

Dreams for Missionaries, Realities for Diplomats: Why the United Church of Canada's Chinese Missionaries were involved in Politics during the 1940s and 1950s

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This paper addresses the church-state problem in Canada after World War Two. It will focus specifically on the involvement of the United Church of Canada (UCC) in Canadian foreign policy in the context of Pearson's diplomatic efforts in recognizing Communist China. On a personal level, this topic holds importance for several reasons. First, I was born and raised in a Christian family in rural Japan, and my church in Tokyo was established by Canadian Methodists. I am interested in researching my church heritage in the context of Canadian Church history. Second, I realized that many Asian Christian leaders participate in politics regardless of their official, political allegiances or theological opinions. These leaders often have a political agenda when they teach from the pulpit. It seems that Christianity has had limited influence on Asian society, with the exceptions of South Korea and the Philippines, even though Christian leaders often act as political leaders of the nation. Third, I have witnessed the same problem in North America as denominations often compete with one another. Denominations exert their power over each other and on political issues. Thus, church and state are strongly connected in today's secular world.

The specific situation that will be explored pertains to post-World War Two Communist China and her relationship to the government of Canada through Lester Pearson and the UCC. Lester Pearson and his friends James Garth Endicott, Chester Ronning and Herbert Norman were ministers' sons.¹

Pearson used them as advisors and informants for Canadian foreign policy in Asia.² Influenced by John English's biography of Lester Pearson,³ researchers have acknowledged a correlation between Pearson's "Methodist origin" and his politics.⁴ This perspective has merit, but more research must be conducted by those who have theological and church history backgrounds; the question of why the UCC missionaries cooperated with Canadian diplomatic policy needs analysis. Further, Pearson's motives, Methodist heritage, and vision for creating "God's World" all need clarification and study.

Factors Influencing Canada's Failure to Recognize Communist China

Under the "Middle Power" policy, Canada wanted to become a country that could bridge east and west, north and south. China was one of the most important countries in Asia after World War Two because it was one of the permanent delegates to the Security Council in the United Nations. During the civil war in China, Canada supported the Nationalist Party by sending goods and arms to them.⁵ However, the communists defeated the nationalists, declaring the establishment of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949. The Communist Party won the civil war and governed mainland China. For this reason, recognition of Communist China was one of the immediate and important tasks for Canadian foreign policy in the 1950s. In November 1949, the Cabinet decided they should recognize Communist China as soon as possible.⁶

However, in spite of their efforts, Canada failed to recognize the People's Republic of China until 1970. There were several reasons for this. First, the issues in China were of less importance to Canada than were European problems.⁷ Also, those involved with Communist China had less influence on Canadian policy than those connected with Europe. Canada's policy in China was patterned after the decisions of other powers such as the United Kingdom, the United States and Commonwealth countries. The United States had always supported the Chinese nationalist government; gradually, as American influence over Canada grew stronger after World War Two, Canada followed American decision-making. Second, Canada had granted Chinese immigrants Canadian citizenship in 1948. Because of this, government officials were influenced by what Chinese Canadians thought about recognizing China.⁸ The Canadian Chinese population, however, was small in comparison to today and so their influence on

Canadian politics was limited. Third, Chinese Canadians supported the former nationalist government in China. These dynamics hindered Canada's ability to recognize Communist China. Fourth, the Canadian government thought initially that non-Allied powers such as India and Egypt would be united in recognizing Communist China worldwide. Eventually, however, Pearson realized that these countries would not unite over this issue.⁹ Therefore, they were unable to create a unified front against western powers.

One question persists: why was Pearson so eager to recognize Communist China at the end of 1949 and into the early 1950s?¹⁰ Was it for political and economic reasons? I don't think so. Pearson had always tried to create a "Better World," an ideal that was motivated by his Methodist beliefs. Pearson's efforts in connection with the Chinese problem are rooted in his beliefs and experiences as a Methodist, a dynamic that requires analysis.

Two Contrasting Mission Fields in Mainland China

The UCC had two primary mission fields in mainland China before communist rule. The first field was called the Honan mission in northeastern China, and the other one was the Szchewan mission in western China. The UCC had other missions such as South China in the province of Canton, but it had comparatively little influence on Canadian society.¹¹ Therefore, only the first of these two missions mentioned will be examined.

