

<sup>86</sup> Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, *The Victorian church*, 1995

<sup>87</sup> Thomas A. Markus, *Building and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types*, Routledge, 1993,

<sup>88</sup> G. Cook, *Henry Currey FRIBA (1820–1900): leading Victorian hospital architect, and early exponent of the “pavilion principle”*, *Postgraduate Medical Journal*, 2002

### 3.1. Hope and Recovery, the First Building Practices

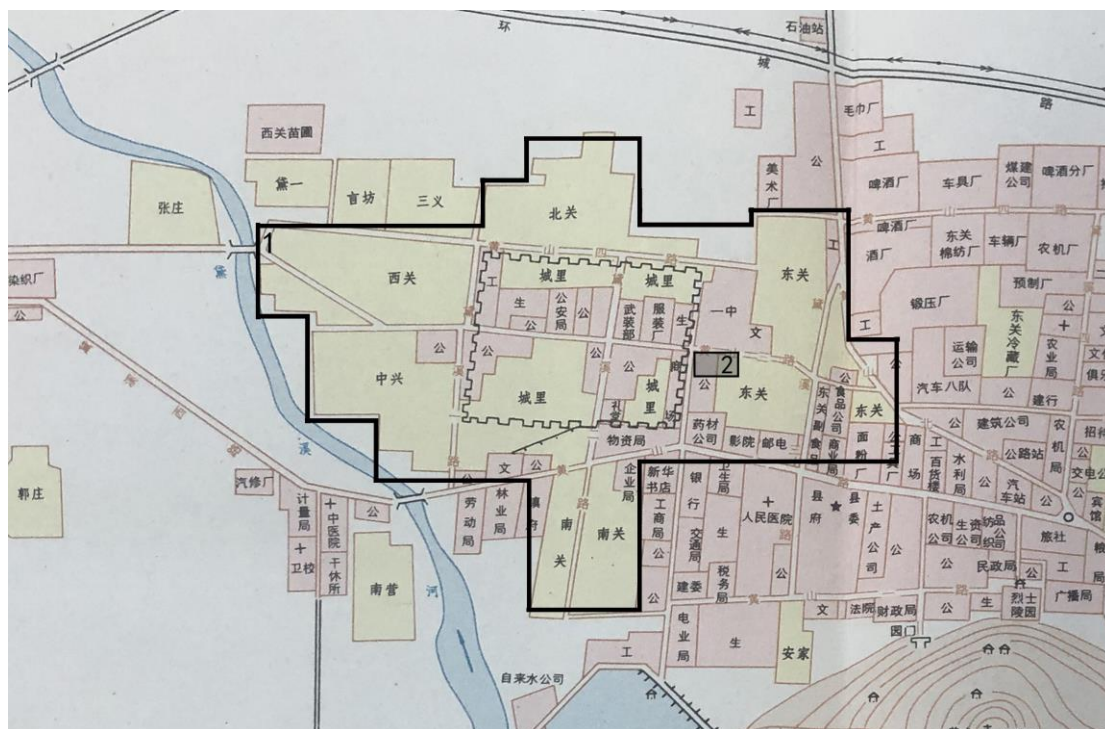


Figure 10. Map of Zouping in 1992. The area 1 in the black boundary is the approximate place of the old city in the time of the BMS in China. The city area in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was already outside the old city wall. The black rectangle 2 is the approximate site of the BMS. Map from Zouping Local History Editorial Committee, *Zhouping Xian Zhi, 周村县志, History of Zhoucun*, Zhonghua Book Company Press, 1992.

In 1888, the BMS decided to extend their missionary work in the area west of Qing Zhou. Then missionaries visited Zouping and settled in the city. The missionaries rented a local room as the station for medical work and famine relief.<sup>89</sup> In 1896, the Zouping station promoted the need for a new hospital, under five headings:

1. The premises are insanitary.
2. The general ward is much too small.
3. There are no private wards for special diseases or classes of patients requiring them.
4. No private court for women.
5. The conditions under which the evangelist preaches to the patients are so wretched that only the minimum of success can be expected. The waiting room is so small that many of the patients are unable to gain admission, and must sit in the courtyard, beyond the reach of the evangelist's voice.<sup>90</sup>

The Zouping station applied to London for funds. When the funding arrived, the Shandong province was experiencing flooding. The relief work was heavy and at the same time the

<sup>89</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 3 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.126. Minutes of Shantung local committee.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p.128.

missionary work was extended to education. This led to the building work being significantly delayed.<sup>91</sup> In 1898, the BMS purchased land in the east of Zouping city and finally decided to extend the hospital in March 1900.<sup>92</sup>

With the end of the Boxer Rebellion, the BMS missionaries returned to inland China in 1901.<sup>93</sup> The BMS had two difficulties in front of them. The first was that the future missionary plan certainly needed an adjustment. The discussion of missionary methods and plans can be found in the BMS China subcommittee minutes from 1901 to 1902. The second issue was the financial problem. By 1901, the missionaries' salaries had already become an urgent issue.<sup>94</sup> With the discussion of the future work plan and solution of the issues, the construction work of Zouping chapel (Figure 11) was completed.

Figure 11. On the left is Zouping chapel in 1908; the people are missionaries, believers and orphans. On the right is the draft plan of Zouping chapel, photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.



Figure 12. Classic street plan in Beijing and a classic Beijing courtyard, Pan Guxi, 中国建筑史 *Chinese architectural history*, 中国建筑工业出版社 China Building Industry Press, p.98

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. There is a conflict in the records. See Appendix 1.

<sup>92</sup> Zouping Local History Editorial Committee, *Zhouping Xian Zhi*, 周村县志, *History of Zhouping*, Zhonghua Book Company Press, 1992, p.879.

<sup>93</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.62.

<sup>94</sup> Oxford University Angus Library. The BMS archive records, *Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p41

From this chapel, the BMS started a serious practice of building in China. Chinese buildings in China tend to be blocks alongside a garden with high walls. These buildings are usually rectangular and, if space allows, the long sides of the buildings are their south and north façades, with the main door in the centre of the south façade.<sup>95</sup> The attached building is set adjoining the wall. This drawing is similar to the Chinese courtyard house (Figure 12). The courtyard house layout was largely applied to the Zouping chapel.

For Non-conformists a chapel means in English a 'congregation' or 'a community of believers'.<sup>96</sup> Religious revivals after the 1800s in Wales spread quickly and deeply affected every facet of Non-conformism. They profoundly changed the individuals who were present, and drove congregations to build chapels<sup>97</sup> from the 1880s to the outbreak of the 1905 revival which led to a final spurt of chapel building for Non-conformists.<sup>98</sup> Zouping chapel was built against this background. The great national revivals were notable for their encouragement of the building not only of larger chapels, but also of secondary structures – the erection of an annexe, schoolroom, or the extension of the chapel vestry and its refurbishment. All styles were applied in the Non-conformist chapels of the later nineteenth century.<sup>99</sup> Zouping chapel appeared in the frame of Non-conformist chapels of the age.

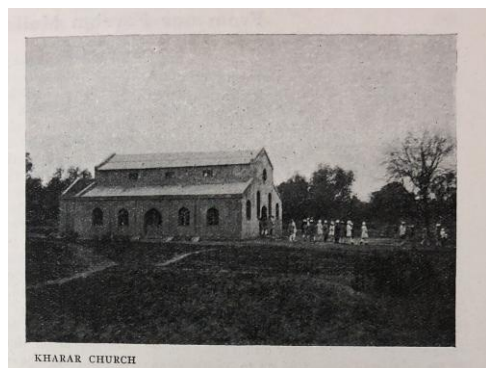


Figure 7. The Kharar church, BMS church in India. Photo from *The Missionary Herald of the Baptist Missionary Society for the year of 1911*

Although the Zouping chapel made use of local material and the traditional block plan, its structure still appeared like a Welsh Non-conformist chapel. This layout can also be found in other BMS buildings around the world (Figure 13). The Zouping chapel, unlike a classical church building, applies the plan in the same way as the Chinese traditional building and has two separate doors for men and women in the centre of the chapel's north and south façades. The nineteenth-century vernacular chapels in Wales also had looked like large barns, with the façade on the long side wall,<sup>100</sup> but there was still no case like Zouping chapel's arrangement with the door in the centre of the long side wall, and the internal space of Zouping chapel was

<sup>95</sup> Liu Zun zheng 刘敦桢, *Architecture History of China 中国建筑史*, China Architecture & Building Press 中国建筑工业出版社, 1984, p.8.

<sup>96</sup> Anthony Jones, *Welsh Chapels*, Sutton Publishing, 1984, p.1.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p.102.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p.118.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*,p50

hard to arrange according to the classic church or chapel plan. The chapel space is interrupted by the central door in the long sides, both north and south. It is hard to evaluate the chapel from the missionaries' viewpoint due to a lack of records, but no further similar religious space appeared in China, which might imply the missionaries did not view Zouping chapel as a valuable case for mixing the traditional Chinese building and chapel space. Zouping chapel is a tautologous and self-contradictory building, which was close to the missionaries' character at the time just after the Boxer Rebellion. Obviously, the missionaries believed they were victims in the Rebellion, but discontent toward other missionary groups' behaviour is widely apparent in the records. Zouping chapel shows a traditionally Christian religious space compromising with the local building tradition as a symbol for their return to work. The subsequent missionary work in Shandong was gradually spread in the coming years after the Zouping chapel.

### 3.2. The Appeal and Jinan Museum

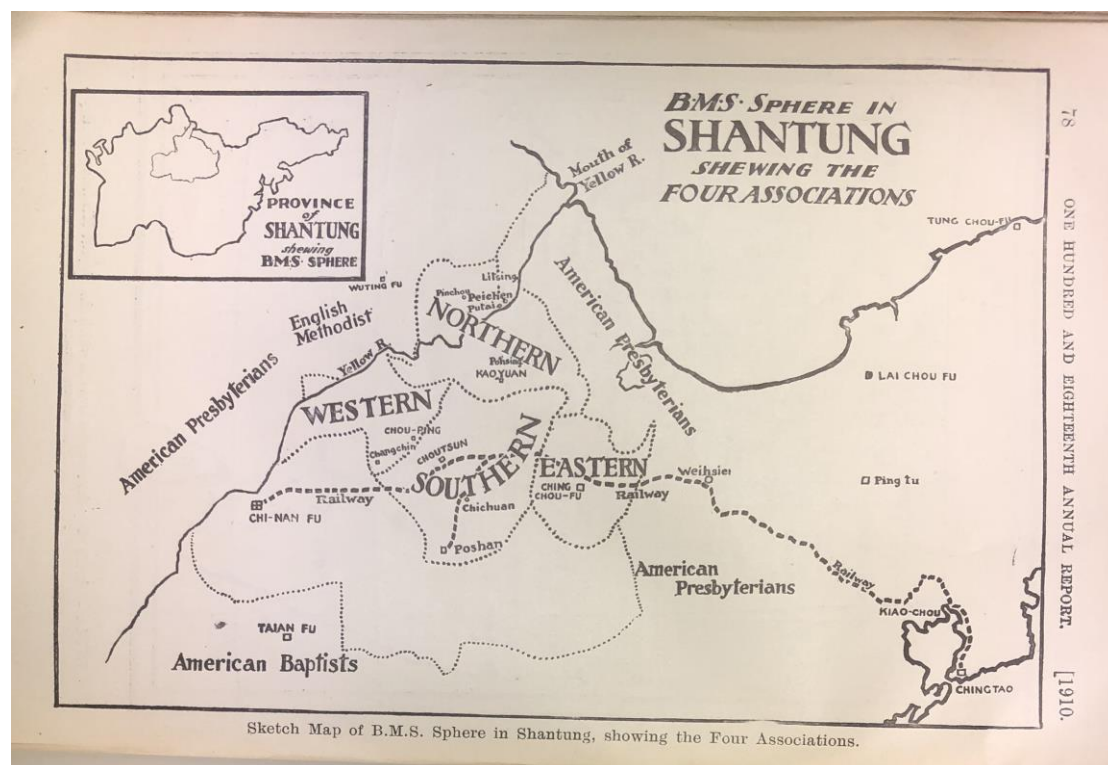


Figure 8. Sketch Map of the B.M.S. Sphere in Shantung in 1910. In Chi-Nan Fu (Jinan), ChouTsun (Zhouzun), ChingChou Fu (QingZhou), Chouping (ZouPing) and PeiChen (Bin Zhou) the BMS purchased lands and constructed buildings. Map from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *the 1910 Annual Report of the BMS.*

