THE METAMORPHOSIS OF A MISSIONARY

WILLIAM WIRT LOCKWOOD AND

THE SHANGHAI YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

by

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—for the Lockwood family—
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William Lockwood growing up in Peru, Indiana, and later on the cover of *China Press* - "Leading Light" of the Shanghai Y.M.C.A.
The realization that historians cannot claim unqualified objectivity nor forget the factors in their own past which shape their viewpoint has been slow in coming to me. This issue must be considered even more closely by me as the subject of this study, William Wirt Lockwood, is my great-grandfather. William Lockwood, as head of the largest and most influential Y.M.C.A. in China, was to have a significant impact on the development of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. and Chinese Christianity after 1903. I have stubbornly held on the belief that my lack of direct contact with William Lockwood and his son (my grandfather) John Lockwood, allowed me the privileged position of being able to look at Lockwood as if he were no relation to me. I now understand the impossibility of such a presumption of objectivity and the telling of my personal story should allow the reader to know my point of departure, so as to enable a more critical evaluation of the work that follows.

My mother never knew William Lockwood, her grandfather, as she was born in 1934, and he died in 1936. But, in many ways, she knew him through her father, who was raised in China and did not move permanently to the United States until it was time for him to attend college.
Her father constantly had stories to tell of his parent's and his own life in China and was involved in U.S. groups that sought to aid China.

I never knew my grandfather, so my "first impressions" of China came second-hand through my mother. I never remember being told what China was like or directly about my "China background", but small pieces of information sneak into one's mind and come together into a composition. My home in Wisconsin is filled with furniture and art objects that are legacies of my family's missionary past. China was always mystical, far-off, exotic, and full of high culture. I remember none of the impressions of poverty, overcrowding and depravity often recounted by Americans. I also felt a need to support China, defending the 1949 revolution in 9th grade despite the fact that I knew nothing of the revolution except that it started the commune system. As my family had long been involved in the anti-war and civil rights movement, and was active in liberal Democratic politics in Wisconsin, I was also more sympathetic to the "socialist alternative" of China.

It was not until Wesleyan that I began to examine the specifics of my China background. The more that I found out about my relative who fit into the history I was studying in Modern Chinese History, the more I was compelled to continue my studies about Asia. When I began to write a
paper freshman year on William Lockwood for Modern Chinese History, I believed that William Lockwood was an exploiter who unquestionably misunderstood China and used its people for his narrow ends. This view was sparked by the general impression I had received until that point in the history class. Western writings on Chinese history have long been prejudiced against the missionary, despite the fact that little work has been done on the missionary effort in China. But as I wrote the paper, and followed Professor Schwarcz's advice to "let Lockwood speak for himself," I let down my desire to prove him an exploiter and tried to investigate all that he did and felt about China.

That paper, as does this one, used sources that I had received from my family, such as annual reports, letters home, and other such documents. This information had been given to my family by my mother's uncle, also a son of William Lockwood. When I began research for this work my senior year, I discovered that the documents my family had as well as other important documents were located at the Young Men's Christian Association Historical Library, temporarily located in Chicago.

Throughout the research process for this thesis, I have eagerly greeted previously untapped sources of information. When my mother casually mentioned that she
had known well my great-grandfather's wife Mary after she returned to America in 1936, I was excited at the thought of obtaining such personal and intimate information. When she told me stories that her father had told her as a child about life in China, I began to identify some of the scratches on my mind. The revealing and personal letters I would find in the Chicago documents were real treasures that made all the tedious work worth it. Unquestionably, this search has been surprising and intriguing from day one.

While I was in China studying for seven months in 1983, I managed to get in contact with the newly reborn Chinese Y.M.C.A., based in Shanghai where Will Lockwood lived his life. After giving me an introduction to the "new" Y.M.C.A. of China, the new Association leaders told me where I would find one of my great-grandfather's old houses and the church that he helped to found. I found the house, and managed to see a few rooms of it and meet the new inhabitants. The experience, unfortunately, turned sour when I attempted to get a key to see the rest of the rooms, all of which were vacant. The party cadres in charge of the area went wild, yelling at me for not going through the "proper channels" and "misunderstanding China". I believe they thought that I had come back to reclaim possession of the house.

Talking about the days before Liberation with these
people and with other people who had been connected with the Christian community in Shanghai is no easy task. Perhaps conversation about the Christian movement evokes too many bad memories or presents too great a present danger for them. However, the enthusiasm and optimism with which today's Christians approach the newly-revived Christian and Y.M.C.A. movements in China provided great insights into the whole nature of Chinese Christianity. While the methods of Chinese Christians have unquestionably been altered by 35 years of rule by a government unfriendly to organized religion, their motivations and aspirations remain unchanged and thus provide a link between the China of William Lockwood's time and the China of today.
INTRODUCTION

WILLIAM LOCKWOOD IN AMERICAN AND CHINESE HISTORY

The nature of missionary feeling about China and the Chinese, past and present, is a largely unstudied subject. A vast body of literature awaits scrutiny, a rich and almost wholly unexplored territory where great prizes await the perspicacious prospector. --Harold Isaacs

Mission history is a great and underused research laboratory for the comparative observation of cultural stimulus and response in both directions. --John King Fairbank

The work of twentieth century American missionaries in China is just beginning to be examined by historians of modern China. In fact, there exists no published, critical biography of a missionary during this period. China was, as Isaacs notes, "the largest single theater of American missionary enterprise," one that would involve literally thousands of American young men and women, yet the life and work of these extremely influential
individuals has not been brought into historical view.³

Even though the Christian movement in China never attracted huge number of adherents, its strong influence on the development of important cities and individuals cannot be denied. For instance, Chiang Kai-shek and other key Nationalist leaders were Christians, and were strongly influenced by the West in other ways. Furthermore, the history of Shanghai, which is largely unexamined, would be incomplete if the influence of Christian missionaries on that city was ignored.

On the American home front, the impact of missionaries was even greater. Through furloughs and report letters to friends and constituents in America, missionaries promulgated their view of China and its people, and advocated American policies towards her. As Sydney Ahlstrom writes,

> the most important aspect of the entire foreign mission impulse [was] its reflex effect on the life and church activities of Christians at home. The missionary on furlough was the great American window on the non-Western world. Through him, the aims of the missionary movement, as well as the cultural stereotypes which underly it, became fundamental elements of the American Protestant's world outlook.⁴

Through the contact between missionaries and Americans who were interested in China, Americans felt, from the nineteenth century on, that the United States had a "special responsibility" to China—like a big brother to a
little brother. In many ways, this feeling of responsibility set Americans up for the feeling of "loss" when the Communist Party was victorious in 1949.

This thesis is an attempt to bring one influential missionary, William Wirt Lockwood, to life. William Lockwood worked for the Young Men's Christian Association movement in China from 1903 until his death in 1936. The majority of his tenure in China was spent on the staff of the Shanghai Y.M.C.A., yet his work for the Shanghai Association was interspersed with numerous furloughs in the United States and periods of time spent on the staff of the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. of China.

Lockwood's importance was much greater than that of any other Y.M.C.A. missionary. Lockwood directed the Shanghai Association during its formative period and its most intense period of growth, and the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. became the largest and most influential Association in all of China (most major Chinese cities had a Y.M.C.A.) Furthermore, Lockwood was particularly responsible for training Chinese men to become the leaders in the Association movement, and as Lockwood-trained Y.M.C.A. leaders joined the staffs of other Associations in China, his influence thus grew. By the mid-1920s, Lockwood was considered the most-senior and most-experienced Y.M.C.A. secretary in China, and his advice and expertise was sought not only by other Associations in China, but by the
International Committee, which directed overseas operations, in New York.

The importance and distinctiveness of the Y.M.C.A. movement in China must not be underestimated. Some historians of modern China argue that nineteenth-century missionaries in China, in comparison to twentieth-century missionaries, "flaunted the banners of religious fanaticism and narrow nationalism," and cared little about adapting their religion and institutions to meet the needs and desire of the Chinese with whom they came in contact. Whatever the truth of this view of early missionaries, it does not apply to the Y.M.C.A. activists of the early twentieth century. As Shirley Garrett writes in Social Reformers in Urban China,

The men who went to China as Y.M.C.A. personnel represented a new breed, infused not only with a sense of service but also with qualities of practicality and flexibility. They were able to appreciate another culture, while at the same time remaining profoundly American in their values.

This "new breed" of missionaries was not content merely to offer Christianity to China in the hope that Chinese would adopt it. Rather, they aimed to transform all aspects of Chinese life and to give Chinese people the leadership role in this transformation. The Chinese were no longer solely to be preached to, they were to be housed when they wandered the streets, fed when famine struck,
and educated when they could not read or write their own language. Yet American values remained at the core of the Association's program, as did the hope that the young men who came in contact with the Association would eventually convert to Christianity.

A primary contention of this thesis is that William Lockwood played an integral role in making the Association a flexible and changing organization. In part because of Lockwood's emphasis upon Chinese leadership for the Y.M.C.A., and his insistence that the Y.M.C.A. constantly change and modify its program to meet changing circumstances, the Shanghai Association had gained over 5,000 Chinese members by 1921, and was strongly represented among Shanghai's Chinese business and student class.7

Lockwood did not arrive in China in 1903 with a desire for Chinese leadership and a constantly evolving program; his view of the role of the Y.M.C.A. and of the West in China changed remarkably throughout these years. The first half of the twentieth century was an intensely turbulent and violent period in modern Chinese history. Lockwood was witness to the fall of imperial government, the rise of Republican China, civil strife among competing warlords, the rise of the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek, invasions by the Japanese, and the growing power of the Communist Party. Through all of
these major occurrences in Chinese history, Lockwood changed along with the Y.M.C.A. Although William Lockwood hardly wavered in his belief that Christianity and the West could bring about positive changes in all realms of Chinese life, he constantly questioned the methods by which these changes could be accomplished.
INTRODUCTION NOTES


6. Ibid.

CHAPTER ONE
GROWING UP IN THE HOOSIER STATE

There was nothing particularly unusual about Peru, Indiana, during the nineteenth century. Located on the Wabash River, the town originally came into being as a trading post for fur trappers and merchants. From these rather humble origins, it emerged as the seat of government and the center of commerce for Miami County. Its population grew to over 10,000 people by 1870. Peru thrived on agricultural commerce by the nineteenth century, and had become a small manufacturing center which had two different railways. Although Peru's population had not become as heterogeneous as many coastal cities in the United States, the predominantly Methodist, pioneer community saw the arrival of Catholics from Ireland and Italy, Jews from Germany and Lutherans from Scandanavia.
The Lockwood family made its home in this small town between 1875 and 1915. William Lockwood was named after his father, who was born in 1835 and who had been raised in a pioneer family of "frontier Methodists" in Miami County. This family received a government grant of land, cut down the trees and began to farm for their livelihood. When the Civil War erupted, William Lockwood Sr. dropped out of college and joined the army. After the war, he became a school teacher in Miami County and in 1870 married a nearby schoolteacher twelve years younger than himself named Mary Eliza Waite. A few years of teaching school for both of them in Illinois taught them that they really missed their home in Miami County, so in 1875, the Lockwood family moved back to Indiana and made a permanent home in Peru.