The Honan mission was established by the Presbyterian Church of Canada in 1886,¹² and their work was continued by the UCC after the union in 1925. However, most of the missionaries were from a Presbyterian background, and they worked in cooperation with other Presbyterian and Reformed missions from the United States and Europe. The mission, therefore, maintained a Presbyterian ethos even after the union. Another characteristic of the Honan mission was that it had been established in a more urban area in comparison to the Szchewan mission.

The Szchewan mission was established far from any urban area in one of the most rural regions in China. It was established by the Methodist Church of Canada in 1889.¹³ After the union of 1925, most of the missionaries at the Szchewan mission continued to be those with Methodist backgrounds, and had been influenced by the social gospel movement in Canada before they had become missionaries. One final characteristic of this mission

was its advocacy of interdenominational work, such as the founding of West China Union University in 1919.¹⁴

Both of these missions were comprised of notable missionary families: the McClure family at the Honan mission and the Endicott family in the Szechwan mission. These families (or members within their families) became spokespersons for Chinese nationalist and communist policies in Canada both during and after China's civil war.

William and Robert McClure and their families were famous missionary doctors. They had friendships with Nationalist Party leader Generalissimo Chan Kai Shek and his wife Son Mei Ling. Ms. Son was a daughter of a famous Chinese Presbyterian minister during the early-twentieth century, and was the sister of Dr. Sun Yat Sen's wife. Sun himself was baptized in a Congregational church in Hawaii, and his revolution was supported by the Chinese Protestant community.¹⁵ The McClures became supporters of the nationalists because of their relationship with Mr. and Mrs. Chan Kai Shek and their Presbyterian relations. For example, Robert was nominated as a candidate for Minister to China at Chungking in 1942 because of his friendship with Mr. and Mrs. Chen Kai Shek.¹⁶ He also became the moderator of the UCC in 1968 as the first lay moderator; this occurred during the period when Pierre Elliott Trudeau recognized Communist China as "one, legitimate government in China" in 1969.

James Endicott (father) and James Garth Endicott (son) were also famous missionary families. They were missionaries in western China. James, Sr. became the second moderator of the UCC as a result of a recommendation from the first moderator, George Campbell Pidgeon who wanted to generate enthusiasm for missions at that time.¹⁷ The Endicott family maintained considerable influence within the UCC and among Canadian people. J.G. Endicott and his wife Mary were close friends with Lester Pearson, a friendship that had begun years before when Mary and Lester attended the same church in Chatham, Ontario.¹⁸ After Mary's marriage with J.G. Endicott, he and Pearson also became close friends. Because Mary's family was a typical Methodist working-class family, Mary was interested in social justice.¹⁹

Both the McClures and the Endicotts knew China well, and both of their sons were born in China, speaking Chinese well. But each family's view of China was totally different from the other. During the 1940s and 1950s, the McClures became strong supporters of the nationalists, while the Endicotts supported the communists. Each asserted that their view was

“God’s World in China.” The differences in their perceptions require examination.

How Two “Missionary Giants” Could Perceive “God’s World” in China So Differently

Both the McClures and the Endicotts were in China at the same time, but their thinking was very different. There are at least three factors that account for these differences in perception. These include: 1) differences in theological standpoints; 2) differences in social class (in Canada) and their situation on the mission field; and 3) differences in their relationships with the Chinese.

James Endicott, Sr. had grown up in a poor, immigrant, farming family in the prairies. At the end of the nineteenth century, he entered the Methodist Training School in Winnipeg.²⁰ At that time the prairies were so poor that the social gospel was influential and widespread in that area. The Methodist Church was one of the centres of the social gospel in Canada at that time. When James became a missionary, he was sent to Szechwan. It was one of the poorest regions in China at that time. He saw lots of peasants and poor workers. He understood that oppression to the poor came from the centralized government of China with the cooperation of the four rich families in China²¹ as well as from the invasion by Japan.²² It is understandable that Endicott related to the poor and felt that the social gospel was justified.

Thus, J.G. Endicott saw the Chinese situation within the framework of the social gospel. When Jim became a second-generation missionary to China, he taught in the middle school in Szechwan and English at West China Union University. He was a supervisor for the Student Christian Movement (SCM) at that university.²³ Many students involved with the SCM were connected with the rural communist party. One of this party’s most notable participants was Li Chao-ji.