'It has always appeared to me that in these matters, as well as in all things else, we should seek, as far as in us lies, to become Chinese to the Chinese.'<sup>101</sup> This was the reaction that the building of the BMS museum in Jinan elicited from J. S. Whitewright in 1905. He understands

<sup>101</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *BMS The minutes of committee 1905*, p.179, a missionary letter from China 1905.

that he can never be a real Chinese, but he tries to believe that he is a Chinese person despite also knowing that it is impossible. The Jinan museum, which was built by him around 1904, in his view also reflects this way of thinking. The Jinan museum for exhibiting the Western world is present with the appearance of a Chinese building.

At the same time the Zouping chapel was constructed, the financial situation improved with 'the Boxer Protocol' and the arrival of 'the Arthington funding'.<sup>102</sup> <sup>103</sup> Then, the BMS started more facilities and built more buildings in China. On 9 December 1901, J. P. Bruce<sup>104</sup> reported on the question of the urgent need. This included the need for enlarged provision for the education of the boys connected with the BMS. It is easy to notice Bruce's concern to alter Western education in China to give a higher priority to Christian education:

I feel it much more keenly now, when I look into the future and see how here in China, as it is already in Japan, the time is near when those who are to have influence with their fellow countrymen will be men of education, and men of Western education. It is our great anxiety that our people should be able to make use of this influence in whatever walk of life they may be; that they may have not Western education merely, but Christian education; so that with trained intelligence, and with devout heart, they may be 'fitted for the Master's use.'<sup>105</sup>

The usual way of producing knowledge is to teach, in schools, such as the 'College of Industry', formed and developed since the Renaissance. In museums, the theory remains hidden, but here the expert, disclosing a small part at a time, creates visible knowledge.<sup>106</sup> Bruce believed educational reform would improve Christian missionary work. The first benefit is that Western education would influence the Chinese and spread Western knowledge, and the second is that educational reform would help to train Chinese priests. Hereafter, the BMS set up a series of schools to supply primary and secondary education in all of their missionary stations. In 1903, with the Jiaoji (Jinan to Qingdao) railway being largely completed, despite the missionaries still worrying about security, the BMS decided to build a new mission station.

The discussion over work strategy being almost finished, a new work plan appeared at this time. In February 1902, Bruce set out a proposal for a future plan to the China subcommittee:

One other thing I should state in this connection. It is almost certain that the question of the new station will be discussed again at our next Local Committee. (Notice of it has already been given.) The Local Committee will be asked to consider whether the utterly new and unlooked for aspect of affairs does not make it desirable to choose another city (such as Chi-Nan) for a station instead of or in addition to the Southern City of Po Shan. In

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<sup>102</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.70. The Boxer Protocol was from the Qing government for the losses during the Boxer Rebellion.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. p.81. The Arthington funding was a fund created by Sir Robert Arthington.

<sup>104</sup> The Revd J. Percy Bruce BA arrived in China in 1887, in Qing Zhou, and he was the BMS leader in Shandong after A. G. Jones, who was the former leader, died in 1905.

<sup>105</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.68. Shantung province.

<sup>106</sup> Thomas A. Markus, *Building and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types*, Routledge, 1993, p.170.

such case, it might be desirable for the school to be there. I say this to show the desirability of not saying definitely just now where the permanent location of the School shall be. But two things are clear:

First: We want to start the School (if only in tentative form) at the earliest possible date.

Second: When the permanent location is fixed, it will be necessary to build. In view of this latter consideration, it would be well to seize the opportunity of Mr Couling being still in England to appeal for funds.<sup>107</sup>

The final proposal was closely similar to Bruce's proposal. The new station was selected to be in Jinan city which is the capital of Shandong province and the new Jinan-Qingdao railway would connect the inland city with the German colony on China's coastal area. The site of the new station was close to the West Gate of Jinan, and was also within sight of the Government Arts College on the one hand, and the Military School on the other.<sup>108</sup> The site, therefore, satisfied two demands of the mission – to be secure and to be close to the Chinese intellectual class. J. S. Whitewright, a missionary with a linguistics background, led the construction of the new missionary station.<sup>109</sup> He had opened a small-scale museum in Qingzhoufu in 1887 which he had stocked with natural history exhibits, as well as models and pictures.<sup>110</sup> Today the Qingzhou church has an auxiliary room as an old museum which was built in 1911. The Qingzhou museum in 1887 would not have been larger than the room in 1911. Maybe as he had had a successful experience in museum management, and with the belief that the reason for the Boxer Rebellion was that the Chinese people lacked knowledge about the world, he decided to build a museum, as the core of the station.<sup>111</sup> The new museum was an experimental building in Jinan. The design brief in the China subcommittee minutes claimed:

1. That the work in Chinanfu is an entirely new work. What has already been done is of a merely tentative character.
2. The work to be done is an entirely new kind of work, though in some respects it will follow on the lines of work done in the museum at Chingchoufu.<sup>112</sup>

To achieve this design work, Whitewright mentions how he had endeavoured as a missionary who had lived in China for over 20 years. 'There is now an opportunity, by the use of method, of reaching all classes, and especially the literary and official classes, such as there has never been before. Many officials of rank have shown considerable interest.'<sup>113</sup> The aim of the Jinan museum is part of the missionary method raised by Timothy Richard, which is to convert literate Chinese people to aid the spontaneous spread of Christianity in China.

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<sup>107</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes, p.70. Shantung province. The content in brackets from the original text.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p.234.

<sup>109</sup> J. S. Whitewright was a missionary of the BMS in China. He went to China in 1881 and died in 1924 in China. After the Jinan museum was finished, he was in charge of the museum until he died. During his last years, he worked at Qilu University as a literature professor.

<sup>110</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.48.

<sup>111</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.76.

<sup>112</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 5 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, BMS China subcommittee minutes, p.52.

<sup>113</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *BMS The minutes of committee 1905*, p.179, a missionary letter from China, 1905.



Thus, the museum was designed to construct trust between local people and the BMS. Whitewright also gave the museum a Chinese name 广智院 (Guang Zhi Yuan, Extend knowledge garden). The Society used 'Guang Zhi Yuan' to replace 'museum' as their future museum name. This building scale was too large compared with a normal residential building. The Chinese traditional building tends to use a single trunk as a pillar. This means that a large-scale building must use a very special log. The log must be long and straight.<sup>114</sup> Its central column was imported from Manchu, involving over a thousand kilometres of land transportation.<sup>115</sup> The material cost led the building to overspend the funds. From the viewpoint of the missionaries, the museum was still a successful case for the BMS in China. 'We appeal for this course now, because the Boxer rising has given us tragic proof that all we have said in the past as to the need of such a step is positively true, and because just now we have an opportunity which seems to be at the flood, which, if seized, may mean success beyond our most sanguine hopes, but which, if neglected, may, in this land of rapid change, be irrevocably lost.' Bruce commented on the necessity of building the Jinan station to the BMS and Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in November 1903 in New York. Missionaries from other societies held almost the same view. Dr Robert Elliott Speer<sup>116</sup> stated that 'Just beside the Medical College is the Institute ... which is the most effective piece of university extension work which is to be found in Asia, if not in the world.'<sup>117</sup> The Revd W. Y. Fullerton, who was a Leicester priest on a trip to China, recorded of the museum:

The daring of the missionaries had the immediate effect of dispelling the fear of the spirits from the minds of the people and the neighbourhood that was once shunned is now considered to be the most suitable location for gentlemen's residences. It has the advantage of being on the pilgrim route to the Temple of the Thousand Buddhas, and those who would visit the tomb of Confucius must also pass hard by the Institute, has spread so far through the province that few pilgrims pass without paying it a visit, and as a periodic fair is held in this quarter of the city, the crowds are sometimes very great. When in addition to this it is also remembered that there are quite a number of native schools and colleges near by, it will be seen how great a sphere is presented to these servants of Christ.<sup>118</sup>

The aim of pursuing trust with local people was characteristic of Protestant missionary societies throughout the world, as an aspect of their emotional history.<sup>119</sup> These records of missionaries show that the BMS building work also pursued this aim. The favour of the local literate class, as the target group for the building, was considered in the design process.

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid. p. 193.

<sup>115</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 5 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.50. Appeal on behalf of Chi-Nan-Fu, Shantung.

<sup>116</sup> Robert Elliott Speer (1867–1947) was an American Presbyterian religious leader and an authority on missions.

<sup>117</sup> Supplement of *The China Journal of Science and Arts*, 1923, a periodical published by BMS.