William Lockwood Sr. had made the decision that he did not want to spend his life in the schoolhouse, so he bought and became editor of the Peru Republican, one of two well-established weekly newspapers in the town. This newspaper had started "during the days of agitation preceding the Civil War," and competed with the Sentinel, which was Peru's Democratic paper. Both papers were very partisan and Lockwood himself was most intolerant of Democrats. The Republican office was a meeting place for people to talk politics and agriculture, and, according to Lockwood's son Edward, was often frequented by leaders of
the Jewish and Black communities in Peru.

William Lockwood Jr., the subject of this thesis, thus grew up in a family that was highly aware of and involved in the political questions of the day. There were always political discussions around the family dinner table and the children were taught that a Republican Party victory was a victory for the state and the nation.

According to William's brother Edward:

> All of the Lockwoods knew all wisdom, righteousness and justice was with the Republicans. We were Methodists, but we could see there was good in Baptists, Jews or Catholics but there could be no good in the Democrats. They were a menace to the county and must be kept out of power.³

The Republican Party at this time strongly defended the system of protective tariffs and sought to protect the right of Blacks to vote in the South in order to insure justice and their own political power base.

William Lockwood Sr. was a hard-working man, who rose at six o'clock every morning so that he could be at work by seven. He was also a reserved person, and the children did not talk over their problems with him. "We had an affection for him tempered with something of fear," reports his son Edward.⁴ He did not allow smoking, drinking, playing of cards or dancing in the Lockwood house. Lockwood Sr. was a strong and devoted Methodist, and he led the church choir and all of its musical activities. He encouraged his children to read books,
magazines, and the many newspapers from the towns he received in exchanged for sending them the Republican.

The Lockwoods eventually had ten children — six boys and four girls. Born on July 1, 1877, William was the fourth child of the family, and the third son. As all of the Lockwood children would, William attended the Central School, a square, red brick, two story building about a mile walk from home. He grew up in a nine-room house which was situated on a hill overlooking the Wabash Valley that was surrounded by buck-eye, mulberry, ash and crabapple trees. The children had forests and fields around the house to entertain them, and the buckeyes from the trees "were used as ammunition in the Indian fights between groups of boys on summer days in the nearby woods." There were maple trees in the backyard that the children tapped to make maple sugar. Although the family was not rich, there was always plenty of food, a multitude of brothers and sisters around the house, and hundreds of volumes of books.

William was the only son to learn the printer's trade and to join the printer's union, and he spent his weekends and vacations learning to set type and writing small articles for the paper. Due to his contact with the Republican office, it is likely that he was even more in contact with the political and social issues of the time.
than his brothers and sisters. William joined his siblings every Sunday in attending Sunday school and church services afterwards. According to Edward, the church was divided between the sedate Methodists like the Lockwoods, and the "pioneer Methodists." The latter group would sit in the "Amen corner" and shout "Praise God," "Amen" or "Hallalujah" often during the sermon. Edward also remembers preachers "who put the fear of God into people by telling them what hell would be like for them if they did not repent." 6

William's brothers and sisters, by and large, also were successful in their educational and occupational pursuits. Seven of the children, including three of the daughters, graduated from DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana, and only one of the children did not graduate from high school. William was especially close to one brother, George, who became very involved in Republican politics and became the editor of a magazine based in Washington, D.C. called The National Republic. William's oldest sister, Helen, became a secretary for the Y.W.C.A. in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and later worked with the State Committee of the Y.W.C.A. in Indiana and Wisconsin. Helen later lived in New Haven, Connecticut, and "became a mother to many of the Chinese students at Yale."

William's younger brother, Edward, became a Y.M.C.A. secretary in Canton, China, for 35 years. Two of
William's brothers were troublesome and later alcoholic, and both died young without having been successful in any career.

In 1894, William entered DePauw University, where he majored in Political Science and became active in religious and other extra-curricular activities. He graduated with honors and Phi Beta Kappa in 1898, and according to Mary Lockwood, he was "not feeling sure as to his choice of life work," so "he decided upon an interlude of teaching." After one year of teaching in the Peru High School, he spent a second year teaching at the high school in Muncie, Indiana. During that year, "he decided to yield to an urge to enter some line of religious activity, and the work of the Y.M.C.A. made a strong appeal." Given William's strong religious rearing and education, and considering his uncertainty as to what he should be doing with his life, his decision to work in some type of religious organization hardly seems surprising. Although no other information can be obtained on this decision which would affect the rest of his life, it seems likely that he did not have the desire, or possibly the money, to attend seminary and become an ordained minister. Consequently, one of the few avenues open to him to pursue his goal was the Young Men's Christian Association.
William Lockwood was offered and accepted a position at the Y.M.C.A. branch in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1900. During the three years that Lockwood worked at the Association, he worked very closely with its general secretary - Fred Willis. According to Mary Lockwood, William's wife, he was very much influenced by Willis, who was very religious, enjoyed teaching his Bible classes, and active in the local church. Lockwood, however, was not fully satisfied with his job in Omaha.

During Lockwood's second year at the Omaha Y.M.C.A., Dr. John R. Mott, Executive Secretary of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. who was very involved in the Y.M.C.A. China work, gave a lecture series at the Association. Mott's lectures stressed the need and opportunities for Y.M.C.A. work in other nations.

According to Mary Lockwood:

Will Lockwood was deeply impressed, feeling in this appeal a personal challenge and for several months, the matter was in his mind. Finally he reached the decision that it was God's call to him - as the place for greatest need and opportunity for his life and he offered his service to the International Committee.

Dr. Mott soon invited Lockwood to go to Shanghai to assist the general secretary there, Robert E. Lewis.

It is worth looking into Dr. Mott's views on world evangelization to find some of the reasons that Lockwood was so inspired to enter the foreign service of the Y.M.C.A. Although the text of Mott's lectures in Omaha is
not available, the outline of Mott's book, *The Pastor and Modern Missions*, is essentially the same as that followed in a course of lectures given in 1904 at Ohio Wesleyan University, Yale Divinity School, McCormick Theological Seminary and Princeton Theological Seminary on the subject of the need for American pastors to make the world-wide missionary movement their first priority.\(^{11}\) It is reasonable to assume that the message of Mott's lectures at these academic institutions in 1904 was approximately the same as that given at the Omaha Y.M.C.A. in 1902.

Mott stressed in his lectures that Christian forces had reached a critical juncture in the early twentieth century at which they could either fail to rise to opportunities present in non-Christian lands or push forward and win the world over for Christ. This period was different from others, argued Mott, because the ability of the West to come in contact with non-Christian lands had reached a high point.

The work of the explorer has been well done. As a result of the spirit of adventure, the thirst for knowledge, desire for wealth or power or fame, and zeal for the spread of religion, the veil has been drawn aside from practically the entire inhabited earth...For the first time we may say that the world is open before us.\(^{12}\)

It was the responsibility of this generation, he continued, to make use of this opportunity to launch a campaign to Christianize non-Christian lands.
Not only had all lands been explored, but improvements in and the advancement of technology had made the world even riper for conversion. Mott argued that shorter travel times, the increasing network of railroads, and the growing number of telegraph lines had made the task possible to complete. Furthermore, the increased political and economic power of Western nations in the affairs of non-Christian nations had made these nations accessible to missionaries.

Mott then stated that the success of Christianity in this newly discovered and opened non-Christian world had been enormous. In the eighteenth century, he argued, there were only a handful of missionaries, now there were tens of thousands in all nations of the world. Conversions of natives were coming strong and fast, and the native Christian churches were growing in strength daily. The forces opposed to Christianity, such as Buddhism, Confucianism, and Hinduism were falling in power and stature due to the power of Christianity. Through all this, one gets the feeling that missionary work was full of possibility and excitement, and that to resist the call was to miss out on the real purpose of the Christian Church. Mott argued that the most important undertaking of the church was its missionary work and that:

A man's Christian life is not what it should be, if the outreach of his sympathy is limited to anything less than all mankind. Too many Christians are in
the habit of regarding missions as something to be promoted by those who are specially interested in the project. Mott stated that "without a doubt many more candidates for foreign service are needed," especially in Asia, and that every Christian must decide how he or she could personally help the effort - either through donating money, recruiting others or, most importantly for Lockwood, committing one's life to missionary work.

Given Mott's argument, it is easy to see why Lockwood was "deeply impressed" and felt a "personal challenge" in the speech. But before Lockwood left for China, he took the time to marry a college friend in July of 1903, whom he had corresponded with for three years. Mary Towne was the daughter of a Methodist minister who was also comptroller at DePauw. At the time of the marriage, she was teaching high school in Marion, Indiana. William had previously been engaged to another classmate during college, but she changed her mind and married another man.

William Lockwood was twenty-six years old when he and his wife Mary set out in October of 1903 for a life in China. Lockwood was a small-town, big-family boy who did not really know what to do with his college education. He chose to commit himself to serving his Lord in a place which was an unquestionable challenge - Shanghai. Certainly it was unusual for one son or daughter to choose missionary work as a life career, but for two children to
become missionaries in China and another to spend her life working for the Y.W.C.A. in America was truly remarkable. This occurrence demonstrates the importance of religion in the Lockwood family, the ever-present expectation of educational and occupational achievement that the children must have felt, and the social consciousness of the Lockwood family which inspired the children to devote their lives to helping those they believed were less fortunate than themselves.
CHAPTER ONE NOTES


2. Ibid., p.6.

3. Ibid., p.15.

4. Ibid., p.36.

5. Ibid., p.7.

6. Ibid., p.56.

7. DePauw University, Transcript of William W. Lockwood, 1898.


9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.


12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p.58.

CHAPTER TWO

LOCKWOOD IN SHANGHAI: THE EARLY YEARS

William Lockwood laid the foundation for his later work in China from 1903 to 1910 by developing the programs and purposes of the Y.M.C.A. in Shanghai and by learning to deal with a society with which he previously had little contact. It was unquestionably a difficult adjustment for Lockwood, yet by the time he was due to return to the United States for furlough in 1910, he believed that he was part of a growing and vital organization which was having a positive effect on China. By examining Lockwood's relation to the educational and religious activities of the Shanghai Association in the period 1903 to 1910, his work in developing Chinese participation in the organization, and his views of the Chinese religious, political and economic situation, we can see Lockwood's
absolute devotion to Christianity, the Y.M.C.A., and the future of China.

First in Omaha, and later in China, Lockwood served as a "secretary", which is Y.M.C.A. terminology for "administrator". A secretary has more responsibilities that just processing papers: he is supposed to be an educator, a lay preacher, and a "witness" to the principles of Y.M.C.A. membership. During the period in question, 1903 to 1910, Lockwood first served as Assistant Secretary, then Associate Secretary, and finally as General Secretary (or chief secretary) of the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. The Shanghai Association was divided up into four branches by the time he assumed responsibilities as General Secretary in 1908: the Chinese City Association, the Foreign Association, the Japanese Association and the Navy Association. Most of Lockwood's work was with the Chinese City Association, which dealt with providing services to the Chinese residents of Shanghai, but he also was responsible for the other branches, which provided services for foreign, Japanese and Navy residents of the city.