Gradually, Jim established connections with communists and eventually believed that communism was the way to make “God’s World” in China. At the time of his furlough in August 1934, he met J.S. Woodsworth and joined the CCF.²⁴ Although he maintained a degree of hope that Chan Kai Shek could improve China, he and his wife eventually discontinued their support of the Nationalist Party. Endicott had experienced the realities of the party as a New Life supervisor and as a political advisor for Madame Chiang Kai Shek. He was discouraged by the nepotism, dictator-

ship, and terrorism within the party.²⁵ He also relinquished his role as advisor to the Nationalists in 1944, and transferred his support to the communists. He was introduced to the Communist Party's Foreign Minister Chou En-lai at Chungking in January 1945 by Ruth Weiss.²⁶

In contrast to Endicott, William McClure was born in Montreal and graduated from the medical school at McGill University to become a missionary doctor. He was sent to Honan as the president of the mission hospital and later became a professor at the medical school of Cheeloo University in Shantung. These two provinces are in the northeastern region of China and at that time were close to international ports and the former capital of Beijing.²⁷ Compared to Szechwan, they were rich. The social gospel had less influence on the Presbyterian Church of Canada than on the Methodists. In addition, in Asian countries people respected professionals such as doctors, professors and teachers. Most of William's Chinese friends, therefore, were from the upper or intellectual middle-class and supported the Nationalist Party.²⁸

Robert McClure followed in his father's footsteps by becoming a missionary doctor after graduating from the University of Toronto and Edinburgh. Robert himself was four years younger than Pearson, and he was a graduate of Knox College at University of Toronto. The two families had no personal ties in their early years. The McClures networked with other missionary doctors, such as the Kilbourn family, through marriage,²⁹ and became one of the most influential missionary families in China. Robert worked as a missionary doctor as well as in a trading business which connected him with the Canadian government in the 1940s.³⁰

Why Many Missionaries in China Became Secret Agents or Government Delegates

From the analysis above, one can understand the backgrounds of these families, but the question of why many missionaries such as Robert McClure and Jim Endicott were so cooperative with Canadian foreign policy persists. It is difficult to understand their enthusiasm over becoming informants for the OSS (later the CIA) and the RCMP. For example, Jim became an OSS informant in 1942;³¹ he voluntarily approached Ottawa in 1944 in order to ask officials in the Department of the Secretary of State for permission to become an informant.³² At one point in 1942, Robert wanted to become the Minister to China.

These men recognized Canada as part of “God’s World,” but they thought that Canadian officials did not understand the real situation in China. As a result, Canada sometimes was misguided in their policy in China. Missionaries saw this as being negative for both sides. In particular, after the outbreak of World War Two, Canada and China were involved with the Allied forces to prevent an attack from Japan. Misunderstandings from both sides sometimes hindered the war effort. They thought the Canadian government needed good intelligence about China. They thought that they had advantages in comparison to diplomats, merchants or journalists for recognizing what was happening in China. Because they were involved in China, most of them could speak Chinese well. They also had friendships with Chinese from every social class, including leaders of the Nationalist and Communist Parties, the working class, and peasants. Moreover, they had lived outside of the capital and other large cities for quite a while.

Another factor is the legacy of Norman Bethune on Canadians. Bethune became a national hero in the 1940s because of his efforts to prevent Japanese fascism.³³ It was natural, therefore, for other missionaries such as Robert and Jim to desire to become national heroes in Canada. These beliefs justified their actions.

Finally, one must consider the development of the intellectual discussion over China in the west. During and after World War Two, China was a champion for democracy in Asia. Chan Kai Shek was the successor of Sun Yat Sen, and under his command fascist Japan was defeated. Also, Mao Tse Tung and Chow En Lai were great leaders who improved the lives of Chinese peasants under communism. Missionaries who supported either side became admirers of their respective leaders because of their great personalities as leaders. Missionaries thought that they should inform Canada of this “Good News” from China. The enthusiasm of the missionaries led them to become informants and agents for Canada and United States.