<sup>118</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.367-368

<sup>119</sup>



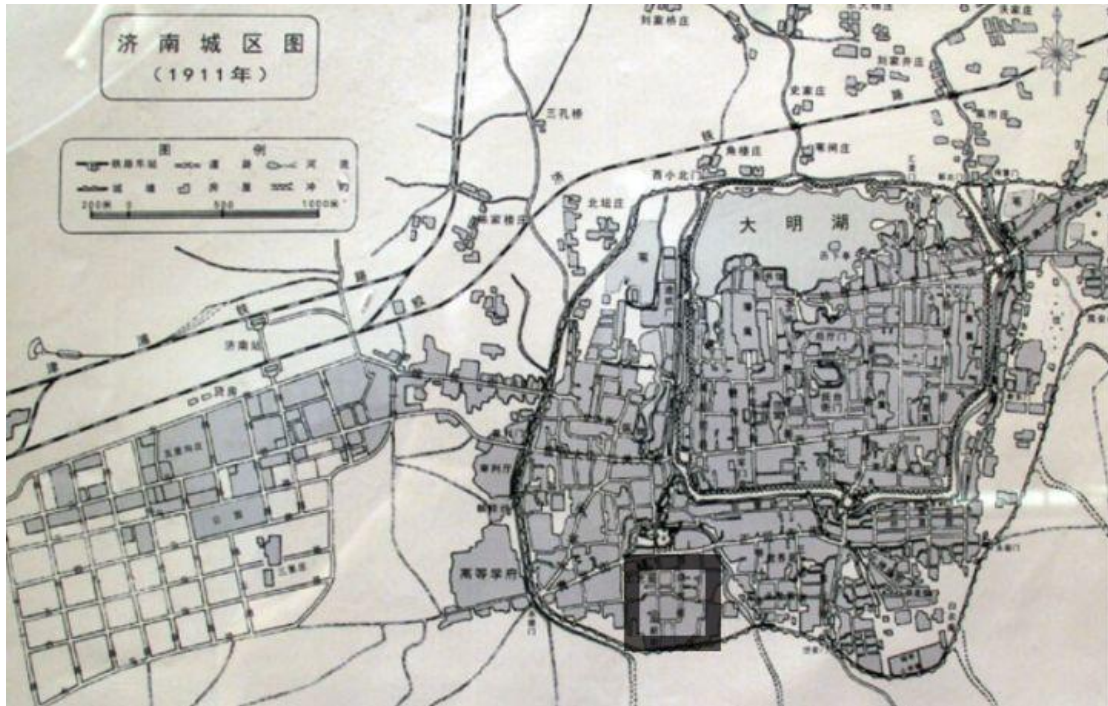


Figure 9. Map of Jinan in 1911. The black rectangle is the approximate site of the BMS. The area on the left is the new city area with the new railway and railway station, while the right area is the old city. Map from internet.



Figure 10. The Jinan museum, 1906. The museum had already become a building group organized by gardens. However, the schools mentioned in the record had not yet appeared. Photo from the Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.



Figure 11. The museum in 2014, the museum appearing as a courtyard. The light tower already demolished. From internet.



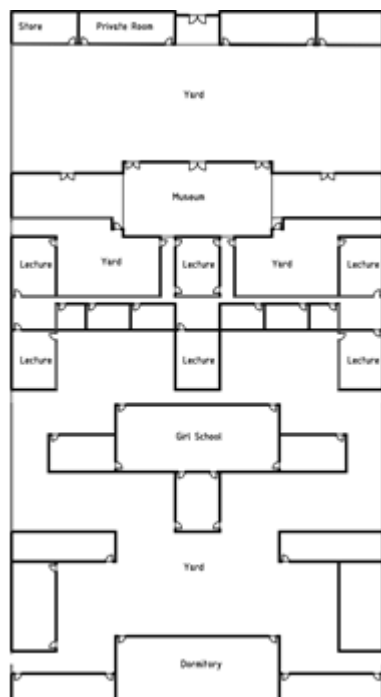
Figure 12. Interior of the museum. With no need for extra support inside the Chinese-style wooden structure, the wooden pillars and arches become a kind of subjective decoration. The left from Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *property in China*. right from *Qilu Newspaper*, 18 May 2018.



Figure 19. The Shanxi girls' school library, 1910, which later became the Shanxi university library. The light tower was repeatedly used in education buildings of BMS. Photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.

The museum had a display area, a reading room and private room blocks familiar to the European Museum, but the specific design and arrangement of the buildings appeared very different. This museum had not only the function of display but also the function of a school, and of a preaching and social space. The museum was organized by four courtyards (Figure 20). The main display room was the first walled garden's main room, the back walled garden being used as the annexe. The second walled garden was the lecture room for the boys' and girls' school and a temporary visitor facility. The back walled garden was the dormitory for the girls' school. Similarly to the Zouping chapel, the museum did not present as a full courtyard. The front wall in the southern façade had a hollowed-out space in the wall. The museum is more like a pocket 'education complex' in Jinan. The aim of the museum is to be appealing, the schools in the back walled garden being a missionary tool for the BMS.

In the nineteenth century, the British Museum in London was extended, and the Natural History Museum was constructed as a model for the museum in the period. The function of schools also had many developments in the nineteenth century. The Jinan museum did not take its form from museums in England. The unique thing is that in the roof of the museum there is a light tower and a skylight which are not traditional components of a Chinese building. According to Whitewright's description, the tower is a lightwell for the day-time and a light tower for the evening. It is like a beacon beckoning all the city to the feet of Christ.<sup>120</sup> That component is a kind of improvement on a traditional Chinese building. The open-air gardens were the corridor space for the museum. The security condition was still not ideal. The museum still remains with doors surrounding the walled garden. All visitors can go to the museum building through all entrances of the museum. This limits space in the main building which is filled with the display items, chairs and desks. The museum was both the teaching area and display area in the divided space.



<sup>120</sup> *The Missionary Herald of the Baptist Missionary Society for the year of 1909*, The Baptist Mission House. London, 1909, p.40.

Figure 20. The plan of Jinan museum in 1909, drawn by author. Recovered based on an existing building.

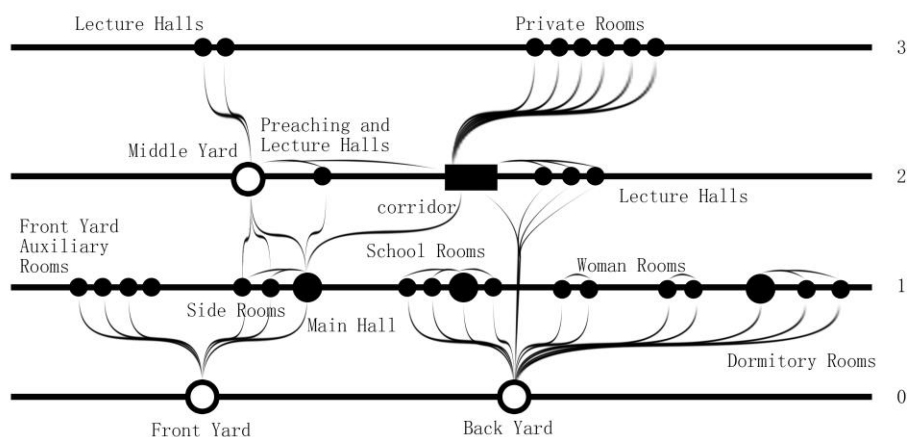


Figure 21. Spatial map of Jinan museum

By tradition, China had a moral line between men and women. In the sphere of women's lives, the BMS missionary contribution towards their freedom, enlightenment and general well-being was significant.<sup>121</sup> Timothy Richard's wife was involved in the Natural Foot Society, which battled with foot binding since 1895.<sup>122</sup> Although the Empress-Dowager had issued an edict on foot binding in 1902, the tradition still existed. The women's room was a special place for the women's work. Probably in order to dispel rumours about the missionaries' daily lives, the dormitory also had private space at the front.

The BMS had to finish the museum with two conflicting aims. According to the view of the BMS in China, the primary aim was to rebuild the local illiterate people's concept toward the world. But the BMS had to deny the feigned character of the building. The spatial structure (Figure 21) shows that the gardens leading to the building only have three levels. In spite of the building learned from local courtyard building, the building left many side entrances leading to a lack of private space. Only several private rooms and two lecture halls needed to be accessed through the aisle. So the visitor could easily access rooms which might be of interest. This arrangement suited the building's aim, which was to attract local people into the building. Local people could learn the concepts of Western education through visiting and might find themselves interested in Western education.

Whitewright's missionary colleagues held the Jinan museum in high regard:

That this Conference rejoices in recognition of the value of Mr Whitewright's institutional work in Tsinanfu, evinced in the invitation from the Peking missionaries for him to direct a

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p.266.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

similar institution in the capital: but, in view of the importance of the Tsinan Institute, and of Mr Whitewright's unique and close relation to it, we should regard his removal from our staff there as a calamity. We, therefore, strongly recommend that the invitation should not be entertained. Further, we would assure Mr Whitewright of our warm personal regard and high appreciation of his work.<sup>123</sup>

Although the designer of the BMS Jinan museum had not received any professional architectural training in Britain, the thinking behind the Jinan museum was the same as that of buildings in Victorian Britain. It takes its example from the Zouping chapel and imitates many Chinese traditional characters and adds components with religious metaphors. All the progress of the museum design process expressed and emphasized its 'character', but as with the difficulty of the missionaries' character in China after the Boxer Rebellion, the museum also shows tautology and self-contradiction in its appearance. Its appearance and plan are compromises with Chinese local traditional building but the core of the museum is education and an attempt to adopt all the traditions of the old China.

Whitewright believed this building was of a 'semi-Chinese' style.<sup>124</sup> It goes beyond the Catholic building which is limited to a religious building. His Protestant missionary colleagues highly regarded the Jinan museum. In the design, the document had no text discussing the plan of the museum, but the spatial organization achieved the aim of 'appeal'. Male and female visitors, missionaries, elementary students and local believers were allowed to go to the final destination directly.

### ***3.3. Professional Architects and Churches in China***

After the Boxer Rebellion, the social situation in China did not become steady. But it had little influence on BMS missionary work in China.<sup>125</sup> The believers and students in BMS schools continued to increase. In 1905, the Shandong Subcommittee selected and purchased a suitable site for the Zhoucun chapel, with new land being also purchased in Qingzhou and Jinan for future building.<sup>126</sup>

Due to the growing missionary works and lack of missionary people, the BMS recruited architects in London to satisfy the manpower need. H. J. Fairburn and G.H. Perriam were employed in January 1909 and went to China in the same year. The urgency even led to their receiving no Chinese language training before they went to China and they started work at once when they arrived in China. Fairburn was appointed as the Shanxi architectural supervisor, and Perriam was appointed as the Shandong architectural superintendent. Both Fairburn and Perriam had to work hard to meet the needs of the BMS. Soon after they arrived in China, the Qing dynasty failed with a series of political mistakes and the Republic of China

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<sup>123</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records *Number 7 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.198.

<sup>124</sup> *The Missionary Herald of the Baptist Missionary Society for the year of 1909*, p.40.

<sup>125</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, pp.78, 80.

<sup>126</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 6 BMS China subcommittee minutes*,

become China's new central government in 1912.<sup>127</sup>

The missionary stations scattered around Shandong and churches in different cities were started. Perriam was faced with three projects at the same time. Jinan (Figure 25) and Qingzhou (Figure 23) churches were finished in 1911, and Zhoucun (Figure 24) church was finished in 1913. Perriam had worked in London as an architect and surveyor. He also had a Wesleyan church background. The BMS in China were aware of his background and acquiesced in retaining Wesleyan church habits to express the design work.<sup>128</sup> In the Shandong missionary works, the unity between different Protestant missionary societies had already become another work focus for the BMS in Shandong. The missionary work tending to a good prospect led to the societies' confidence increasing, and the building of churches offered a time for missionaries to express the unity of evangelicalism and its achievements. The 'semi-Chinese' style had not appeared again in Shandong. The building under Perriam's supervision in Shandong was a transition from a 'Chinese building with western elements' to a 'Western design with Chinese elements'. The chapels in Shandong cities designed by him were closer to Coomans' 'hybrid building', but constructed by Protestant missionaries. The BMS' particular cultural background led to the 'hybrid' of a local Chinese and Welsh Non-conformist chapel. The BMS hoped to build with local Chinese construction techniques in the Zouping chapel. But the restrictions of the traditional plan led the BMS architect in Shandong to choose another approach. There is no record as to whether Catholic building influenced Perriam, but the design approach was the same, as it involved their familiar building mix with local Chinese building.