One of the greatest problems William Lockwood faced during his first few months in Shanghai was his lack of knowledge of Chinese people, customs and culture. He referred to China in 1904 as a "peculiar land", which was difficult to adjust to and hard to begin work in. Yet, in
many ways, Lockwood was hardly immersed in the culture, being surrounded by other American Y.M.C.A. secretaries and living in the foreign section of Shanghai. Perhaps because he had the foreign enclave in which to feel secure about his own values and culture, he could resolve in 1904 to "study specially the religious and social life of the Chinese" and "get in touch with native churches and pastors of the city."² For Lockwood, China could be slowly grasped and comprehended by study and by a conscious effort to move out of the foreign community.

Part of this effort to "get to know" China involved learning the language. Lockwood acknowledged that a large portion of the Y.M.C.A. membership remained strangers to him because he was unable to speak or write Chinese.³ His efforts to master Chinese, which I will describe in detail later, were to continue throughout his tenure in China, but the first year was perhaps the most difficult and frustrating of all for Lockwood. His willingness and desire to learn Chinese demonstrate his feeling, and the Y.M.C.A.'s philosophy, that the missionary must make a life-long commitment to his work in a specific country and that this work must be accomplished in the language of the host nation.

Lockwood not only blamed his inability to speak Chinese for his trouble in gaining familiarity with
Chinese people, but also the ways in which the Chinese dealt with each other and with foreigners.

In the American Association, one may introduce two young men and see them become good friends in a few months. In China one would have introduced their grandfather. The Chinese are not unsociable, but are rigidly bound by customs.4

Thus, according to Lockwood, it was the customs of the Chinese, and not of the Americans, which thwarted his attempts to get his bearings among the Chinese. What Lockwood perceived as the rigidity and non-progressive nature of Chinese society could not compare, in his mind, to that of the United States, where true and developed relationships could develop without consent of grandparents.

During this first year, Lockwood argued in a report letter to American friends that his one year in China had made him realize that Chinese people must be considered as individuals, which he said increased the possibility of success for the Chinese Y.M.C.A.5 Rather than facing the task of converting the masses of Chinese to Christianity, the job of the Y.M.C.A. was to convince individual men of the validity and superiority of Christianity. The fact that Lockwood was surprised to discover that Chinese could be considered as individuals attests to some of the preconceptions towards the Chinese he held before arriving in China as well as after establishing himself in Shanghai: The numbers of Chinese were huge, they were difficult to differentiate, Chinese
culture enforced and demanded uniformity and did not accept diversity and individuality.

Lockwood's view of Shanghai during this time was both positive and negative. On the one hand, Shanghai was seen as a great center of Western education and commercial growth, with a large number of young men active in different aspects of city life. Yet he also saw a large number of "Chinese clubs where gambling and other forms of evil are propagated." Shanghai was home to prostitution, opium dens, corrupt officials and rampant pursuit of money. Activities which hinder critical thought prevent individuals from facing the problems of life and choosing Christianity as an answer.

The perceptions of China and the Chinese that Lockwood held were most likely influenced by the small group of people who made up the Chinese Y.M.C.A. in 1903. The first Y.M.C.A. secretary had only arrived in China in 1895, and by Lockwood's arrival in 1903, there were only seven other Y.M.C.A. staff members. Clearly, it was a tightly knit group, and their beliefs about the purpose and role of the Y.M.C.A. in China must have affected Lockwood's own. By examining these individuals, we can see a few of the American missionaries Lockwood dealt with in this first decade, who were especially important because he could not speak Chinese and they originally determined
what kind of activities would be carried out under
Y.M.C.A. auspices. The original program of activities for
the Chinese Y.M.C.A. would remain at the core of the
Association for many years to come.

David Willard Lyon, the first Y.M.C.A. secretary in
China, was himself the son of an American missionary in
China. Lyon was born in Chekiang on a houseboat, and
eventually went to the United States for his education. He
became involved in the Y.M.C.A. movement in the United
States and was recruited to go back in China at the age of
twenty-five. The first Y.M.C.A. was established by Lyon in
Tientsin, in the North, for the purpose of working with
students of the six colleges in the city. These colleges
were dedicated to providing Western education for Chinese
young men and ten percent of the students were already
Christians. In some respects, this field was the most
natural for Lyon, not only because of his youth, but also
because he did not speak Mandarin Chinese and most of the
students at the universities spoke English.

Lyon was similar to previous missionaries, according
to Shirley Garrett, author of Social Reformers in Urban
China, in that he was well educated, but was very much
different because he was not an academic or a theologian. Part of his success in Tientsin was made possible by his
creativity in designing the the Y.M.C.A. program and his
willingness to adapt it to Chinese needs. For instance,
Lyon taught a course in military fitness at a Tientsin university, which met the desire of the Chinese for military preparedness and strength at a time of weakness in Chinese history.

Basically, the Association in America stipulated that the Chinese Association, like all others started by the International Committee outside the United States, should become self-propogating, self-governing, and self-supporting as quickly as possible. Lyon was, in other words, pledged to start not a movement that would be an alien growth, but one that would become truly indigenous.

Fletcher Brockman arrived in 1898, along with two other American secretaries, to reinforce the Y.M.C.A. work that Willard Lyon had begun. Brockman assumed the role as the first national secretary for the Chinese Y.M.C.A., and was basically responsible for overseeing the progress of the newly founded Associations and for examining ways in which the Chinese Y.M.C.A. should move. He was also important in insuring the financial success of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. because of his relationships with many of the important people in American business, including the Colgates and Henry Ford. The connection he helped to establish between American business and the Y.M.C.A. would prove to be a contributing factor in attracting a large number of Chinese businessmen to the Chinese Y.M.C.A. because the Chinese felt that a connection with the Association and its American friends
would prove profitable.

Brockman believed that one way to insure the success of the Y.M.C.A. in converting Chinese to Christianity was to interest them first in Western science and technology. This strategy clearly was in line with the ideas of many Chinese reformers in the late Qing Dynasty, who also asserted that China had to adopt those technological advances from the West which would serve China's political, economic and military needs. Brockman was concerned with reaching the traditional students, who were still studying to take the official examinations and become officials, not only the modern students who had congregated in China's larger cities. The national secretary felt that both of these classes of students could be attracted to the work of the Y.M.C.A. by establishing "science centers" at all the inland capitals of China which "would serve as point of influence from which Western knowledge could radiate."

One of two other American secretaries to arrive at the same time as Brockman was Princeton graduate Robert Gailey, who was assigned to assume Willard Lyon's work in Tientsin so that Lyon could devote more time to student work. Gailey soon endeared himself to the Chinese merchants and officials of Tientsin, who liked his outgoing personality and marvelled at his capacity to eat. He continued Lyon's work in education and expanded the
physical fitness and reading room activities of the
Y.M.C.A. Later on, he was asked by some influential
Tientsin men to start a modern school for their sons,
numbering about 100, which would not require Confucian
teaching, despite government protestations, but would also
not allow for Christian education. Gailey accepted the
challenge, mainly because he saw it as an opportunity to
form a bond with the literati, and he taught science,
English, and Chinese classics in the school. The school
eventually came under Y.M.C.A. control as the government
opened up more schools in the North, and offered optional
religious instruction.12

Perhaps the secretary who had the greatest influence
on William Lockwood was the third of the three secretaries
who arrived in 1898, Robert Lewis, the first Y.M.C.A.
secretary for Shanghai. Lockwood wrote in 1908, when Lewis
was recalled to the United States, that

He and I have worked hand in hand, he has taken me
freely into his counsels, has helped me over rough
places...he has inspired me as he has other men not
only to live in China, but to become a part of
China, to study into the religious, political, and
sociological questions that face this empire...13

The other American secretaries in the Chinese Y.M.C.A.
clearly had an impact on Lockwood's thought, but it was
Lewis who trained Lockwood in the work of the Shanghai
Y.M.C.A. and who worked with Lockwood constantly for his
first five years in Shanghai.
From the beginning, the job of organizing the Shanghai Association was easier than in other Chinese cities because of the large number of Chinese students interested in Western education, the great amount of Chinese businessmen, and the existing influence of missionaries and foreign businessmen in directing the economic and political affairs of the city. Lewis' goal was to organize the young Chinese businessmen into an Association, which was accomplished on January 6, 1900. Lewis invited about 150 businessmen, past and present students of modern colleges in China and the West, to the Royal Asiatic Society, where they resolved unanimously to form the Association. The Shanghai Y.M.C.A. thus became the first formally chartered Association in China.

The Y.M.C.A. over which Lewis was to reign was miniscule compared to Lockwood's Y.M.C.A. thirty years later, but his influence on the direction of the Shanghai Association can be seen through the endurance of the activities which began under his tenure. With respect to religion, during the first year, the Y.M.C.A. held nearly fifty religious meetings, twenty sessions of Bible class, and converted thirty men. Educationally, Lewis started evening classes in English, German, and French, with 94 Y.M.C.A. members enrolled.

By the time Lockwood arrived in 1903, Lewis had made
little progress in increasing the membership of the Shanghai Association, but the level of activity had been increased significantly. Day classes, with required religious education, had begun with 71 members and were designed to channel students into the Christian colleges in Shanghai. The evening classes had been expanded to include subjects that aided young businessmen, such as book-keeping, shorthand and arithmetic and the enrollment increased by over 100. Lewis also managed to increase the number of people attending Bible classes, in part because classes were offered in both English and Chinese. The religious, social and educational activities which Lewis established during these early years were to serve as a springboard for immense growth in the Y.M.C.A. in later years.

In addition to the activities of the Y.M.C.A., Lewis may have passed on to Lockwood some of his views of China's political situation in the first decade of the 20th century. Lewis said in 1896, the year of his arrival in China, that the Chinese lacked "unity, public spirit," and military training, and were "educationally effete, morally moribund, and too stupified to escape" China's "natural fate of dissolution." (It is important to note the similarities between Lewis' assessment of the Chinese situation and that of many Chinese reformers during the same period. Kang Yu-wei, the leader of the
Hundred Days of Reform in 1898, sought to institutionally solve some of the same problems that Lewis identified.\textsuperscript{20}

But by 1906, Lewis felt that everything had changed. The Chinese were now embroiled in debates about the political and educational situation and the "modernized schools were already marshalling their uniformed or half uniformed pupils."\textsuperscript{21} Lewis believed that nationalism had caught hold in China, with the citizens of Shanghai demanding "China for the Chinese" and supporting the government in its opposition to foreigners controlling the economic life of the nation.\textsuperscript{22} He felt that China was on the move, waking up, and that the Y.M.C.A. could play a key role in training the new leadership for China.