Lester Pearson’s Religious Dream and Vision for Missionaries

Lester Pearson spoke little about his spiritual life. In his autobiography, “Mike” rarely refers to his faith and focuses mostly on his professional life.³⁴ However, John English does mention that some international agencies such as the United Nations and NATO to which Pearson was strongly committed had a “Methodist sense.” In addition, his correspondents for international relations came from the “Methodist manse.”³⁵

I have already pointed out that Lester Pearson became Undersecretary for External Affairs in 1945. As Undersecretary, he appointed Chester Ronning (the son of a Lutheran missionary to China)³⁶ and Herbert Norman (the son of a Methodist missionary to Japan) as diplomats to China and Japan.³⁷ In addition, his Methodist friends who were missionaries to China became informants. Jesse Arnup, the General Secretary for the Foreign Mission Board of the UCC, and Pearson communicated frequently about the policy toward China during the 1940s and 1950s.³⁸ Why did he pick so many from the “Methodist manse?” There are several reasons why Pearson selected these people.

First, they were knowledgeable about Asia. They were also more reliable than those involved in business or journalism. Second, these men had trustworthy friends in China including communists who could not communicate easily with other westerners. Third, Pearson felt some sympathy to people who devoted their lives to revolution, though he was a conservative person. He strongly believed that democracy and capitalism were better than dictatorship and communism as political systems; yet, he thought capitalism needed reform for the sake of making a better world for people.

China and Japan were remote and exotic places to Canadian Methodists during the early-twentieth century, but they were also of interest to missionaries.³⁹ Most of the magazines about inland and foreign missions selected different cultures from various mission fields. For example, the Canadian Methodist Church magazine entitled *Missionary Outlook* often carried excerpts of letters from missionaries with pictures of mission fields. Upon recent review of these magazines, I discovered that some of the photos of Japan or China were interchanged and outdated.⁴⁰ But people would likely believe such articles and pictures to be accurate. Such misconceptions in North America about Asia persisted during the 1940s and 1950s because the news about Asia dealt mostly with war, poverty, refugees and social injustice.

Pearson himself had much experience in Europe, particularly at Canada House in London. He had also taught as a British historian, so he understood European perspectives. Pearson was knowledgeable in biblical history and geography. His knowledge and experiences benefited him during the Cold War conflicts in Europe and in the Middle East. However, his experience and knowledge about Asia was limited. He needed reliable people who were knowledgeable about Asia. Some missionaries and their

sons were considered more reliable than merchants or journalists on this matter; they were seen as fair and impartial on issues.

Some of the people from the “Methodist Manse” helped Pearson achieve his purpose. Jim Endicott sent accurate information about the Communist Party, and Chester Ronning continued his relationship with Premier Chou En Lai. Left-wing UCC missionaries such as Leslie Earl Willmott⁴¹ and Howard James Veals remained in Szechwan and continued their work in education at Chengtzu for more than two years under communist rule. During this time they reported to Pearson.⁴²

One must also look at China’s position in the UN. Until 1971, the Republic of China (Nationalist Party) had an official seat in the United Nations as the representative of China. Canada had officially recognized the Republic of China, so Canada could not communicate with Communist China officially. Therefore, Ronning could not contact Chou En Lai. By the early 1950s, the status of the Republic of China was unstable because it only governed Taiwan and the surrounding islands. Many countries from the east and south asked the UN to change the Chinese representation to someone from the People’s Republic. Canada needed to maintain an unofficial route to Communist China. Endicott was the person because he had lots of friends and acquaintances in Communist China including Chou En Lai.

Finally, Pearson believed that western democracy was better than dictatorship led by charismatic leaders or bureaucrats within the social structure. He also believed that capitalism was better than communism in economic order. Yet, he believed traditional democracy and capitalism sometimes made people unhappy. This belief came from his experiences. He had served in World War One as a volunteer and was injured severely in battle. He spent two years recovering in the hospital. Although he worked as a professor and diplomat, he had friends and classmates who served the poor and the oppressed. In light of these influences, he believed that some kind of social, democratic policy ought to be introduced in Canada and that promoting world peace was better for the progress of people. However, he did not have much experience or knowledge in social democracy; he needed input from the experts in this area. Thus, he communicated with leaders of the CCF and Canadian communist leaders in order to exchange ideas. He selected left-wing people to assist and advise him.