Welsh church architecture in the nineteenth century was the age of a battle of styles between Classical and Gothic Revival and was heavily influenced by the British church style.<sup>129</sup> Welsh chapel building applied both Classical and Gothic building elements in the period. The Wesleyans and the Baptists were both part of Non-conformism.<sup>130</sup> The revival of 1859 was the dividing point between earlier and later Welsh architecture.<sup>131</sup> For most Non-conformist chapels (Figure 26), the façade is the only part of the exterior given any 'architectural' treatment. The elevation is usually two-storeyed, denoting the gallery inside, with windows of Georgian proportions, often round-arched.<sup>132</sup> The Chapels was the social centres of the Welsh community. 'The Welsh chapels designed a little in Gothic, not the archaeological Gothic of the Anglicans, but in a favourite pattern for late 19th century chapels whatever their style, of a big front gable clasped between stair-wings.'<sup>133</sup> The BMS was turning to adopt more British characteristics with the work of professional architects. The BMS church in Shandong also presents these characteristics. The missionaries were highly encouraged by the churches in China, and church building was judged as part of a Christian revival in China.<sup>134</sup> Finally, the

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<sup>127</sup> Frederic E. Wakeman, *The fall of imperial China, the free press*. 1975.

<sup>128</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 5 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.94. Building Superintendent for Shantung.

<sup>129</sup> Anthony Jones. *Welsh Chapels*, p.50.

<sup>130</sup> Roger Dixon & Stefan Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, Thames and Hudson, 1995, p.229.

<sup>131</sup> Julian Orbach, *Welsh chapels 1859-1914. Teresa Sladen and Andrew Saint. Churches 1870-1914 The Victorian Society Studies in Victorian Architecture and Design. Volume III*, London. The Victorian Society, 2011, p.47

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p.230.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p.51

<sup>134</sup> *The Missionary Herald of the Baptist missionary Society for the year of 1909*, The revival in China: the story of our students, p.335.



churches appeared in Shandong was use the component with Chinese elements and curve roof instead of the corresponding Welsh chapels component and roof. As the Welsh chapels, the churches in Shandong were concentrated on their main façade facing on to the main street.



Figure 22. Map of Zhoucun in 1995. The black rectangle 2 is the Zhoucun railway station which was built in the early 20th century. The black rectangle 1 is the approximate site of the BMS. The manager of the church today states that the walled-garden of the church was opposite the street in the 1980s. The area to the left of the BMS site was rebuilt as an ‘old city’ tourist spot in 2006.

Map from Zibo Local History Editorial Committee, Zibo Shi Zhi, 淄博市志, History of Zibo, Zhonghua Book Company Press, 1995.



Figure 23. Qingzhou church. Photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *property in China*.



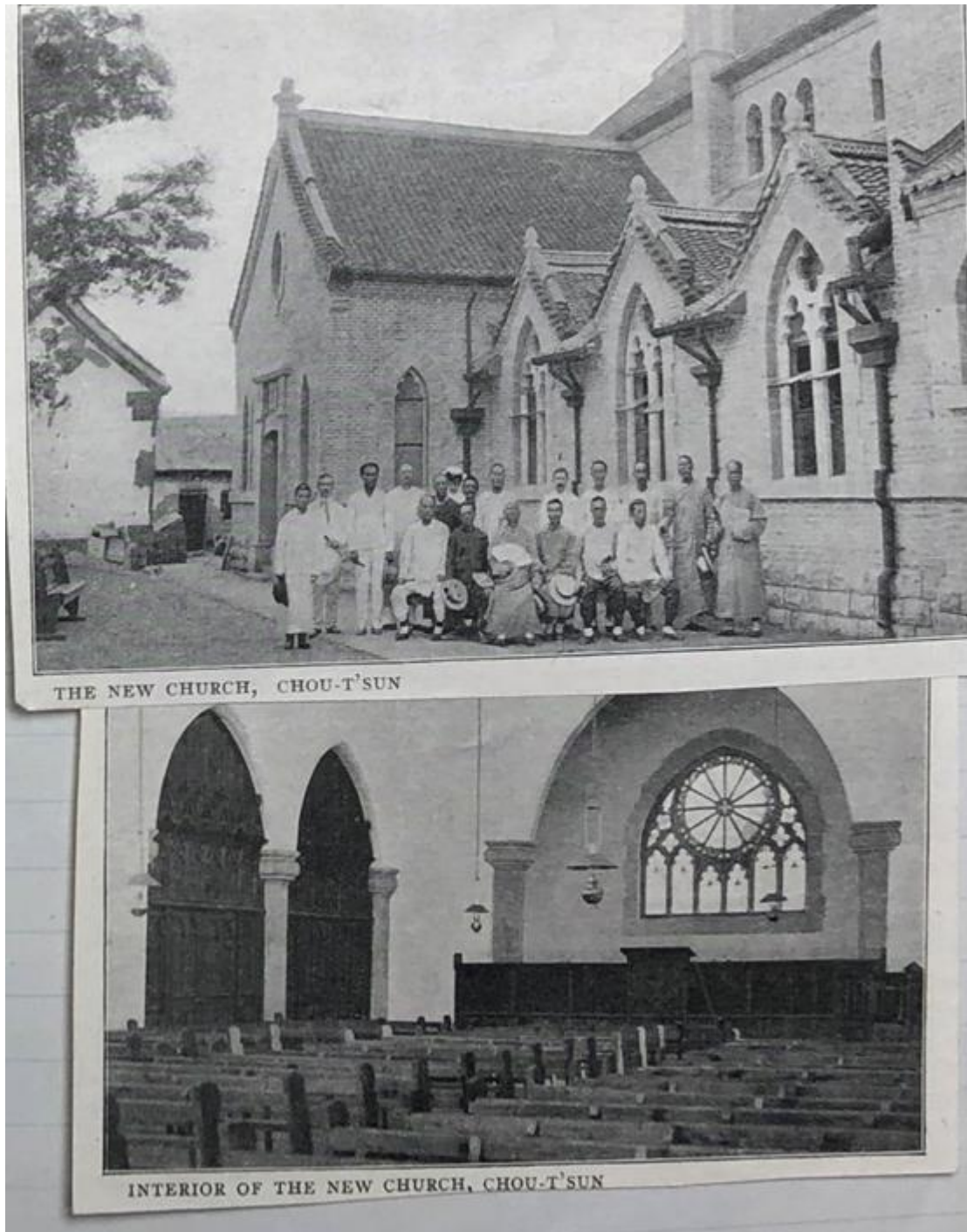


Figure 24. Zhoucun church. Photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.



Figure 25. Jinan chapel. The BMS built it in 1910. Design by Missionary architect Perriam, who had Wesleyan Church background. Photo from internet.

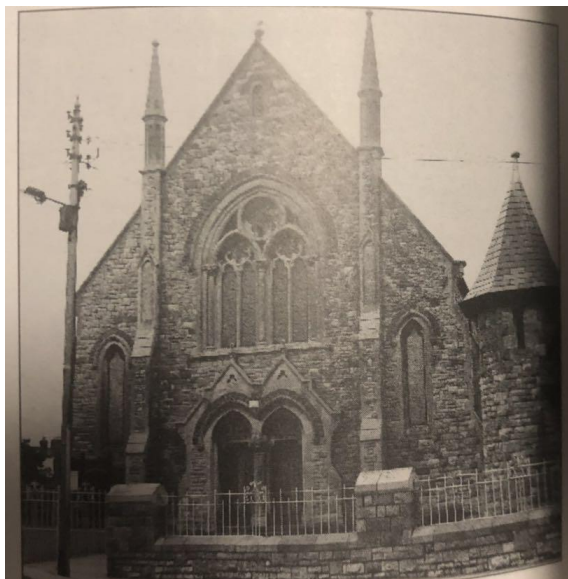


Figure 26. Welsh chapel of the same age. The upper photo from Anthony Jones, *Welsh Chapels*, p.67. The below photo from *Teresa Sladen and Andrew Saint. Churches 1870-1914*, p51

A sad result of the churches in Shandong is that the churches were not preserved under the precarious situation. During the May Fourth Movement in 1919 the Zhoucun church was damaged again.(Figure 27) Christian symbols were damaged in the political movements and wars in subsequent years. However, the churches made a compromise with the local

conditions. The Chinese society in the long period after the churches' construction still remained sensitive towards the details with Christian symbols.



Figure 27. Zhoucun church after the May Fourth Movement. The poster contains an anti-Christian and anti-cultural invasion slogan. The main façade details were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *photo in China*.



Figure 28. The Qingzhou chapel in the Cultural Revolution; the tower and all other details were destroyed at that period. The photo from the Qingzhou chapel museum.

### 3.4. 'All Things Become New' and the Qilu University Medical School



Figure 29. The west and north façades of Jinan Hospital, 1916, property in China. Photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.

The BMS' first training school was built in 1884–85 in Qingzhou. At that time, until 1893, the main emphasis was on education for boys. The American Presbyterian Mission (APM) and BMS in Shandong became united in 1902.<sup>135</sup> The APM and BMS had a united Arts College, Medical College and Theological College in Shandong. At this time, they proposed that the name of the United Colleges should be the 'Shantung Protestant University'.<sup>136</sup> The campus of the colleges was scattered around the Shandong cities, including Weixian (today Weifang, old name Weihsien, 潍县), Dengzhou (the area of today's Yantai city 登州) and Qingzhou. The school was gradually developed into an arts college and sited in Jinan around 1916–17 as the Shandong Christian University and renamed as Cheloo University (齐鲁大学, Cheloo being an older name for Shandong).<sup>137</sup> Timothy Richard went back to Wales in 1905. In that year, Richard published his paper entitled 'The China Problem'.<sup>138</sup> It presents his view on the impact of the Boxer Rebellion on missionary work and possible solutions. It gave two suggestions about Protestant missionary work in China. The General Committee summarized the paper in two paragraphs:

1. To express their sense of the greatness of the present religious crisis in China; their devout gratitude to God for blessing so abundantly vouchsafed to all the leading Missionary Societies in that vast Empire; their joy that their beloved brother has been so greatly honoured of God and so largely entrusted by the Rulers of that great nation; their sense of the great benefits at once religious and social that have accrued from his advice being followed by them; and their earnest prayer that the Church of Christ may be

<sup>135</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.224.

<sup>136</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.125. Proposed union between American Presbyterian Mission and the Baptist Mission in higher educational work in the province of Shandong, p.199.

<sup>137</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.203.