Equally important was the group of Chinese William Lockwood dealt with on a daily basis, who were, for the most part, either educated in the West or had been strongly influenced by the West in their education or in their business contacts. Lockwood was dealing with a very different group of Chinese people than many missionaries, both at that time and previously, who worked in smaller, inland cities or in the countryside. Shanghai was the largest port on China's coast, and was a vital link in shipping and trade for all of Asia. Consequently, contact between Chinese businessmen and foreigners was much greater in Shanghai than other cities, including the
capital Peking. This was because foreigners came to
Shanghai to trade, to live, and to change the city itself.
The Chinese businessmen and officials who became connected
with the foreigners increased their own influence, not
only economically, but politically, because the foreigners
wielded immense power in deciding the affairs of Shanghai.

In 1903, the year of Lockwood's arrival, the
Association broke down its membership into occupational
categories. Thirty percent were "clerks", 19% were
merchants, managers, compradores (Chinese liasons between
foreign and Chinese businessmen) and brokers, 16% were
students, and 23% were unascertained. The number of
students in the Association rose rapidly in the following
years, due to more active work on the Shanghai campuses.
All of these groups of people were comparatively well-off,
moderately to highly educated, and had considerable
contact with Western individuals and thought.

The Shanghai Y.M.C.A. Board of Directors, with whom
Lockwood often had to deal, was composed of some of the
leading Chinese citizens of Shanghai. They were tied to
the imperial government, foreign business and Western
educational institutions. For a Chinese person to be a
member of the board, he had to be a Christian. The members
were all people with important connections in Shanghai and
were vital to raising the money necessary to keeping the
Association alive. Interestingly, an even greater portion
of the money was raised from non-Christian Chinese. One member, Tong Kai-son, was first the president of an insurance firm in Shanghai, and eventually became the first president of Tsing Hua College. Another, Wong Kok-shan, was the son of a pastor who became prominent in the iron and steel mills in Wuhan and was very important political figure in the area. It is the Chinese membership and directorate who, along with the foreign Y.M.C.A. missionaries, helped to form Lockwood's impressions of China, the Chinese, and the role of Christianity and the Y.M.C.A. in China.

Because of his language study, William Lockwood's ability to communicate with Chinese people increased rapidly during these first seven years in China. From his arrival in 1903 until the fall of 1906, Lockwood spent half of his time doing work for the Shanghai Association and half studying Chinese. Every morning from 9:00 to 12:00, Lockwood worked with a language tutor, studying the Shanghai dialect. He spent his afternoons and some evenings in the Y.M.C.A. building working on Association business. This practice became standard for new secretaries in Shanghai, partly because Lockwood and others learned Chinese well in a comparatively short amount of time.

Half-time language study, half-time work, was
positive, argued Lockwood in 1907, because "it makes more
easy the difficult personal adjustment to the spiritual or
rather the unspiritual environments in a non-Christian
country."²⁵ Lockwood was saying that total immersion into
the language and culture without contact with Christians
and a Christian institution such as the Y.M.C.A. would
have been overwhelming. Using the Y.M.C.A. as a foothold,
he could "reach down into the life of the people" by
learning Chinese.²⁶ Conversely, Lockwood also argued that
the study arrangement saved him from being overwhelmed by
the problems the Y.M.C.A. faced in China, a non-Christian
land.²⁷ He felt that he could slowly come in contact with
the work of the Association, but still have time for
purely academic pursuits.

This arrangement, according to Lockwood, also
reminded him that language study was a means, and not an
end.²⁸ Language was a tool for Lockwood, one that would
enable him to accomplish the work of the Y.M.C.A. and
bring more men to see the rightness of Christian thought.
Staying in contact with the Association would give
direction to his language study, insuring that he learned
the words which had immediate relevance to the job at
hand.²⁹ Lockwood's view that knowledge of the language was
a means to accomplish specified goals means that he
realized that he could not reach those goals if he solely
relied on his powerful position as a foreigner who was
backed up by the Western military and economic presence in China.

Lockwood was acknowledging that he had to approach the Chinese on their own terms and with their own language if he was to help change China into a Christian nation. As Jonathan Spence argues in *To Change China*, foreigners, like Lockwood, may intend to change China, but they are also unintentionally changed by China as well. Christian missionaries in China for hundreds of years had sought to influence and convert those who controlled the political, economic and social power; yet they discovered that in order to gain access to influential people, they had to reorient their own philosophies and methods towards Chinese expectations and needs.\textsuperscript{30}

Yet language is not only a tool to convert the Chinese, it is a tool for survival. Lockwood must have realized, like most other missionaries, that he could not exist in a foreign country for the rest of his life without a basic knowledge of the language. Lockwood's wife Mary knew some Chinese, as did their three children. John Espey, in his book describing his own life as part of a missionary family in Shanghai during this same time period, relates a story which points out an attitude towards learning Chinese which the Lockwoods may also have had.
In later years, when our harried guests said, as if it were the last straw of being entertained at South Gate: 'Dear me, don't your servants speak anything but Chinese?' we had our answer. Lowering our eyelids slightly and looking down our noses, we let our faces freeze into the well-known passive mask of the Oriental, as we said haughtily: 'But of course not. After all, this is China, you know. And, if you would only take the trouble to learn the language, you would find that there is no good idea in the world that cannot be expressed clearly, adequately, altogether wittily, and with nice distinction in the Chinese tongue.'

Although Lockwood, in general, praised the half-study, half work method, he acknowledged that there were problems with the system. He felt that there was a "lack of time to carry on really aggressive work...Present grounds can be held and gains made gradually," but really satisfying work was made difficult. Lockwood found it aggravating only to put half-time energy into projects which he felt deserved his total energy and support. He also felt that it was difficult to protect one's language study time against the demands of the general secretary (Lockwood's superior), who was short on staff.

In September of 1906, Lockwood received permission to study Chinese full-time in Sunkiang, a Shanghai-dialect speaking city of about 90,000 people which was 36 miles from Shanghai. Lockwood was released from his responsibilities by Arthur Rugh, another American secretary who arrived at the same time as Lockwood, who had just returned from one year of language study in Sunkiang. Mary and Will Lockwood moved into "the little
temple-house" in Sunkiang that Rugh had occupied and would stay in the city until the following February.

Every secretary should take time off to study in the interior, Lockwood asserted upon his return. The part-time study method was adequate to allow personal adjustment to China and to gain a solid base in the language, but total immersion was needed to become conversant and able to carry on the affairs of the Association. One reason for choosing Sunkiang was the lack of foreigners and the corresponding lack of "social and other obligations." Lockwood remarked that he and Mary...spent a very happy and profitable half year with the minimum association with Westerners and the maximum with Chinese, affording splendid opportunity for conversation in the colloquial, bringing into daily use much of the vocabulary that we had been working on for many months with our teacher.

It is interesting to note that Lockwood once viewed Westerners as vital to personally adjusting to life in China; now, Westerners constitute an impediment which kept him from completing his adjustment. Although he did not return to Shanghai fluent in Chinese, he felt he was ready to devote full-time effort to the Association with only one hour a day of language study.

Lockwood's time in Sunkiang not only increased his language ability, but also gave him a glimpse of life outside of Shanghai and the work of Christian missions in
the interior. He remarked upon his return to Shanghai that he and Mary were "much more in sympathy" with the problems faced by missionaries who worked outside of Shanghai in cities which lacked a lot of the contact with the West and the amenities which made life for foreigners easier. 37 Although the eventual goal of the Y.M.C.A. was the same as that of the rural mission - to convert the Chinese to Christianity - the Y.M.C.A. placed its emphasis on providing social services rather that on working towards individual conversion. Consequently, Lockwood saw a side of the missionary effort to which he was previously unexposed to.

We saw the country church with its saints and its sinners, with its triumphs and its discouragements, with its live and its dead members, with the stolid indifference and passive resistance of those outside... 38

Soon after Lockwood returned to Shanghai in the spring of 1907, the new Shanghai Y.M.C.A. building was opened, sparking a period of development for both the religious and secular activities of the Y.M.C.A. The four story building included a gymnasium, office space, a reading room with both Chinese and English works, classrooms, and space for some of the students and youngers secretaries to live. The main meeting hall was called Martyrs' Memorial Hall, named after the Christians who had died for their beliefs in Chinese history (especially the Boxer Rebellion.) Lockwood believed that
this building would allow the Shanghai Association to further develop its programs and better enable the Y.M.C.A. "to transform the lives of those who come within its field."\(^{39}\)

The importance of this building to the Shanghai Christian and Western communities is seen in the opening ceremonies for the building in November of 1907. The United States Secretary of War, William H. Taft, declared the building open and handed the deed of trust to Wong Kok-shan, Chairman of the Board of Directors. It is significant that the deed was handed to a Chinese person rather than to one of the American secretaries because it symbolized the increasingly important role the Chinese were playing in the leadership of the Association. Taft said that the building would "form an additional permanent bond between America and China," demonstrating that he, like many others, saw the United States as a helping friend who had a special responsibility to care for the Chinese.\(^{40}\) Taft's vision of U.S.-Chinese relations had already been written down in the "Open Door Notes" of 1899, which asserted that U.S.'s "Open Door" policy "was proof of United States friendship for China and that it prevented China's territorial dismemberment." In reality, rather than preventing that break-up of China among foreign nations, the policy sought to give the United
States part of the wealth.\textsuperscript{41} The methods of funding for the new building and the land on which it was built point out the influence of the Shanghai Association in these early years. When Robert Lewis, General Secretary of the Shanghai Y.M.C.A., returned from furlough in 1904, he announced that $50,000 had been pledged in the U.S. for the new building, one-third of which was from the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A.\textsuperscript{42} More significant, however, was that a good portion of the money to buy the land was raised from sources in the Shanghai Chinese community. For example, two prominent non-Christian governors each gave $1,000 towards the purchase of the land.\textsuperscript{43} The fact that non-Christian, and Christian, Chinese gave funds to the Association demonstrates two things: 1) They believed that contact with the Y.M.C.A. could help them personally and financially and, 2) They thought that the Association had a positive role to play in Shanghai and in China as a whole. As these people were non-Christians, they most likely believed that the positive role was limited to social services, like education and student work, rather than in transforming the nation to a new lifestyle.

With the new building in place, the Y.M.C.A. could work at expanding all the services they offered to Shanghai residents, including religious services. Religious activities were always a vital aspect of the
Association work, and were key to fulfilling the stated objectives of the Y.M.C.A. The Shanghai Association was, first and foremost, an institution with the objective of converting "men from their sins to God through Jesus Christ." The Bible classes, religious meetings and regular church services offered by the Y.M.C.A. were always well attended and staffed. William Lockwood, in fact, throughout his 33 years in China always taught at least one Bible class at the Association. All the annual reports from the Shanghai Association to the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. stressed the effort involved in these religious services and how all other services they offered eventually led people to the religious services. Lockwood very much believed that the core purpose of the Association was the promulgation of Christianity.

To gather a group of several hundred young men and establish a Christian institution which is a power for positive religion in a great heathen city is no small accomplishment for the past. To develop that institution through others to a strength where it is able to surmount these surroundings and where it can grip these conditions is an end that God only can see brought to pass.