Church Involvement in World Politics

One question remains: what was the UCC's attitude toward China? During the civil war in China, Arnup, a UCC leader in overseas missions, said that communism was the antichrist. After the communist victory, however, he changed his opinion and openly supported communism from the pulpit, stating that communism would bring progress for Asia. Arnup asked Pearson to recognize Communist China as soon as possible. Finally, the General Conference of the UCC sent a petition in 1952 to the Canadian government seeking recognition of Communist China. The denomination also wanted to remove Jim Endicott's ministerial status. Why did the UCC want to recognize Communist China during a time when there was still much debate over the issue from within the denomination?

One of the primary reasons is that the UCC's mission in China held the greatest presence than any other field in the denomination at the end of 1940s.⁴³ They wanted to protect their trustees and missionary work in China despite the Chinese government. During the civil war, the United Church thought that the Nationalist Party would win and protect the Church; therefore, they said that the communists were the antichrist, and that Endicott was an enemy of the Christian church even though he was a minister. However, the communists won, and so the United Church changed its stance as quickly as possible to protect its trustees. In addition, the head office ignored the voices of some of the missionaries who had supported the nationalist government, such as William and Robert McClure and Walter Small. These men were under house arrest or deported from China after the takeover by the communists.

After the takeover, the Honan mission and South China mission discontinued at once, and the missionaries, local ministers, and staff personnel were either killed, sent to jail or put under house arrest. The Szechewan mission continued their work for two years, and for the first six months did not have to change anything. Some of the Szechewan missionaries hoped to maintain the mission even under communist rule as long as they continued friendships with local communists.

But the desire to continue the mission was not realized. Beginning in July 1950, the Communist Party gradually changed their policy toward the Szechewan mission. At first the curriculum had to be modified to include communist-related courses. Next, missionaries had to resign as board members of the university and schools, and were replaced by local commu-

nist leaders in the fall of 1950. Finally, the university and schools were transferred to the authority of the government, and the churches on mission property were transferred to the United Church of Christ in China in early 1951. Some missionaries were asked to continue teaching or managing the work after the transition, but this did not last for long. They were finally evacuated to Hong Kong in March 1952.⁴⁴

The UCC head office still wanted to reopen their mission in China in mid-1952. As mentioned previously, they decided to petition the Canadian government. However, some people in the UCC wanted to find scapegoats to blame for the closing of the mission in China. Jim Endicott was one such person; he had resigned in 1946 and became involved in the peace movement within communist countries where he became known as “Reverend of the United Church.” For his work he received the Stain Peace Prize in 1952. His efforts angered the UCC, and at their General Conference in 1952, the denomination withdrew his ordination.

In May of that same year, under the pressure of McCarthyism, the RCMP and the CIA wanted the Canadian government to charge Jim with treason, punishable by death. This issue was discussed at a cabinet meeting, but St-Laurant and Pearson were strongly opposed. Although no charges were laid against Jim, this was a critical year for him.

Pearson wanted to protect Jim and Mary Endicott during this serious time. They were still close friends, and the Endicott’s connection with communists such as Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En Lai made them helpful and important to Pearson. The sentiment toward communist sympathizers or suspects in North America worsened in the 1950s.⁴⁵ Pearson was aware of the realities of people’s lives in eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union under communist rule. He warned Jim and Mary to speak more moderately about their opinions on communism;⁴⁶ he did not want them to become victims of McCarthyism. However, Jim and Mary would not modify their convictions that communism could facilitate “God’s World” in China.⁴⁷ Communication between Pearson and the Endicotts gradually diminished in 1952.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Pearson had dreams of making a “Better World,” and he sought to fulfill these dreams in the context of his Methodist background. His eagerness to connect the UCC and missionaries to Asia stemmed not

from his religious enthusiasm primarily, but from the usefulness and influence of informants. He did his best to build a relationship with Communist China but failed. He considered cooperating with the western world first, but this hindered Canada's ability to interact with China freely.

Missionaries to China such as James Endicott and Robert McClure held strong convictions about how to create "God's World." They wanted to influence the Canadian government because they saw that either communism or nationalism was the way to realize this desire. Pearson and other people in the Canadian State Department used them for their knowledge and connections with the communists and nationalists. The government did not share their personal beliefs.

However, Pearson and Ronning held a secularized view of "Christian beliefs. During the mid-1900s, mainline Protestantism pursued a more "secular success" in order to prove that their beliefs were good. They thought "Real World Peace" would be a virtue to Christianity; peace between the east and west, and the north and south were the keys to bringing about world peace. Therefore, recognition of Communist China became integral to Christian belief, because Communist China was one of the key players for world order after World War Two. Such views influenced missionaries to become involved in politics.