<sup>138</sup> *The Missionary Herald of the Baptist Missionary Society for the year of 1905*, p.80.



enabled to see and enter the 'great door and effectual' that is set before us.

2. To explain that by the constitution of the Society, by the convictions of our constituency, by their own judgment, and by their limited resources, they are bound to confine their action to one line of influence – The Spiritual Influence of the Gospel of Salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ; leaving God to provide by His providence the other varied influences that may make the most of this time of opportunity.<sup>139</sup>

In response to Richard's work, the BMS General Committee added a further conclusion:

... And to explain to Dr. Richard that the best efforts of the Society have been directed for many years, to secure men and women distinguished by strength, goodness and culture for all our fields – especially our eastern fields, and we trust God may send us such for China as by their worth and wisdom may win the confidence of all classes in the land. And to communicate with all our Colleges in order to secure for all our students such a knowledge of Comparative Religion as may fit our men for the delicate work of dealing with enquirers of every stage of spiritual and intellectual development, and presenting the Glorious Gospel of Christ in its fitness for men of every race. The China Committee also fervently hope that Dr. Richard's proposals for the establishment of Libraries and Scholarships in connection with the Imperial Colleges now so happily – through his influence – established in all the Provinces, may find a munificent response from large-hearted men who wish to see the great nations of the East brought into the brotherhood of Light and Progress.<sup>140</sup>

Richard and the China local committee believed that education was an effective approach to deal with the fatal problem of being unable to construct trust with local people. Hereafter, educational work was promoted as the primary work of the BMS in China by consensus on the part of the BMS in both China and London. The BMS had been hoping to unite with other missionary societies in Shandong to create Shandong Christian University since 1905. The process of unification did not make any progress until 1914.

By contrast, Shanxi University was developing well. In 1911, the Chinese Revolution broke out and the chaos meant that the China situation was again a matter of major concern in the BMS journal, *The Missionary Herald*. Sun Zhongshan (Sun-Yat-Sen 孙中山), whom the vast majority honoured for his great and prolonged revolutionary labours, was the first choice for President. He, however, discerning the signs of the times, declined the honour, and in his place Yuan Shi Kai (Yuan-Shih-K'ai 袁世凯), the former governor of Shandong, was elected. In 1913, Sun Zhongshan and his southern party rebelled against Yuan Shi Kai's domineering and unconstitutional acts. This revolt was crushed in its incipient stages. Yuan Shi Kai declared himself Emperor in December 1915 and a rebellion started from Yun Nan province at the same time for cancelling the monarchical decrees. But before specific action could be taken, he died

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p.81.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

in June 1916. His demise was followed by ten years of civil war, and the rise of the war-lord regime, when literally 'every man's hand was against his neighbour', and all attempts to create a strong central government and a unified country proved unavailing.<sup>141</sup> During this period, however, Shandong province had only to contend with internal troubles from 1912 to 1915.<sup>142</sup> The Shandong Christian University united and developed during the window of a peaceful environment in Shandong.

In September 1913, the BMS resolved that Tsinanfu Medical College should be an integral part of the Shantung Christian University.<sup>143</sup> The Union College Hospital needed reinforcements in both staff and equipment.<sup>144</sup> The Jinan Hospital was planned according to the principles of hospital design that dominated in Britain in the early twentieth century. Hospital architecture in Britain had undergone a radical transformation in the second half of the nineteenth century, when most of the new and rebuilt hospitals conformed to one basic plan known as the pavilion plan. The advocates of the pavilion plan were concerned with the high rate of mortality in hospitals, seeing it as a result of bad air, or 'miasma', accumulated in dark and stagnant spaces.<sup>145</sup> The aim of the layout was to reduce the risk of infection spreading from one ward to another.<sup>146</sup> The pavilion plan was applied in hospital design throughout the world at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>147</sup> After 1900, discoveries in the field of bacteriology rendered unnecessary the issue of cross-ventilation, emphasizing the importance of hygiene in disease prevention instead. As a result, the pavilion plan design slowly declined, giving way to more compact ward tower buildings in the 1920s and 1930s, in which the movement and interaction of goods and people were increasingly controlled in order to reduce contamination.<sup>148</sup>

The BMS built hospitals in China with their medical mission.<sup>149</sup> In the early time of BMS activities in China they rented local buildings to organize small-scale clinics. After 1900, hospital buildings were left in ruins by the Boxer Rebellion in Shanxi province. Neither the Jinan hospital nor Cheloo College hospital applied the pavilion plan or Chinese local building walled-garden, but appeared with another attempt due to the special background in China.

In the first half of 1911, the conference minutes showed that the plan of moving the Gotch-Robinson theological college from Qingzhou to Jinan and extending school building in Shanxi. But from 1911 to 1915, despite China experiencing internal turmoil and both Shanxi and Shaanxi provinces being battlefields for the Revolutionary army and the Qing dynasty army,<sup>150</sup> the station in Shandong was kept steady. The building construction plan was suspended on account of the political situation. In January 1912, the plan of moving

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<sup>141</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.91.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *BMS General Committee 1913*, p.173.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Sara Honarmand Ebrahimi, "'Ploughing before Sowing": Trust and the Architecture of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Medical Missions', *Architecture and Culture*, Vol. 7, 2019, p.8.

<sup>146</sup> Johnson Argues, 'Life in Hospital', *The Hospital*, Vol.2(36), 1887, p.156.

<sup>147</sup> Jeremy Taylor, *Hospital and Asylum Architecture in England, 1840–1914: Building for Health Care*, Mansell, 1991

<sup>148</sup> Ebrahimi, "'Ploughing before Sowing'", p.8; Jeanne Kisacky, 'Germs are in the details: Aseptic Design and General Contractors at the Lying-In Hospital of the City of New York, 1897–1901', *Construction History*, Vol. 28(1), 2013, pp.83–106.

<sup>149</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.238.

<sup>150</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 7 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, pp.80, 99, 106, 125, 135. Letters of missionaries reporting war and clashes in Shanxi and Shaanxi.

Gotch-Robinson College in Qingzhou to Jinan was not going well because of funding problems.<sup>151</sup> The Shandong University preparation process had a breakthrough in September of the same year.<sup>152</sup> At a conference held in Weixian, Whitewright reported that the Committee had purchased the new site at Jinan. Although some plots were scattered after the purchase, the building operation could then be started.<sup>153</sup> At the conference, Mr Keller from the Presbyterians was appointed to China to consult on the plans of the university buildings.<sup>154</sup> The BMS sent a missionary to America to collect funds for the university and finally deal with the issue of the Medical College Hospital's funding.<sup>155</sup> Mr Perriam ended his furlough and returned to Shandong to work as the Building Superintendent for the Mission.<sup>156</sup> He was appointed to do the building design work for the Medical College and the Theological College. Both the design and the funding in preparation for Shandong Christian University Medical College were finally in place in 1913.

That year, the BMS proposed a plan to change its Shandong local committee to consist half of Chinese people and half of English people.<sup>157</sup> The committee also took on the obligation to fund the missionary and daily work. It was resolved that the medical building would be built after the Shandong local committee's re-election.

The building's appearance was confirmed by the building subcommittee the first time Perriam sent the plan to London.<sup>158</sup>

That we approve of the In-Patient Blocks as suggested by Mr. Perriam with a slight modification in order to secure a fitting Northern elevation, and to consist of two storeys only; that we consider the pressing needs of the hospital will not be met without the final location of four such blocks, giving accommodation for 100 patients; that the final location of these blocks be postponed until the arrival of Mr. Perriam; and that in addition to such In-Patient accommodation, this hospital urgently needs an enlarged and extended Out-Patient department, with a suitable architectural treatment of the whole North frontage, both lots and buildings, from East to Western boundaries of the College property.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid., pp.143–4.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., p.200.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., p.201

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., p.203.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., pp.224, 250.

<sup>156</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 8 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.1.

<sup>157</sup> *The Missionary Herald of the Baptist Missionary Society for the year of 1913*, p.174.

<sup>158</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 1 BMS Building subcommittee minutes*, p.166.

<sup>159</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *BMS General Committee 1913*, p.173.





Figure 30. The South façade of Jinan Hospital, 1916. Photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.

The final solution provided by Perriam was a piecemeal building. The eastern façade is an extended chapel façade, with two towers, Doric order, corbel arch and Chinese-style room mixed with diverse elements. The appearance of its south and north façades is also of a mixed style. All the different elements can be found in the façade. As this was the age of the dawn of Modernism, the Medical College hospital shows the realization of eclecticism with did not follow the vanguard building style but kept the most popular style in that age. The hospital plan was divided into three independent blocks. The middle of the building provided the out-patient service while the east and west wings were wards. The two wards were for females and males and the wards' space was the same. The main entrances for the east and west wards were located at the east and west ends of the building. This layout divided the in-patient section for men and women with clear distance.

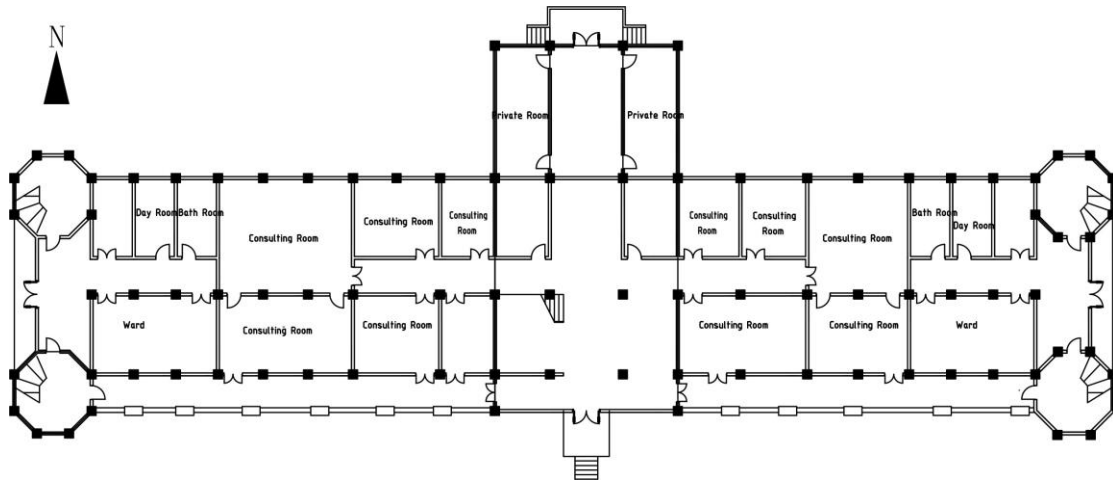


Figure 31. The plan of Jinan hospital, drawn by author. Recovered based on an existing building.