Lockwood saw this religious institution as a means to bring young men into Christianity, and consequently to rejuvenate and change China. China was seen as a "sleeping giant" that was in the process of awakening, and Lockwood felt that at this critical juncture in time, the Y.M.C.A. could provide the young, Christian leadership to lead it
out of its problems. The end result of this Christian leadership would be more than a state with few political, economic and social problems, it would be the largest Christian nation in the world.

But before the Y.M.C.A. could accomplish that task, according to Lockwood, it had to break the "formality" which governed the life of the Chinese. What Lockwood meant by "formality" and why he thought it hampered the Christian task the Association had before it is unclear, but he may be implying that the Chinese were incapable of showing emotions, were rigidly bound by tradition, and were lacking of freedom in their individual lives, and that these characteristics inhibited the individual Chinese from making the choice to "break away" from the tradition and become a Christian. (Lockwood's attack on Chinese "formality" is similar to the ideas of important Chinese leaders of the same period. T'an Ssu-T'ung, a key figure in the Reform Movement of 1898, argued that established and hierarchial relationships between minister and ruler, son and father, wife and husband, and friend and friend, were part of "a system of inequality with its unnatural distinctions between high and low, and making men, the children of Heaven and earth, suffer a miserable life...")

Lockwood saw the Chinese men that the Y.M.C.A.
brought to Christianity as embattled, but ready to fight for a "New China" under Christian leadership. The emphasis Lockwood places throughout his writings on the "struggle" and "fight" for Christianity clearly demonstrates his feeling that the doctrine of the second coming of Christ and the preceding conflict between the forces of good and evil could serve as a powerful metaphor to rally Christians behind social, economic and political reform.

One sometimes wonders at the faithfulness of many of these men in a heathen city where almost every influence is against their developing strong Christian character, in a city where they do not have the inspiration of numbers, where it is not a popular thing to be a Christian - yet as we see the vast opportunities we long to see these men gird themselves for the great conflict. 50

The "great conflict" was a gradual process with no specific date, and it involved ameliorating evil social conditions, bringing responsible leadership to China and upgrading the morality of the Chinese people. Lockwood's views on religion, compared with the works of earlier Christian missionaries, differed in that previous missionaries put more emphasis on the actual conversion while Lockwood and other Y.M.C.A. secretaries emphasized changing lifestyles and morals in the hope that the correctness of Christianity would then become clear to the subject.

Lockwood often talked about the poverty of Shanghai and how these destitute conditions mirrored those of
London and New York much earlier which had necessitated the beginning of the Y.M.C.A. The Association could provide a good influence on Shanghai residents, especially because it was not even a Christian city like London or New York, and help build a new and prosperous society based on Christian principles. According to Mary Lockwood, her husband always studied

...how to make men realize that the character of individual citizens was the real foundation stone of effective and progressive community and national life. And that this could best be achieved through teaching and inculcation of Christian principles of living.51

In addition to daily and weekly Bible classes which by 1908 had approximately 300 students, the Y.M.C.A. hosted many American and British evangelical preachers who drew large crowds of Chinese and Westerners.52 In addition to evangelical meetings with Dr. John Mott, who was important in the International Y.M.C.A. movement and who spent a lot of time in China, 1909 saw a visit from Dr. Chapman, who attracted over 700 non-Christian Chinese men to a service held in Martyrs' Memorial Hall. Chapman gave an address on the "terrible effects of sin", after which,

Dr. Chapman called upon those who would then and there forsake sin and definitely accept Christ as their savior. From all parts of the Hall young men arose and pressed their way to the front, filling the aisle for a considerable distance...53

Lockwood reported that 55 individuals decided to become Christians, were introduced to the pastors and put into
Bible classes.\textsuperscript{54} Lockwood was increasingly willing during these first years to place trust and confidence in Chinese that had been converted to Christianity. At first, however, he seemed a bit hesitant about the ability of even Christian Chinese to carry out the work of the Association. In 1905, two years after arriving in Shanghai, Lockwood remarked that the members of the Board of Directors were "beginning to think" and help plan the agenda of the Y.M.C.A.\textsuperscript{55} Yet he still thought that all the major items to be acted upon by the Chinese board members had been proposed by the foreign secretaries. The board members were some of the most influential people in China, were all Christians, and had good judgement, according to Lockwood, yet he still did not feel that they had taken the lead in moving the Association forward.

Despite Lockwood's disappointment at the failure of the Chinese board members to be the motivating force in the Association, it was the stated objective of both the Chinese Y.M.C.A. and of Lockwood from 1903 to 1910 to train and place responsibility in Chinese staff so that the foreign secretaries would become "advisors" rather than directors.\textsuperscript{56} The foreign secretaries would establish the Association, according to this view, and the Chinese would eventually be well-enough trained in the work of the Y.M.C.A. to take over and expand the movement. Mary
Lockwood later said that the Y.M.C.A. foreign secretaries did not feel that their movement could make great gains in China until it had become an indigenous movement.\textsuperscript{57}

William Lockwood would argue throughout his stay that the Association had to adapt and change from the American model to meet the needs of the Chinese; therefore, giving the responsibility for policy making to the Chinese themselves would best meet that goal. However, in Lockwood's effort to make the Y.M.C.A. an "indigenous" movement, he never wavered in his conviction that Christianity must remain at the core of all its activities. Lockwood never questioned how a foreign religion like Christianity could remain at the core of a supposedly indigenous movement.

Despite Lockwood's general optimism about the increasing importance of Chinese in the Association, he was skeptical about how soon the Chinese and foreign community could handle a role reversal. In a letter to John Mott in 1908, Lockwood said that the time when a Chinese general secretary would be appointed for the Chinese branch was not too distant. Yet he went on to suggest that the Y.M.C.A. forestall taking such a move because "in Shanghai...not only relations with Chinese but also with foreigners are to be considered..."\textsuperscript{58} One can interpret such a statement in a few different ways. He might be suggesting that the Chinese could not be trusted
to safeguard the interests of the American Christians in Shanghai. But, more likely, Lockwood was arguing that the foreign community in Shanghai would not be as progressive as the Y.M.C.A. in letting the Chinese gain control of affairs within the city.

Lockwood felt that the Y.M.C.A. might be forced to give the Chinese a more important role due to the growing amount of political activism in Shanghai and China as a whole. He saw the Chinese as rapidly developing a "spirit of independence", exemplified by the Chinese boycott of American goods in 1905, sponsored by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and other organizations, because of the United States' discriminatory laws affecting Chinese workers.59

Lockwood believed that the Christian Church had played a key role in the development of Chinese patriotism and courage against foreigners, most likely because he thought that the Christian Church had helped the Chinese to break down the "formalities" which bound them to the past and which had little to say about the individual. The Chinese Christian Church might be the first to be affected by this nationalism, according to Lockwood, because the church's teachings and its members were at the root of it. At the same time, Lockwood expressed real apprehension that this political activity would prod the Association too far, not merely giving increased responsibility to the
Chinese, but also forcing the foreigner to relinquish all control.

It is too early to say that the educated Chinese Christians are demanding a condition of affairs in which the Chinese shall govern the church...The Association as a self-supporting enterprise is demonstrating to the Chinese their own ability. It may be and we hope will be the first to permit the foreigners to assume a purely advisory relationship, yet we hope the pendulum will not swing too far.  

This rising national spirit was an impetus to increase the number of Chinese under training to become Y.M.C.A. secretaries, Lockwood asserted in 1906. Training young men was definitely a top priority for Lockwood. This work would bring him in contact with many of the young men who would later become important in the Y.M.C.A. movement in the 1920s and 30s. When Lockwood assumed the responsibilities of general secretary of the Shanghai Association in 1908, this aspect of his work also grew in importance. In that same year, he wrote that the two main tasks of a foreign secretary of the Y.M.C.A. were to train young men to be volunteers in their communities and help others, and, more importantly, to train a native secretarial staff which would channel these volunteer efforts. 

The Shanghai Association had been given primary responsibility in 1908 for training secretaries to work in the Y.M.C.A.s of other Chinese cities. There were nine students in the training course that year, which consisted
of both lectures and practical work in the details of managing an Association. The trainees attended lectures on the history and principles of the Y.M.C.A. and its method of program, and also had responsibilities in the daily operation of the Shanghai Association. Lockwood remarked in 1909 that the training program "is certainly the most important work this Association has done this year."^64

The increase in the number of Chinese secretaries facilitated the expansion of the Y.M.C.A.'s programs. In fact, Lockwood said that in 1908 all increases in activity were handled by the Chinese secretaries and praised them for their "loyalty and devotion."^65 When Lockwood proposed the same year to begin a new Y.M.C.A. branch for Chinese in one of the poorer sections of town, he suggested that the Chinese staff and Board of Directors take on all financial and organizational responsibility and that any further expansion in Shanghai should be intitiated and managed by the Chinese themselves.

One area that expanded greatly from 1903 to 1910 was physical, vocational, and college preparatory education. The Y.M.C.A.'s role in providing education to the young men of Shanghai indicates a desire to do more than convert Chinese to Christianity, yet the underlying motives for social services such as these must be closely examined.
Foreign secretaries were motivated by a desire to serve God by helping others attain the standard of life they felt every individual should have, a feeling that if poverty and deprivation were eliminated an individual could see the correctness of Christianity and by the notion that the Y.M.C.A. could insure a better future for China and its own success as an organization by providing trained leaders who would be important in China's future political and social arrangements.

William Lockwood was a leader in the Shanghai Association in attempting to begin a physical education program. His dedication to this cause came about because of the Y.M.C.A philosophy that a healthy body was important for the soul and because he believed that the Chinese had no regard for their physical well-being.

The Chinese for time immemorial has been a scholar. All sorts of manual labor has been despised. As a result the scholar class is a class of weaklings physically. It is to these men we have to minister.

Lockwood most likely realized that the majority of citizens lived their lives in a way unlike the scholar class, but he was first interested in changing the lives of those who were educated, and then assumed that the rest of China would be changed through the elite's leadership. But only by breaking through the sluggishness and lethargy of the non-physical lives of the elite could they use their educations and their souls to give their lives
over to Christianity. (Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic, also argued during the same period that a far-sighted political elite, trained in republican government, had to train and lead the people into a new social order.)

Lockwood believed that the Chinese Y.M.C.A. should have the "premier" role in introducing China to physical education. In 1903, 71 members of the Shanghai Association joined together to form the Athletic Club, and a piece of land was made available by some wealthy Chinese in Shanghai. On October 24th of the same year, the first sporting event was held. In 1905, another piece of land was obtained, and two tennis courts, a baseball diamond and a running track were constructed on it. During this same period, a young man was sent to the United States for training in directing physical education programs, and returned to start physical education classes in the new gym, which was part of the new Y.M.C.A. building opened in 1907.

From all signs, the physical education program of the Association became very popular among members and non-members. At the annual Sport Meeting in 1905, the first to be run entirely by Chinese, there were over 2,000 spectators and 109 entries. The classes in the gymnasium grew in popularity and Lockwood reported that in
1908, there were 114 members enrolled in five different classes. By American standards at the same time, these numbers were small. But considering that this program was the first of its kind in China, the Y.M.C.A. seems to have been fairly successful.