However, Pearson was not influenced by this Christian perspective. He continued to concentrate on peace in Europe and the Middle East. After a visit to Moscow in October 1955, Pearson wanted to build relationships between the UCC and the Russian Orthodox Church.⁴⁸ This remains a topic for future research.

Endnotes

1. Lester Pearson was born in Newtonbrook, Ontario in 1897. His father was Edwin Arthur Pearson (1868-1931), a Methodist minister in Ontario. James Garth Endicott was born in Chungking Szechuan, China in 1898. His father was Rev. James Endicott (1868-1954), missionary to China and later the second moderator for the UCC between 1928-1930. Chester Ronning was born in China in 1894 as the son of an American Lutheran missionary. His family received its Canadian citizenship in 1927 and lived in Alberta. Here he became a teacher at Camrose Lutheran College until 1942. In 1932 he ran as a candidate for the CCF, and became an acquaintance of J.S. Woodsworth. Herbert Norman was born in Nagano, Japan in 1909. His father was Daniel Norman, a Methodist missionary who served rural Japan for over thirty years.

2. John English, *Worldly Years – The Life of Lester Pearson 1945-1972* (Toronto: Ayers, 1990).
3. John English, *Shadow of Heaven – The Life of Lester Pearson 1897-1945* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen, 1989).
4. The first book to refer to the relation between Pearson's Methodism and his view of world politics was John R. Beal, *Pearson of Canada – The Making of a Statesman* (New York: Duell, Slone and Pearce, 1964). More recently, the issue is addressed in Norman Hillmer ed., *Pearson – The Unlikely Gladiator* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 19??).
5. Canada sent special convoys to China carrying weapons for supporting Nationalists during the civil war (see LSL ?Louis St. Laurent–make spelling of St. Laurent consisten throughout?? Papers [LSLP], National Archives of Canada [NAC]).
6. "Recognition of Communist China," The Cabinet Conclusions, 22 November 1949, RG2 Series A-5-a.
7. Robert Bothwell, "Eyes West: Canada and the Cold War in Asia," in *Canada and Early Cold War 1943-1957*, ed. Greg Donaghy (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International trade, Canada, 1998), 59-72.
8. Lester B. Pearson Papers [LBPP], NAC.
9. LBPP, NAC.
10. After the Commonwealth Foreign Minister's Meeting was held at Columbo January 1950, Pearson sent a letter to Prime Minister Saint-Laurant stating that Canada should recognize Communist China as early as possible. Saint-Laurant was surprised by this letter and commented that he should discuss this matter after Pearson returned to Canada (LSLP, NAC).
11. Most of the missionaries involved in the South China mission were transferred from the Honan mission or Szechuan mission. Because the South China missionfield included Hong Kong, it was more easily access to other missions. There was, therefore, more competition among denominations than in inland areas such as Szechuan.
12. Honan Mission Files, United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA).
13. Szechuan Mission Files, UCCA.
14. West China Union University Files, UCCA.

15. Sun Yat Sen was baptized in 1882 , having been influenced when studying English at a school run by the Congregational Church in Hawaii.
16. LBPP, NAC.
17. Excerpt from a letter from Dr. Pidgeon, Toronto to Principal Clarence Mackinnon, D.D., Halifax, NS, 2 February 1926, 86.095C, Tr. File 2 of 3. UCCA.
18. Edwin A. Pearson biofile, UCCA. E.A. Pearson served Park Street Methodist Church, in Chatham, Ontario between 1914 to 1917. That facilitated a friendship between Mary Austin (later wife of J.G. Endicott) and Lester Pearson.
19. Stephen L. Endicott, *James G. Endicott – Rebel Out of China* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 60-67.
20. James (senior) was born in England, but he could not go to middle school there. So he immigrated to Plarie, Canada and eventually entered the Training School in Winnipeg (James Endicott Biofile, UCCA).
21. It was called Four Rich Families including the Family of Chan Kai Shek. They formed conglomerates in Shanghai and connected with foreign trade companies in 1920s.
22. After the victory in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Europe, the United States and Japan exported industrial goods into China because the Chinese tariff was down. This situation made Chinese rural people more poor. So rural Chinese people gradually became anti-foreigner and anti-Christian. In 1899, such feelings emerged during the Boxer Rebellion in North and South China. Europe, the United States and Japan cooperated in sending troops to China in the name of protecting their civilians living in China and they defeated rebellion troops in 1900. These countries gained the right to station their troops in China permanently and thereby gained freer access to China. In 1915, during World War One, Japan asked the Republic of China to accept twenty-one demands. These demands permitted Japan to have freer access and more exclusive privileges in China. Despite his objections, President Yuan Shi Kai was forced to accept these demands. Disclosure of these demands to the public infuriated the Chinese people got angry, and led to an anti-Japan movement in 4 May 1919.
23. SCM at the West China Union University was founded at the establishment of the University. J.G. Endicott served as advisor for SCM from 1937 to 1946.
24. Endicott, *James G. Endicott*, 132.