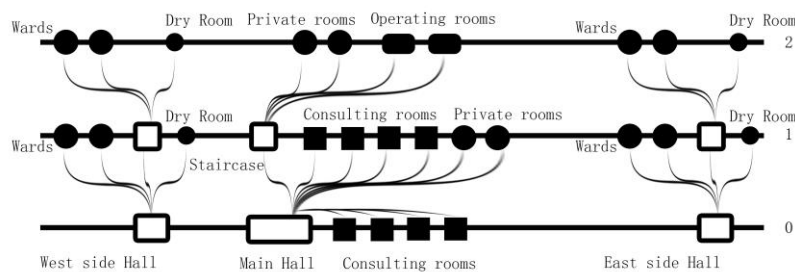


Figure 32. Spatial of Jinan hospital

The building was constructed in 1914. The hospital was then renamed from the Shandong Union hospital to the Cheloo hospital. The Tsinanfu Union Church, which was the earliest Chinese Christian Society,<sup>160</sup> and the Jinan local government attended the ceremony of the building's completion. The spatial structure (Figure 33) shows the hospital was divided into three simple independent rooms. Unlike the 'pavilion principle' hospital, the Jinan hostel was largely simple but kept all the functions of a hospital. The simple and open consulting room shows the same tendency as Jinan museum which was to design a building which was very simple and available to the public. Western medicine was considered a sort of 'demonic magic' and created rumours among the local people about the missionary work. The simple plan and low level spatial programme is a design strategy to deal with the rumour.

The local officer warned 'the graduating men not to boast of their acquirement as "Western

<sup>160</sup> Luo Weihong, 罗伟虹, *China Christianity independence movement 中国基督教自立运动*, Jidu Zongji Yanjiu 基督宗教研究 *Christianity Research*, 2000, p.278.

learning”, for all true learning was universal, and not confined to any one part of the earth’.<sup>161</sup> The hospital, unlike the former buildings of the BMS, presented an ambition to change the Chinese people’s normal attitude toward ‘Western’ medicine as evil. It could adapt to the Chinese environment through the building’s appearance, and it could also adapt to the separation of men and women in China. This space innovatively solved the issue of embarrassment between the genders caused by local traditions in that age. Advanced medical technology was applied in the hospital, but the hospital building did not apply the advanced design in the period, but the Society had already touched the last boundary of the sensitive spot of conservative people in China.

#### *4. Building cases in Shanxi from 1902 to 1915*

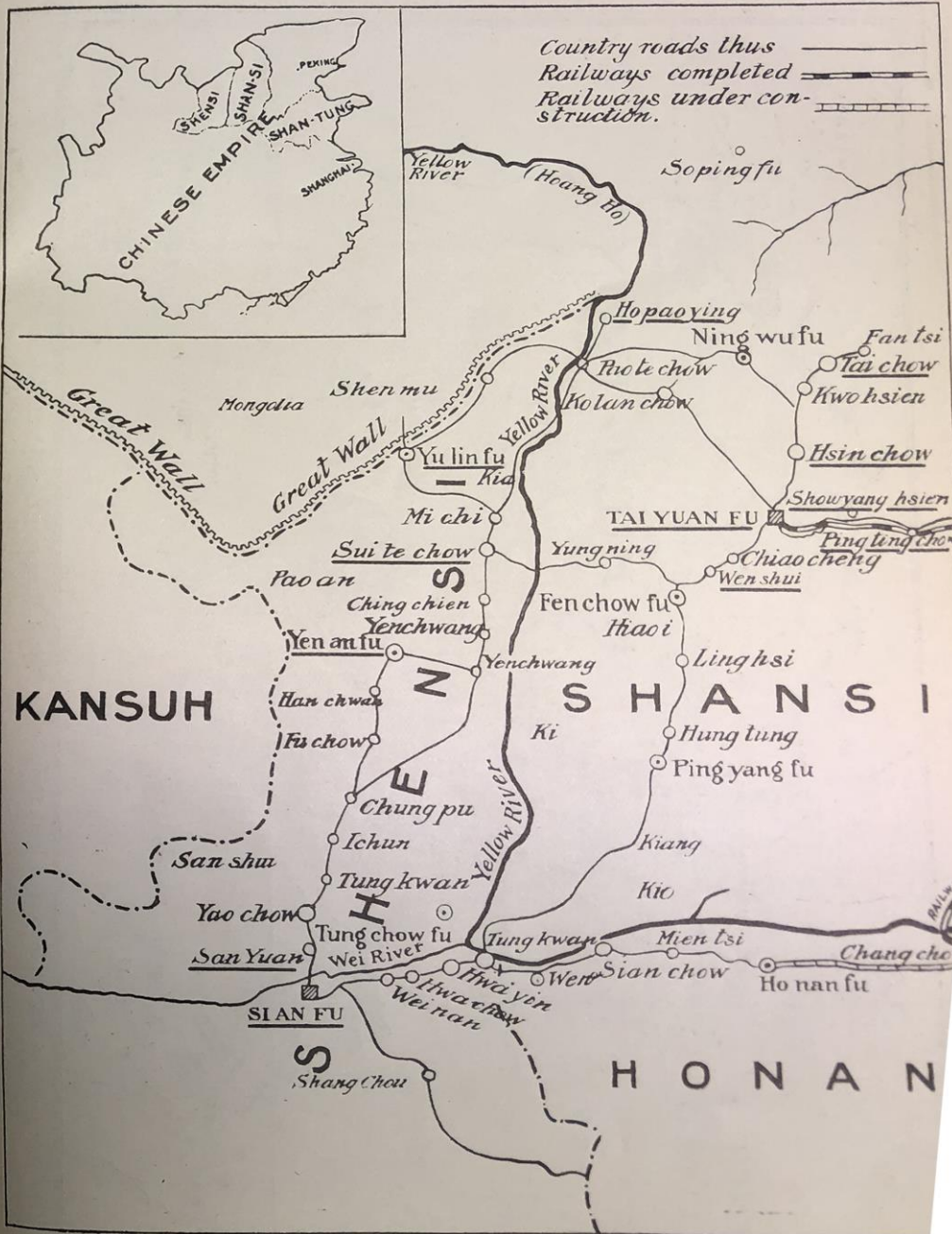
The BMS worked in Shanxi province from 1887 and started with famine relief, and BMS missionaries were shocked by the Boxer Rebellion. The BMS building work in Shanxi continued to use the traditional local building to construct missionary stations. This different appearance provides another type of building to develop an approach which differed from that of Shandong. Shanxi, unlike Shandong province as a coastal province, is a large inland area. The inconvenient traffic condition led the Society in Shanxi to set up several Chinese walled-gardens as missionary stations and to build closed Christian communities in the province. The cases of BMS building represent the limits of reliance on traditional building.

The BMS missionaries built a church named the ‘Chiu Shih T’ang’ ( 救世堂, Jiu Shi Tang, Hall of Universal Salvation) in Tai Yuan City in 1887. In the missionary stations in Shanxi, the storm broke. The stations in Shanxi province were in ruins. All the BMS missionaries then in the field and 124 Chinese Christians connected with the BMS were killed in 1900.<sup>162</sup> The BMS buildings in Shanxi and Shaanxi provinces represent another trend compared with Shandong province. Its buildings relied on the local building system. The BMS missionaries were evacuated from the province by the courageous act of the governor in Shaanxi during the Boxer Rebellion. The BMS claimed for their losses during the Boxer Rebellion. The indemnity was used as the foundation of missionary activities in Shanxi. Security issues become an important requirement in the building planning process. The first rebuilding in Taiyuan city was of the chapel, and then when the funding arrived, missionary stations gradually developed as a separate community. Taiyuan, which was the capital city of Shanxi and Xizhou, had the largest missionary station in a village. The buildings in Taiyuan blended into the city, while the Xizhou station was an independent community.

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<sup>161</sup> *The Missionary Herald of the Baptist Missionary Society for the year of 1914*, p.109.

<sup>162</sup> *The Missionary Herald of the Baptist Missionary Society for the year of 1914*, p.79.



Sketch Map of Shansi and Shensi, with Baptist Missionary Society's Stations underlined

Figure 33. Sketch map of BMS in Shanxi and Shaanxi in 1910. Map from Angus Library, The BMS archive records, the 1910 Annual Report of the BMS. The BMS missionary stations were in the cities with underlining.

#### 4.1. The Church Laid Waste and the Chinese Quadrangle Yard



Before the Boxer Rebellion, the BMS had set up several missionary stations in Shanxi province. The number of students increased quickly from 300 to 400 in 1894 in Shanxi.<sup>163</sup> The BMS missionaries blamed the exaction of Catholics, their excessive claims of loss leading to the anti-foreign feeling becoming stronger.<sup>164</sup> When the missionaries arrived in Taiyuan, they saw the building was burned and laid waste.<sup>165</sup> Dr Edward and J. J. Turner took over the missionary work in Shanxi. After confirming there were no means of settling the troubles, the Society distributed relief funds for the famine again.<sup>166</sup>

In 1902, as the aim was partly revenge, but mainly the restoration of peace between Christians and non-Christians, Turner's attitude toward the Boxers was that they should escape from the full legal consequences, but the local Christians should have memorial chapels in a different district.<sup>167</sup>



Figure 34. The BMS School in Taiyuan, 1907. Photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.

At the same time, the church was still left in ruins due to a lack of people to handle the problem.<sup>168</sup> The Boxer Rebellion meant it was hard to find enough people who were willing to work in Shanxi province.<sup>169</sup> Even the BMS had to appoint their staff to work in a newly established Qing government military hospital as doctors.<sup>170</sup> The plan of a new settlement came out as a solution for the situation. Timothy Richard's contribution to the overall

<sup>163</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 3 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.58.

<sup>164</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.79.

<sup>165</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.39.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid*, p.25.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid*, p.51.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid*, p.90.

<sup>169</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.91.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*, p.92.

settlement was his enterprising suggestion, accepted eventually after prolonged discussion by the officials, that, as in his view the people's support of the Boxers was due largely to ignorance, a sum of 500,000 taels (about £70,000) should be provided by the province, to be paid in ten annual instalments, for the establishment of a university at Taiyuan, comprising separate Chinese and Western departments.<sup>171</sup>

Although the new mission plan was agreed, the progress of their work recovered slowly. The Committee gave permission to build a hospital at the West Gate of Taiyuan, but by 1904 the no medical work had still been done at the hospital since the martyrdom of its founder in 1900.<sup>172</sup> In 1904, the Medical Mission was considered to be important auxiliary work to rebuild trust between local people and the BMS, in Turner's view:

In the present state of public feeling here, a Medical Mission is very desirable. The people are scared and hold aloof from us, in consequence of the sad events of 1900. They are more suspicious than ever before. The work of gaining their confidence has to be done over again. We need something to attract them and bring them under the sound of the Gospel, and nothing would do it so well as a vigorous Medical work and an efficient hospital. If that were started, we should soon have thousands of people about us where we now have hundreds, scores of outlying villages now untouched would be reached by means of those who received medical aid, and we should rapidly gain influence for good throughout the whole of this vast district. It is already three years and a half since any such work was done, and we hope another year will not be allowed to pass with this trying need unmet.