The influence that programs such as these would have on later Chinese thought also must be considered. Mao Zedong, in 1917, wrote "A study of physical culture" for New Youth magazine, in which he attributed a decline in the strength of the nation to a lack of physical education. Mao argued that physical education was intrinsic to a military spirit, and that the Chinese people's attitudes toward physical education must be changed before any program could become fruitful and effective. He asserted, much as Lockwood had, that

Without the body there would be neither virtue nor knowledge. Those who understand this are rare. People stress either knowledge or morality. Knowledge is certainly valuable, for it distinguishes man from animals. But wherein is knowledge contained? Morality, too, is valuable; it is the basis of the social order and of equality between ourselves and others. But where does virtue reside? It is the body that contains knowledge and houses virtue.

Lockwood's personal achievement with regard to promoting physical education in China was the hiring of the first American physical education director in the country. In 1907, the Shanghai Board of Directors voted to request a Westerner to come to Shanghai to assume the job
of directing physical education activities at the Shanghai Association and of training young Chinese men to become physical directors in other areas of China. With Lockwood's urging, the International Committee dispatched Dr. M.J. Exner to Shanghai in 1908. Exner's influence was strong, especially in organizing the first Chinese Olympic team to Manila in 1913.

William Lockwood was equally as active in promoting the college preparatory and vocational education programs sponsored by the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. Since the inception of the Association, it had sponsored evening classes which offered vocational education and day classes which prepared young men to attend college. From 1903 to 1909, the number of people attending the day classes jumped from 40 to 219, while the attendance in the evening classes rose from 123 to 181.⁷⁴ Students in the day classes were charged a tuition, which actually was in excess of the amount of money taken to run the classes. Therefore, the educational function of the Y.M.C.A. helped to pay for other services the Association offered.

One goal of providing vocational education was to help young men find work in the foreign community in Shanghai. The classes offered, ranging from Japanese to book-keeping, all were designed to allow a section of men to integrate themselves into the sector of the economy which required constant contact with and reliance upon
foreigners. The students themselves were businessmen, scholars, and graduates of Western institutions in China.

The training of young Chinese men, Lockwood recognized, was very much valued by the foreign business community, as they desperately needed Chinese to facilitate their business with the rich and powerful in Shanghai and in other cities. The whole vocational education program was very much tied to the various businesses of the city, thus insuring continued financial support for the Association by foreigners and the increase in membership and support brought on by a greater influx of Chinese who needed training.

Lockwood believed that the educational programs of the Y.M.C.A. could guarantee a prosperous future for the Association because the students were largely the sons of rural gentry and/or were the future leaders in business and education in China. Not only would these students be more likely to convert to Christianity and thus naturally continue their support for the Association, but also they might feel a certain debt to the Y.M.C.A. even if they did not convert. He felt a need in 1905 to relay in a report letter to friends in America the "strong type of men" who were attracted to the Y.M.C.A. because of its educational programs.\(^75\)

Providing education for young men gave the Y.M.C.A.
extensive opportunity to fulfill its ultimate goal of bringing men into Christianity. The Association had special optional religious classes for evening school students which were well attended. The day class students were required to attend regular Bible class, weekly religious meetings and daily chapel, and the number of conversions from these students was comparatively high.

It is a published fact that Christian teaching is a part of the curriculum, but the extent to which the field is opened is indicated by the fact that no objection is made to this rule on the part of the parents or supporters. 76

Unquestionably many of the students and parents were open to Christianity and had no objection to mandating it to be studied, yet Lockwood seems to ignore the fact that many parents and students may have viewed the Y.M.C.A. education as vital to the student's success and they were willing to overlook its inclusion.

Education without religion was of little interest to the Y.M.C.A. in Lockwood's mind. In his annual report of 1908 to the International Committee, he relayed the story of an influential Shanghai man, and a large contributor to the Y.M.C.A. land fund, who had asked the Shanghai Association to take over direction of a school in a neighboring city. 77 The man had tried unsuccessfully to direct it for years and was even offering to pay for all the expenses the Y.M.C.A. incurred in running the school. The board eventually turned down the offer because the
unquestionable right of the Association to teach Christianity in the school was not guaranteed.

In a letter to John Mott in 1906, Lockwood also asserted the need for religion in the national educational system. He described a meeting with Yen Fu, a Shanghai official who was educated in England, formerly head of the translation department at Peking University, and translator of Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* into Chinese, who argued that most teachers in the modern schools of Shanghai had been trained enough in Western knowledge to cause them to doubt the validity of Confucianism, but not exposed enough to Christianity to take it on as a guiding principle. Yen further asserted that “Any one who has studied the history of nations knows that society can not be organized without the religious element.” 78 He argued that the teaching of Confucianism in the school system was a sham and that only Christianity could truly revive the nation. After asserting in the letter to Mott that Yen Fu represented a group of officials who were gradually controlling the educational system, he stated that:

> The establishment of Christianity may soon have an equal chance with the re-establishment of Confucianism and believing in the power of the highest truth we can not as Christian men but believe that Christianity will triumph. 79

Lockwood was also involved in college-level educational programs, especially those that enabled
Chinese students to study in the West. In early October, 1909, Lockwood spent a good portion of time preparing 50 young Chinese men, who had been chosen by a test out of 700 applicants, to leave Shanghai for San Francisco. The Y.M.C.A. routinely provided information to young men going to America for education concerning clothing, specific colleges, American manners and travel. After Lockwood became general secretary, the Shanghai Association offered scholarships to young Chinese secretaries to study in the United States, which was "an attractive incentive for young men to enter the Association service and to make good in early training."\(^8^0\)

The same young men that became involved in the Y.M.C.A. educational programs and other activities were also part of the changing political situation in Shanghai during this period. Lockwood's view of the political situation is somewhat uncertain, although as previously stated, he thought that the Chinese boycott of American goods in 1905 was a positive expression of self-awareness and national consciousness. As a Y.M.C.A secretary, however, he strongly resisted any relationship between politics and the Shanghai Association.

The failure to become involved in a political discussion might not mean much in a country with fifty years of Association experience where its attitude towards things political is clearly settled in the minds of members and non-members, but here in China the constant tendency is for a society of any sort to be used for political
purposes.\textsuperscript{81} The official policy established in 1905 disallowed any use of the Y.M.C.A. building for political purposes, although "The educational work of the Association contemplates...the study of broad principles in civil government."\textsuperscript{82} Yen Fu gave a series of lectures on civil government for the Y.M.C.A. members. Thus, "politics" could be dealt with in the Y.M.C.A. in the general context of the study of government, but any political activity in the Association which might put the Y.M.C.A. on one side or another of a political issue was unacceptable. Consistent with this policy, the Association routinely turned down requests for use of Martyrs' Memorial Hall for political meetings, like the one requested by the Pastors' Union in 1908 to deal with the issue of whether foreigners or Chinese should build China's railway system. The real test of this policy would come a few years later when the political situation fully erupted, and created more demands for partisanship on the part of the Association.

The Lockwood family left on their first furlough since arriving in China in March of 1910. Every Y.M.C.A. secretary and his family was given a paid furlough every seven years, and was expected to do a variety of Y.M.C.A. duties while in the United States. Despite Lockwood's attachment to the Association work in Shanghai, the Lockwood family looked forward to returning to America.
They wanted to see their family and friends and introduce their three boys, now 5 1/2, 4 and 3 1/2 years old. All the children had been born in Shanghai and had never met any of their relatives, but they had been raised in a very large foreign community within the Chinese surroundings.

The goals that Lockwood set out for his furlough in 1910 show his positive attitude toward the work he and the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. had done up to that point and indicated the direction he wanted it to move. In his 1909 annual report to the International Committee, he stated that he intended to "Get in touch with the latest in Association work in America," attempt to raise the funds necessary to put an addition on to the present building for the purpose of working with Shanghai boys, and to "Do what I can to represent the China work and its needs to American constituency." He was also invited by Mott to attend a conference of Y.M.C.A. secretaries from various countries to be held in Basel, Switzerland, and also planned on attending the first World's Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland.

Lockwood's goal of raising funds for boys' work in Shanghai shows the commitment he had to expand the work of the Y.M.C.A. based upon the Association's success. He argued that a new building for boys' activities was needed because "the possibilities of boys' work in China" are
"beyond anything we can hope to do with men." If the Y.M.C.A. was truly going to provide the future Christian leadership for China, than it was most productive to start children in Christian living early on. Furthermore, Lockwood felt that the new boys' building would expand the relations between the American and Chinese Y.M.C.A. movements.

We as an American Association do not want to buy favor or submission or make it secure because we hold the purse strings but no one can say we are doing this. The building however will have a practical effect upon our relationship to the young China movement to keep us in very close touch until the movement is able to provide adequately for itself.

Financing, always a problem in the Association's activities, proved to be a difficult matter with the International Committee, which was being asked to help provide the funds. Lockwood originally had told his Chinese associates that if the Chinese raised the money to purchase the land, then the money for the building could be raised in the United States. The money for the land was quickly raised from Chinese sources in a three week campaign, with the help of the membership of the Association, students, businessmen and the leading papers which gave free advertisement. The success of the fundraising effort points out the strong ties that the Y.M.C.A. had with those individuals who were important in the Shanghai financial and political community.

Lockwood's desire to represent the China work and its
needs to Americans demonstrates that he believed he could interpret China to the West and plead its case. Lockwood most likely considered himself to be a "China expert", one who "knew" China and can account for and explain the workings of the Chinese and of China to unknowledgeable Americans. He had lived in China for seven years, spoke and wrote Chinese, dealt daily with Chinese people, and had seen, in his opinion, all sides of the Chinese life. This he contrasted to the businessman and tourist who never saw the "real" China. In Lockwood's view, China could not represent itself, it had to be filtered, reworked, and translated by Lockwood if the American was really going to understand it. Because he viewed himself as a someone who knew something about China, and due to his intense involvement in work that dealt with China, he felt that he had a responsibility to the Chinese and to God to work for the nation's well-being. He was responsible for its future. And the way to insure a good future, in Lockwood's mind, was to provide Christian leadership which would set a moral example for the Chinese and guide nation building on Christian principles. The only way to provide Christian leadership was insure that the flow of money and other support from the United States did not halt.

The responsibility that William Lockwood felt towards China and the Chinese Y.M.C.A. was formed during these
early years and would last until his death in 1936. Lockwood had certainly changed during these seven years in China. A man who had criticized the Chinese Board of Directors and secretaries for their inability to lead in 1903 had become a strong supporter of Chinese control of the Association by 1910. An individual who was incapable of communicating with the Chinese he came in contact with in Shanghai, and sought refuge in the foreign community, became conversational in Chinese language and viewed Westerners as an impediment to his discovering the "real" China. A person who originally found the problems of the Association in China overwhelming became a leading force in developing the programs of the Y.M.C.A. to meet the needs not only of the foreigner, but more importantly, of the middle- and upper-class Chinese residents of Shanghai. Like missionaries of the past, Lockwood had been changed by China. Yet Lockwood never abandoned his devotion to bringing about fundamental changes in the way Chinese lead their lives. He was intent on upgrading the Chinese living standard, cleansing the soul of the non-Christian Chinese from impure influences, and helping to provide young Christian men who would lead China into a new era. Whether all sections of Chinese society wanted these changes never became an important question for Lockwood during these early years - he was surrounded by Westerners and Chinese
who seemingly supported his plan of action for China's future.
CHAPTER TWO NOTES


2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.