25. Endicott, *James G. Endicott*, 141-152.
26. Endicott, *James G. Endicott*, 191-192. Ruth Weiss was teaching English at West China Union University, and worked part-time as a secretary at the Canadian Embassy in Nanking at that time.
27. At the time of the Republic of China (1912-1949), the capital was officially moved from Beijing to Nanking. But Beijing was the centre of the North China and often the *de facto* capital of China (especially during the presidency of Yuan Shi Kai between 1912-1916).
28. Most of the intellectuals in China operated businesses or became bureaucrats. They had a vested interest in continuing capitalism in China.
29. Kilbourn was appointed to the West China mission as a missionary doctor by the Methodist Church of Canada. He was married to Dr. Janet McClure in 1921 (daughter of William McClure, who died in 1942). Because of this connection with the McClure family, Kilbourn was under house arrest just after the Communist takeover of Canton Province in the autumn of 1950. After his evacuation to Hong Kong in March 1952, he became a Professor of Physiology in the University of Hong Kong until 1960 and he served as Vice President of Chun Chi College (medical school) in the Chinese University of Hong Kong from 1960 to 1963 (*Chung Chi College Bulletin*, No.33, July 1963).
30. Robert McClure Papers, UCCA; and LBPP, NAC.
31. Endicott, *James G. Endicott*, 184-195.
32. LBPP, NAC.
33. Norman Bethune was killed in 1939 during an attack by Japanese Military. At the time he was the chief doctor of the Red Army (Eight Route Army). One should consider also the impact of Edgar Snow's best-seller *Red Star Over China* in 1937.
34. Lester B. Pearson, *Mike: The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson*, 3 Vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972-77).
35. English, *Worldly Years*; and *Shadow of Heaven*.
36. Chester Ronning, *A Memoir of China in Revolution- From Boxer Rebellion to the People's Republic* (New York: Penthouse Books, 1974).
37. Roger Bowen, *Innocent is not Enough – The life and Death of Herbert Norman* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1986).
38. General Secretary of Overseas Mission Files, UCCA.

39. English, *Worldly Years*; and *Shadow of Heaven*.
40. Pictures of the Missionary Outlook for Japan and China, 1876-1911.
41. Leslie Earl Willmott was born in Toronto on 1895. He received a B.Sc.(Engineering) from the University of Toronto and served at the Szechuan mission as a teacher of Middle School in Chungking and West China Union University between 1926 to 1953. He was one of the last foreign teachers in the Szechuan Province.
42. Szechuan Mission Papers, UCCA.
43. Szechuan mission was larger than any other missions of the UCC. They had ninety missionaries in 1926 (Overview about Chinese Missions, F.A.26, UCCA).
44. Letter from M. Robertson, Hong Kong to J. H. Arnup, 3 December 1951. 83.047C, Box 17, File 68, UCCA.
45. The suicide of Herbert Norman in April 1957 was one of the typical tragedies of McCarthyism. See Bowen, *Innocent is not Enough*.
46. Letter from Lester B. Pearson to Mary Endicott, 21 May 1951, LBPP, NAC.
47. Mary Endicott to Lester B. Pearson, 25 May 1951, LBPP, NAC. Mary also sent her brochure, "My Journey for Peace (1951)." In her letter, which was attached to the brochure, she stated that she wanted Pearson to understand the realities of the peace movement led by the Soviet Union and asked him to guide Canadian foreign policy to support this peace movement.
48. General Secretary for Overseas Mission Files, UCCA