The inconvenient traffic conditions led the Society to set up several Chinese walled-gardens in Shanxi as a missionary station and to build up a closed Christian community in the province. After 1906, a boys' school, opium refuge, museum and hospital were constructed or rebuilt in Tai Yuan. The buildings were scattered throughout Taiyuan city and became a part of the city. All the BMS facilities in Taiyuan city acted as a supplement to the city's public space. The central church in Taiyuan was rebuilt on the old site.<sup>173</sup> The chapel is a small-scale local building aside from the city door. In 1907, when the Qing government started a new political reform, the medical work and Shanxi University took a hand in Shanxi's government,<sup>174</sup> but at the same time, the BMS devoted more efforts toward primary education in Taiyuan. The new boys' school in Taiyuan city was built for the training of native Chinese evangelists.<sup>175</sup> Richard's conclusions about the advantages of a boys' school were as follows:

1. Many intelligent young men, whom we find it difficult to reach now (if not impossible) will be attracted to a higher grade school and will be brought under Christian teaching and influence. There is no instrument so effective in influencing the youth of China for Christ as a thorough-going Christian school. At present we cannot hope to attract students from outside, as our accommodation is wholly insufficient and our equipment miserably poor.

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<sup>171</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.80.

<sup>172</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes* p.208.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid*, p.81.

<sup>174</sup> Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p.79.

<sup>175</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.162.

2. Such a school is necessary in our growing Christian community. The Government colleges are anti-Christian, the regulations being such as to exclude all Christian students. As yet the native Christians are too poor to provide for themselves the buildings and teachers necessary for more advanced education. It remains therefore for us to remove as far as we can the disabilities from which the Christians suffer. In China, especially a modern education opens the door to posts of great influence, and it would be an immense gain to the Christian Church if some of these posts could be filled by earnest Christian men.<sup>176</sup>

Besides the school work, a 'Science Hall' was established by Dr Wilson as a supplement for the medical system.<sup>177</sup> Similar to the Jinan museum, the aim for the 'hall' was to come into 'more intimate contact with the educated class' thorough the medium of scientific lectures.<sup>178</sup> The museum imitated the Jinan museum in its aim of reaching those students who did not and would not go to chapel.<sup>179</sup> Even its Chinese name was the same as the Jinan museum's one of 'Guangzhi Yuan'. The hospital was built as a traditional Chinese building in Taiyuan city. The hospital also aimed to provide medical services and training for both Christian and non-Christian people.<sup>180</sup> In 1910, a separate women's hospital was set up.



Figure 35. The BMS Taiyuan hospital, 1907. Photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.

<sup>176</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 6 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.25.

<sup>177</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.156.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 5 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.144.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*



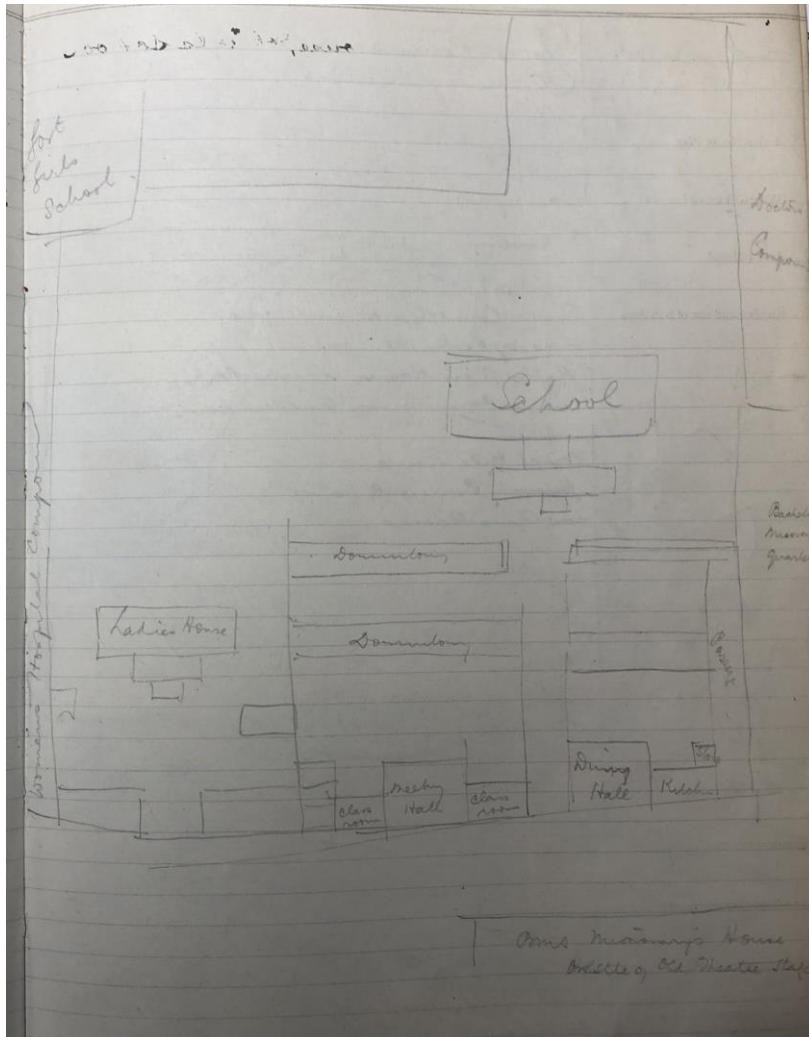


Figure 36. Xinzhou. The draft of the BMS property in China, 1907. Draft from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.

Xinzhou is a small city to the north of Taiyuan, the province's capital city. The BMS first arrived here in 1896.<sup>181</sup> In 1899, the missionaries, assisted by a few Chinese evangelists, spasmodically taught at a Christian school. Christian people were scattered widely in small groups. The Xinzhou station had nothing like the permanence and standards of the Shandong missionary work.<sup>182</sup> During the Boxer Rebellion, the foreign missionaries, with the help of local Christians, hid in the caves of the hills and survived, but many Chinese Christians were killed.<sup>183</sup>

In 1901, with the anxiety over the insecure conditions in Shanxi province, the BMS resolved to slim down their activities in Shanxi and set up a future plan for the reoccupation of the province.<sup>184</sup> Although the China mission was faced with a financial crisis,<sup>185</sup> the committee

<sup>181</sup> Ibid, p.51.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, p.53.

<sup>184</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 3 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.11–12.

<sup>185</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 4 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.16.

Letter from the Revd J. P. Bruce BA of Chefoo.

hoped to open up the Xinzhou station to train native evangelists who would provide help to missionaries and replace those who had suffered martyrdom in the Boxer Rebellion.<sup>186</sup>



Figure 37. Xizhou building ground, 1909, photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.

From that time, the missionary activity in Xinzhou built up a steady Christian community. There is a lack of accurate records concerning the site of the BMS in Xinzhou and, due to the BMS building Christian villages in Xinzhou, there is also a lack of accurate data about the area in the Chinese records. The change of administrative divisions means that the site cannot be traced by village name. The only information about the BMS in Xinzhou is that they worked in villages around Xinzhou city.

The medical mission brought the first baptismal service to Xinzhou in 1905.<sup>187</sup> The success in Xinzhou encouraged the missionaries and it was suggested the General Committee send more missionaries. In the same year, the missionaries visited Christian villages in Shanxi province and building up a closed community became their intention.<sup>188</sup> The Society drew up a plan to restore the chapel which had been laid waste in 1906 as a memorial to the missionaries who had suffered martyrdom. The medical mission was to start with two doctors who arrived in Xinzhou in 1907.<sup>189</sup> The Xinzhou missionary station developed fast in the Republic of China until the Second Sino-Japanese war. The appearance of the Xinzhou Christian community was that of an independent villages with accommodation, schools and hospitals.

<sup>186</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, *Number 3 BMS China subcommittee minutes*, p.13.

<sup>187</sup> N'5 BMS China subcommittee minutes, p.58.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, p.72.

<sup>189</sup> N'5 BMS China subcommittee minutes, p.229.

Overall, the BMS left a boys' and girls' school, a general hospital and a women's hospital, a chapel and a museum in Taiyuan city. The BMS building in Taiyuan city had signage in full Chinese characters and suited the environment. Like the cases in Shandong, the building did not consider the building models of the same age in British, but the worries over security and the hope of constructing trust led to the building compromising with the local environment. The central role of pursuing trust in the evangelization process meant that the attention of the missionaries was turned away from some of the medical and educational concerns toward building functions. The individual building brings in towers with the curved roof as the special character to present its different from the normal local building.

The BMS had two hospitals in Taiyuan and a special one for women. Unlike the cases in Shandong, the hospitals in Taiyuan were organized around gardens and broke from the Western principles of hospital layout. Walled-garden s were used as the tool to organize the space and imitate a normal block in Taiyuan city. The schools were also arranged around gardens, with the space in the centre as the playground. The internal space was the same as for the local buildings. The front walled-garden garden was a teaching room, and the back garden was the accommodation for the students. The hospitals also had the same spatial arrangement, with the back garden being for the living room of the missionaries.

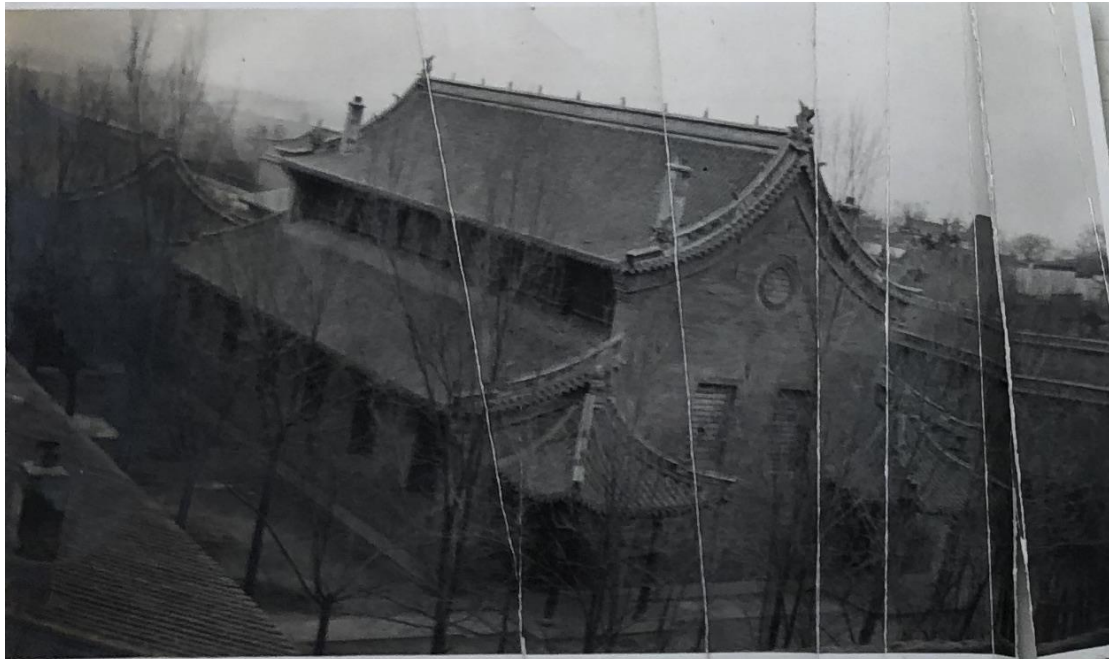


Figure 38. The BMS chapel in Xinzhou, 1909. Photo from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.