8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., p.57.


12. Ibid., p.94.


16. Ibid.


18. Ibid.


22. Ibid.


28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.


35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.


38. Ibid.


41. Bastid, Marianne; Bergere, Marie-Claire, and ChesneauX, Jean, *China from the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution*, p.300.

43. Ibid.


46. Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."


48. Ibid.

49. deBary, *Sources*, p.89.

50. Ibid.

51. Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."


54. Ibid.


57. Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."

58. From WWL to Dr. John R. Mott, May 5, 1908.


60. Ibid.


65. WWL to Mott, May 15, 1908.
67. deBary, Sources, p.121.
68. Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."
70. Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."
78. From WWL to Mott, January 30, 1906.
79. Ibid.
80. Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."
84. From WWL to Mott, February 8, 1909.
85. From WWL to Mott, November 4, 1909.
CHAPTER THREE

REVOLUTION AND GROWTH

The 1911 revolution was a watershed event in Chinese history. The imperial government, which had ruled China for over 2,000 years, had been swept aside by the forces of modernization. Although William Lockwood was on furlough during the two years previous to the revolution, he arrived upon the scene only a few weeks before the Manchu regime fell. This revolutionary period would test Lockwood's ability to keep the Y.M.C.A. out of the Chinese political situation, and also caused him to explicate his own view of what kind of political and social change China needed. Lockwood was interested in promoting and recruiting for the Y.M.C.A. the "new type" of Chinese man who was not only interested in the Christian enterprise, but was also tied to the political and educational power
elite in China. Furthermore, Lockwood oversaw the expansion of the Y.M.C.A. program into new areas, such as health and boys' work. Due to this increased activity, Lockwood became a leading voice in the foreign community during this period for study of the Shanghai economic and social situation so that limited Christian resources would not be used inefficiently.

The Lockwoods left China for the United States in March of 1910, and William almost immediately proceeded on to Europe. He first attended a conference of Y.M.C.A. secretaries from various nations held that May in Basle, Switzerland. In June, following the Y.M.C.A. conference, Lockwood participated in the first World Missionary Conference, held in Edinburgh, Scotland. Over 1,000 Christian missionaries from Asia, Africa, Europe, and North and South America were sent to the conference by their respective missionary societies. Three of the leading Christian figures in China, Bishops Roots and Bashford, and Hawks Pott of Shanghai, were all in attendance, so Lockwood can not be considered the leading representative for China. The impact the conference had on Lockwood can not be denied.

The book which reported on the conference, Echoes From Edinburgh, delineates the important role that China played in the discussions. A series of previously prepared papers served as the springboard for debate, and
John R. Mott, head of the international Y.M.C.A. movement and the individual who originally inspired Lockwood to go abroad, delivered the paper "Carrying the gospel to all the non-Christian world."3 His talk, as well as many of the other discussions, stressed that "China is today the chief storm-center of urgent opportunity in the whole world." Yet the tone of the conference as a whole was clearly international, and had the purpose of exchanging information on missionary efforts around the world so that missionaries would learn from other's experiences and decide where Christian resources should be appropriated. According to Mary Lockwood, Edinburgh was "a most impressive experience," that gave Lockwood "a new world vision, a new understanding of the world wide mission of the Church."4

After arriving back in the United States in the late summer of 1910, Lockwood travelled around the country and spent time with his family in Indiana. He spent a few months studying social problems and the Y.M.C.A. in American cities and met with leaders of American philanthropic organizations to see how they dealt with alleviating the condition of the poor.5 This experience would have an effect on his activities upon his return to Shanghai, where he soon launched an effort to study more closely the Shanghai urban situation. Lockwood spent the
rest of his time in the United States cultivating wealthy
contacts and raising money for the International Committee
of the Y.M.C.A.. For instance, the Boys' Building would
later open in 1915 because Lockwood found a wealthy
individual in Cleveland who donated all the money
necessary to build the structure.\(^6\) The last few days
before his return to China in August of 1911 were spent
arranging for the arrival of students from China in San
Francisco, most of whom were "indeminity scholars" -
students who had won scholarships from the Chinese
government to study in the United States.\(^7\)

When Lockwood met with Americans to raise money for
the International Committee, he clearly had to interpret
China to them and place the Y.M.C.A. effort within the
Chinese context. However, Lockwood's job of interpretation
did not end when he went back to China. In addition to
the report and personal letters he sent to supporters, he
also met foreigners travelling to China at the Shanghai
port, gave them an itinerary and letters of introduction,
and sent them off on their China tour with a clear notion
of what they should see and how they should deal with the
Chinese with whom they came in contact. According to Mary
Lockwood:

He felt it imperative for those who knew the
Chinese people and their problems, to interpret
them as sympathetically and truthfully as possible,
by writing and entertaining visitors from the West
and by helping them to see the real China and to
meet some of her representative citizens.\textsuperscript{8} Lockwood was known to write letters to local papers when he felt that travellers had misrepresented China to the West because they never went outside of the foreign controlled areas.\textsuperscript{9}

The work of interpreting China to the West would become of critical importance in the months and years following the 1911 Revolution. In one sense, his reports and letters served as news reports to information-starved China watchers. The Lockwoods arrived in China on September 30, a few weeks before the Wuchang Uprising, which launched the revolution. Lockwood many times relayed the story of the capture of Shanghai in early November to his American friends. Another Y.M.C.A. secretary and Lockwood travelled around Shanghai looking for news of the rebellion and bringing the information back to the foreign settlement. Lockwood was surprised to find that the takeover occurred almost without violence and that it happened so swiftly.\textsuperscript{10}

The revolution was viewed by Lockwood not only as inevitable, but as a positive step in developing the Chinese nation and Christianity. Lockwood felt that the Manchus "held back modern progress as long as possible."\textsuperscript{11 The corrupt nature of the Manchu regime combined with the "preparedness" and "wisdom" of the revolutionaries, according to Lockwood, to make the revolution an
inevitable and inherently positive occurrence. 

Lockwood's support for the revolution is not surprising considering that the purpose of his work in China was to change the nation and enable it to use Western knowledge and society for its own purposes. As the leaders of the revolution were not opposed to modernization, and wanted to learn from the West, Lockwood had no reason to doubt that this change in government would not, in the long run, be beneficial to Christian objectives in China.

Lockwood believed that the revolution presented a great opportunity for Christianity in China. The old system had been destroyed and the content of the new order was still in its formative stages. Christianity now had a chance to establish itself as the dominant force in China, Lockwood felt. 

He used his belief that the revolution was a watershed event in the progress for Christianity to rally the Y.M.C.A. supporters at home to give more generously. The revolution, if it could be portrayed as pro-Western and open-minded, could be held out as a concrete piece of evidence which showed that the Y.M.C.A. had made progress and that increased effort would bring better results. He wrote in 1912:

Two texts of the Master come to me as I think of China. One - 'Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.' China has been learning the truth these years and freedom is coming. The second - 'Ye should not put new wine into old skins.' China has a new spirit, the new
wine. It cannot and will not be contained in the old skin. Change must come. With this change there is coming an opportunity in this Empire such as never confronted another religious agency in the history of the world. What you can do, brothers in America, do within five years. You must strike now, and strike hard or you will be too late!  

Although Lockwood clearly dramatized the opportunity for Christianity in China in order to increase American financial support for the Y.M.C.A., he clearly thought that a new era of progress had been inaugurated in 1911.

Despite Lockwood’s vocal support for the revolution, he adamantly refused to associate the Y.M.C.A. with it. Both Y.M.C.A. members and other outside parties requested use of the building during this period for political purposes. Some prominent newspaper editors merely wanted a small room to discuss issues raised by the new republic, while others desired to meet to raise an army to march on Peking.  

Both of these requests were denied, as was the request that the Shanghai Association fly the white flag in support of the revolution. As both Mary and William Lockwood pointed out, the decision to deny Y.M.C.A. facilities for revolutionary purposes was first made by Lockwood, then endorsed by the all-Chinese Board of Directors - many of whom were involved in the revolution.

The underlying premise behind the disentanglement of the Y.M.C.A. and the revolution points to Lockwood’s vision of the Association’s purpose in China as a whole.
The Y.M.C.A. was first and foremost dedicated to helping the individual develop spiritually, personally and materially in order to bring him closer to Christianity and to aid the welfare of the nation as a whole. Getting involved with questions of a political nature would compromise this purpose and involve the organization in alliances that could lead to its downfall.

It required this great upheaval to demonstrate before the nation that our purposes were sincere and to establish beyond fear of change our status as a non-political organization dedicated to the improvement of the mind, body and spirit. 17

Lockwood had no problem with individual Y.M.C.A. members and secretaries becoming nationalists - many of them became leaders in revolutionary activities - but he refused to allow that personal activity to become part of the Y.M.C.A. organization.

The Shanghai Y.M.C.A., on a practical level, offered a lecture series on constitutional government in 1912, right after the revolution. According to Lockwood, the Association made a conscious attempt to modify its educational program to meet the changing social and political climate. The English, French, and American constitutional systems of government were all presented in lectures that were open to the general public. 18 Although a lecture program on constitutional government seems non-partisan, it must be remembered that Kuomingtang-founder
Sun Yat-sen advocated a constitutional form of government for China. His "Five-Power Constitution" borrowed the American Constitution's three branches and added a civil service examination system and a censorate.\(^19\)

When several provinces revolted against President Yuan Shi-kai's government in 1913, the Y.M.C.A. had to cope with thousands of refugees fleeing into Shanghai. According to Lockwood, the fighting around Shanghai was "better organized and marked by more intensity of feeling and more bloodshed than the actual revolution of two years ago."\(^20\) The fighting took place in a heavily populated area of the city, forcing about 200,000 people to flee into the International Settlement within a twenty-four hour period.\(^21\) Lockwood organized a group of Chinese and foreigners to meet at the Y.M.C.A., and they then formed the Refugee Relief Committee. For two weeks, the Committee helped feed and house the refugees - raising over $25,000 and opening up private buildings around the Settlement for the refugees. The Committee's base of activities was the Y.M.C.A., and all the Association's secretaries were involved in the relief work.\(^22\)

During this period of intense political and military turmoil, Lockwood's vision of the "new type" of men who would lead the nation out of its troubles truly came into full bloom. Lockwood often sent out report letters to his American friends which relayed the story of one individual
or a group of individuals who he saw as part of the emerging power group in China. In reality, there were others in China with greater power than these individuals, but Lockwood's emphasis upon this group can partially be explained by his need to give positive signs to his friends and supporters in America which would increase financial assistance.