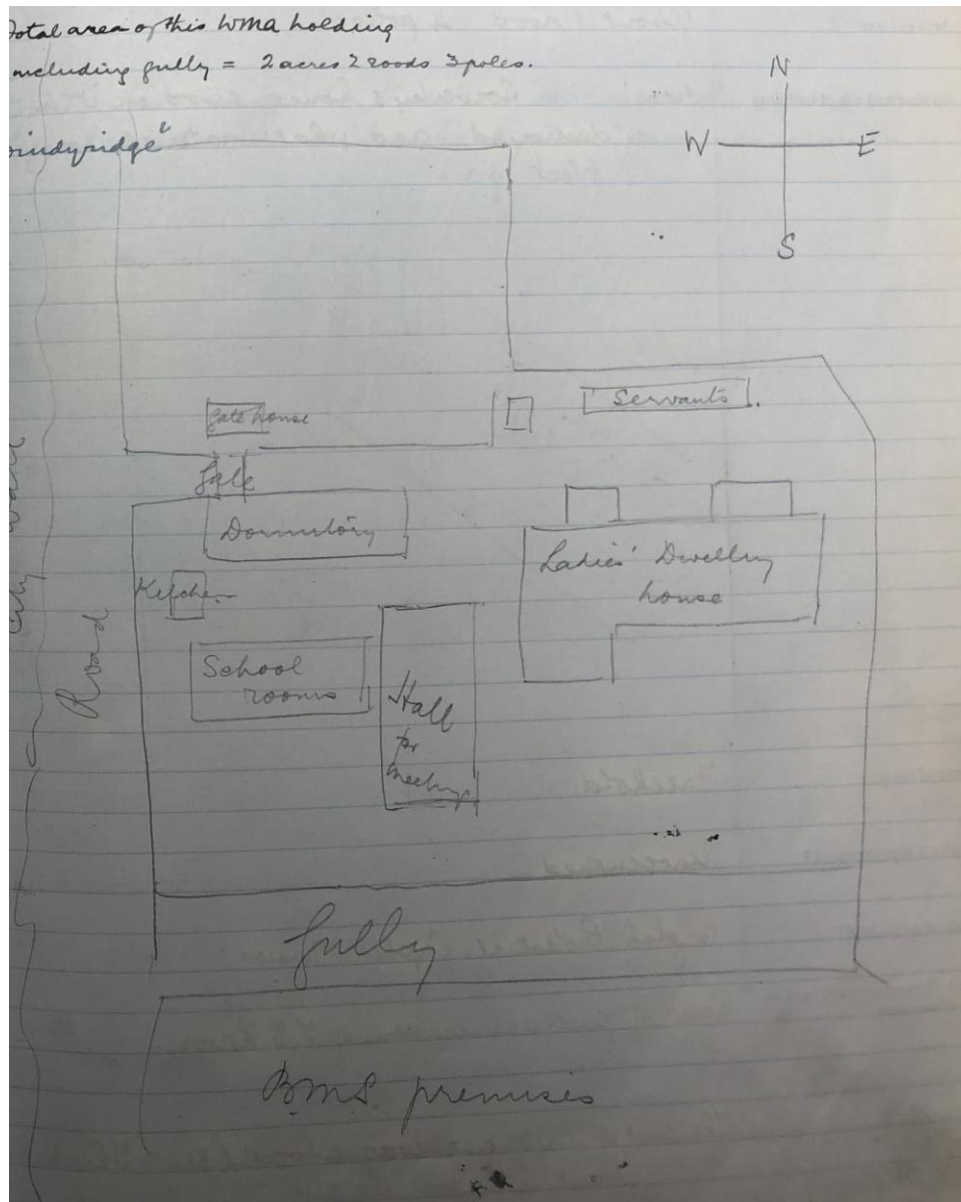


Figure 39. The draft of the BMS property in China, 1907. Draft from Oxford University, Angus Library, The BMS archive records, , *property in China*.

## 5. Conclusions

This dissertation presented the building history of the BMS in China and had a particular understanding of China in a complex age. The BMS missionaries insisted on finding a suitable building as the principle to construct their building in China. Their schools, hospitals, museums, etc. were all designed to cater to local people's habits. The BMS building finished the earliest practice to combine Chinese building with Western internal space. I have indicated that the appearance of BMS buildings developed in two different forms from the local buildings.

One approach was through connections and interchanges with the local Chinese buildings



and the British Baptists' culture, such as the cases in Shandong. The buildings in Shandong were developed according to the 'adaptive Chinese building', before Murphy introduced his theory. The BMS buildings are large-scale buildings constructed alongside the new railway stations after the 1911 revolution, the site of the buildings also being the city border in 1911. The cities grew with urbanization, especially in the areas around the railway stations, during the early years of the Republic of China. After 1949, China's urbanization experienced another growth period, and the international style emerged in China. After 2010, the areas around railway stations became the old city areas, and many buildings were rebuilt as elements of tourist spots. Those spots have many new 'old buildings' and are intended to create a harmonious landscape. The BMS buildings being well-protected played an essential element in the construction process. This has caused the 'old cities' in Chinese cities to appear with stylistic chaos. The 'authenticity' problem has appeared, due to a lack of research toward cases in the area. Exploring the building history is an approach to give the public an explicit acknowledgement.



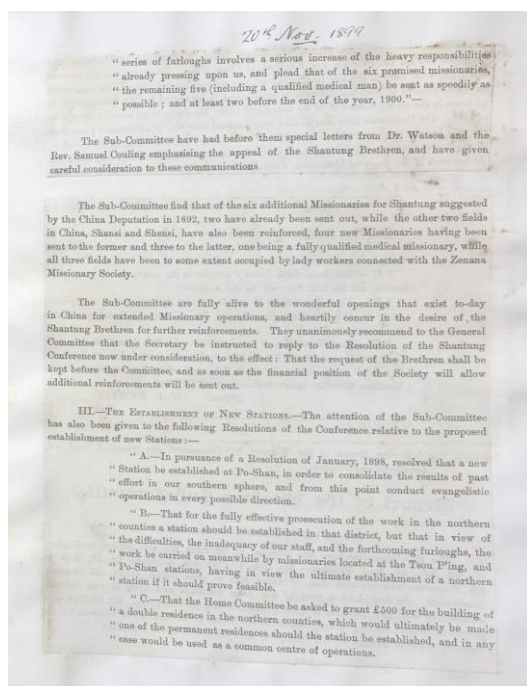
Figure 40. Qingzhou church and 'Qingzhou old city' in 2016. Building around the church is new building constructed after 2016.

Another approach was taken in Shanxi, based on the walled garden. The cases in Shanxi were a modification of the local vernacular building. Both developing forms structured the basic form for Chinese traditional building faced with the needs of a modern and diverse space. Apart from the cases in Taiyuan city, all the cases in Shanxi were for independent Christian villages on a small scale. The interior of the villages did not have very strong defence needs, while the scale of the buildings, which had only one to three rooms each, could not meet complex spatial needs. The cases in Shanxi were of an irregular shape, occupying the land and several buildings together. This appearance is very different from the rectangular courtyard common in Northern China.

The architectural process as an unfinished missionary experience was interrupted due to wars and political unrest, but the practice shows the two different possibilities of a spatial set-up with China's local culture. The BMS building activity was a monument to the age of Chinese building faced with the Western world. The BMS' pursuit of trust required tolerance and an ability to accommodate the needs and requirements of local people, rather than forcing ideas upon them. I argue that, when considering the issue of adapting a local building, especially

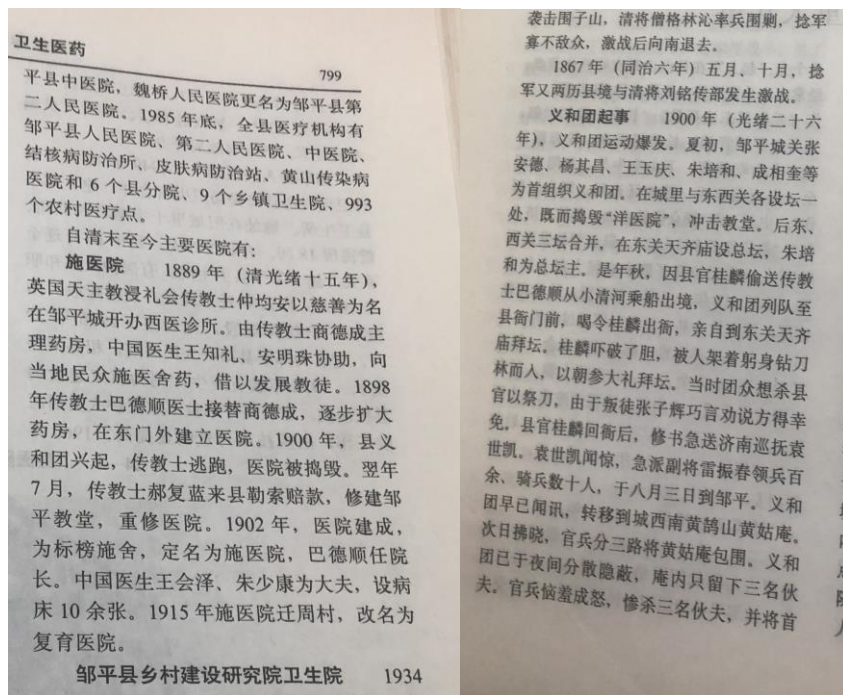
today a building in a traditional community, the diversity of buildings from before Modernism should be taken as reference points. Although the practice did not construct a system such as the American architect Murphy's 'adaptive architecture', the solution of the issue toward adopting Chinese building represents an earlier and similar approach to his. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the culture of British building was a widespread phenomenon in China, and BMS building is a part of this phenomenon although it also creates a link with today's Chinese cities. Their special background led the BMS to depart from the American building development and relate to the British in the area of traditional Chinese building practice.

## Appendix



### A local record concerning the Zhouping Church

The Zouping local records have information relating to the BMS that is different from what is held by the BMS. In the *Zhouping Xian Zhi* (History of Zouping) there is a contested record:



‘In the year 1898, the BMS made a compulsory acquisition of land outside the east gate of Zouping city to extend their hospital. In 1900, the Boxers rose up and destroyed the hospital...’<sup>190</sup>

This record is problematic because it differs from the BMS records concerning the Zouping project. According to the BMS records, London made the proposal and paid for the land. The fee, compared with other projects, was at a reasonable level, and other local records concerning BMS projects in other cities, which were even led by the same missionaries, do not have the same record. The reason for the record appearing may be connected to the middlemen in the land purchase process. Nevertheless, due to the lack of detailed information and its not being closely related to the topic of BMS building in China, the dissertation does not discuss this discrepancy further.

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<sup>190</sup> Oxford University Angus Library, The BMS archive records, Number 3 BMS China subcommittee minutes, p.136.



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