Clearly, Lockwood saw the students who had contact with Western institutions as the future leaders of the nation. Thousands of Chinese students had or were making the journey to America, and their influence in the educational, political and social institutions on China was increasing. They were of the "new type" because they had, by and large, not been educated in the Confucian system and looked to the West as providing some of the solutions to China's problems. Lockwood's stress on contact with the West, on the one hand, seems to say that he had little confidence that the Chinese could arrive at solutions based upon their own societal and cultural achievements. But his views very much matched the sentiments of the leaders of the Republican government, like Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, who asserted that certain aspects of Western technology and society had to be borrowed to strengthen and develop China.

Besides the students, two other groups of people are
commonly found in Lockwood's vision of the "new type" of Chinese man. One group consisted of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. secretaries with whom Lockwood spent a great deal of time training and working. In 1917, 60 percent of the Chinese secretaries were graduates of Western academic institutions in China, such as the British school St. Johns in Shanghai, and the other 40 percent had attended college in America, at such institutions as Oberlin, Medhurst and Stanford. Furthermore, 50 percent of the secretaries educated in China, and nearly half of those educated in America, had spent a year or more training for Y.M.C.A. work at the Cleveland branch of the Y.M.C.A., where the first general secretary of the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. worked. All of these secretaries were Christians, a requirement for the job, and most of them were active supporters of the 1911 revolution. All of these individuals were of the "new type" not only because they had studied at Western institutions, but also because they had accepted Christianity and were proponents of social and political change.

The other key group were the relatively rich and powerful individuals who had converted to Christianity. One such person was P. P. Chin, who Lockwood described as a scholar and advisor to Yuan Shi-kai, the first president of Republican China. Chin was the Grand Secretary of the first parliamenmt and resigned his office to come to the
Shanghai Y.M.C.A. to study English and Christianity. Despite persistent calls from Yuan to return to official life, Chin converted to Christianity after a long, personal struggle. The day after his conversion, he met with Yuan, told him he was a Christian, and Yuan made him his confidential secretary.

Mr. Chin has become a living testimony to the power of Christ, and he has been literally on fire speaking boldly on every opportunity to individuals and in public to the power of Christ in his life.

Another man of the "new type" who falls into this category is C. C. Nieh, who was the oldest son of a wealthy and important government official and the grandson of a great nineteenth-century reformer, Zeng Guofan. Nieh attended Y.M.C.A. Bible classes, won first place in a finance contest for the Association in 1911, and converted to Christianity. Soon after, he offered two acres of land to the municipal government to build a school on the understanding that

...both 'mind, body and spirit' should receive education - that not only should the pupils learn Chinese and Western learning; but they should also have moral teaching. The morality taught in the Christian religion is considered the highest form of morality.

The Municipal Council of Shanghai agreed to the precondition, especially after Nieh conceded to make Christian education non-compulsory. Nieh also owned and operated cotton mills in the Shanghai area, and was known
for his use of modern business techniques and emphasis on vocational education for employees to raise productivity and profits. 28

Lockwood also related the story of a young man from a leading gentry family who moved to Shanghai, got a job, and started to study English at the Association. Eventually, he began to take Bible study classes and converted. At work, he was ridiculed and was told either to quit the Association or be fired. The young man quit his job and eventually became the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. secretary for boys' work. 29

The common themes that run throughout this particular category of the "new type" of Chinese man are that they all were from upper- or middle-class families, became disillusioned with traditional Chinese society, faced a difficult choice on whether to convert and converted despite all familial and societal opposition. That Lockwood would identify a well-off background as an integral part of being a leader in Republican China is not surprising, considering that the Y.M.C.A.'s and his own vision of how to change China was centered upon the elite changing government policy and serving as examples for the masses to emulate. Disillusionment with traditional Chinese society was required because it was the conservative and corrupt nature of the Manchu regime, combined with the inherently "unspiritual" (or corrupt)
nature of traditional Chinese religion, that had held back
the material, spiritual and moral progress of China in
Lockwood's mind. Finally, Lockwood's stress on the
struggle of conversion is not unusual, considering that
evangelical Christians, especially missionaries, have
always argued that the decision to leave the sinful life
and accept Christ is a difficult one that requires
personal pain and agony. The special difficulty in the
struggle to convert for Christians in China, according to
Lockwood, is that they live in a non-Christian land where
"the blight of sin" is strong.  

Based on the support of increased membership from
1911 to 1917, which jumped from 1112 to 2774, the Shanghai
Association, under Lockwood's direction, was propelled
into a period of unprecedented growth in the size and
scope of its programs and influence.  The budget of the
Shanghai Association increased from (Mex)$46,225 to
(Mex)$95,549 during this same period.  Due to this growth,
the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. became to be seen as a model for
other Associations, and, according to Mary Lockwood,
William's advice was sought increasingly in other
cities.  It was during these years that William Lockwood
became a well-known figure in the Shanghai business,
foreign, educational and Christian communities.

Lockwood felt that the status of the Y.M.C.A. in
China grew along with its budget and membership. In 1904, Lockwood remarked, the Shanghai Association had to pay to get any information on its activities printed in the local papers. In 1914, the papers gave free space for general Y.M.C.A. information, and special prominence for its large events. One paper even gave a four-inch square section every day to the Association.  

No one in China ten years ago would have thought it possible that any Christian organization would be able to secure such attention in a leading Chinese newspaper, even if we were to wait fifty years...isn't it strange that some men do not believe in prayer and some men are failing to have any part in this great onward, forward, world movement of the Kingdom of God.

In 1914, Lockwood briefly analyzed the reasons for the success of the Shanghai Association. He believed that success was partially due to the adaptability of the Y.M.C.A. to Chinese conditions. Lockwood stated that the methods of Association work in the United States and Europe could not be transplanted without change – they needed to reflect the different political, social, religious and economic situations of China. The success of the Y.M.C.A. and the entire Christian mission in China, Lockwood believed, was dependent upon foreign missionaries bending and changing established Y.M.C.A. traditions and techniques, carrying on business in Chinese, and being innovative and creative in developing new Y.M.C.A. programs.
Part of this flexibility was due to the second reason Lockwood gives for the Y.M.C.A.'s success, namely, "the decision of qualified Chinese young men to give themselves to the secretaryship." In one sense, Lockwood realized the limitations of a foreigner's ability to make the Y.M.C.A. a "native" movement. He therefore devoted a large amount of time and effort to developing the primary Y.M.C.A. training center in China at the Shanghai Association. However, Lockwood seems a little naive when he argued that increasing the number of Chinese secretaries could make a foreign movement, based upon a previously unheard of religion, into the dominant force in China. Although Lockwood made no claim that the task could be accomplished in a short period of time, his optimism about the eventual success of the Y.M.C.A. can be attributed to the overall success of its activities in Shanghai, the fact that many of his Chinese friends were educated and Christian, and his general isolation from the peasantry.

Lockwood wrote, however, that it was not only the flexibility of the Y.M.C.A. and the number of Chinese secretaries that insured the success of the Association, but also "the pronounced religious motive which has steadied every activity" and "the manifest blessing of God." Here, Lockwood clearly drew the line showing how far the Association would go to adapt to the Chinese
condition. He was unwilling to launch a new permanent area of Y.M.C.A. activity unless the participants received some exposure to Christianity and Christian living. For instance, in the case of physical education, the formal learning of Christianity that the participants received was minimal, but Lockwood believed that the new style of life they were leading, and the contact that non-Christian participants would have with Christian ones, would enable them to eventually convert to Christianity.

The growth in activities and status of the Shanghai Association was put in context by Lockwood in 1914. Lockwood argued that there were three stages in the development of a Y.M.C.A. in a Chinese city, and Shanghai had reached the last stage. In the final stage, the Y.M.C.A. moves out from the narrow and confined focus of its earlier activities, and its reliance upon foreigners, and begins to reach out to the whole community.39 Along with having a large number of Chinese secretaries, the Association now has its own building which "becomes the center of diverse movements and the workers trained there make their influence felt in the new industrial, educational, and political life of the community." But at the same time, Lockwood was nervous about overextending the Shanghai Association and diffusing the efforts already underway. He wrote that the Y.M.C.A. still confined its
work to one center - the main building - and that it had resisted many calls for opening up branches in other needy sectors of the city. As previously noted, Lockwood felt that much of the expansion of the Y.M.C.A. was enabled by an increase in the number of Chinese secretaries. In 1913, when the number of Chinese secretaries and American secretaries was approximately equal, Lockwood nevertheless remarked that there was a staff shortage, severely hampering Association development. Consequently, Lockwood threw even more energy into this area of his work. In addition to the regular training in Shanghai, the Association held a summer training school at Mokanshan, a popular foreigner retreat, which fourteen students attended.

In 1916, Lockwood was invited by Willard Lyon of the National Y.M.C.A. Committee to assist in two Secretarial Training Institutes (the first to be held) in Canton and Foochow. This was William and Mary's first trip to South China because travel in China during the early part of the century was difficult. Lockwood spent two weeks conducting the Institute in Canton and one week in Foochow. For three hours a day, the students listened to lectures and participated in discussions on the history, principles, and methods of the Y.M.C.A. The lectures and discussions had to be translated to and from English for Lockwood and Lyon, as neither one of them spoke Cantonese.
and the students did not speak the Shanghai dialect.43

The results of Lockwood's and other Y.M.C.A.
secretaries' efforts can clearly be seen. In 1902, there
were two Chinese secretaries and six foreign secretaries
nationwide.44 In 1913, there were 100 Chinese and
85 foreign, and in 1917, 230 Chinese and 98 foreign. In
Shanghai, the 1916 Y.M.C.A. staff included only four
foreign secretaries out of a total of 19 secretaries.
Furthermore, they had 19 more secretaries in training,
assisting in various departments.45 The Association had
Chinese heads for the education, finance, correspondance,
membership, student, social, entertainment and Bible Study
departments.46 Through all these statistics one fact stands
clear - the Association was becoming less dependent upon
the foreign secretary. Yet despite this abundance of
Chinese leadership, Lockwood felt strongly that foreigners
should continue to work in the movement:

It certainly means in this case that the work no
longer depends upon a group of foreigners, yet I
believe that we as foreigners are just now entering
into the place where we can be of the very largest
service to the movement. We want to be careful not
to withdraw at this time when a change of function
will put us where we can be of larger service than
ever before.47

That larger service, Lockwood argued, was acting as
experienced advisors who would insure that the Chinese
secretaries had a firm grip on the Y.M.C.A.

Lockwood's commitment to Chinese control of the
Y.M.C.A. was demonstrated in 1917, when he was preparing to leave on his second furlough. Lockwood submitted his resignation as general secretary of the Shanghai Association to the Board of Directors, so that they could appoint a Chinese person to that post. Apparently, the time that Lockwood had spoken of in 1909 when Shanghai and the Y.M.C.A. would be ready for a Chinese general secretary had arrived. Lockwood's plan was not to quit China, but rather to become the Associate General Secretary of the Association upon his return. However, the Board of Directors did not accept his resignation, and instead delayed action on the request until he returned from furlough.\textsuperscript{48} In the meantime, they appointed S. K. Tsao, a Lockwood's trained Y.M.C.A. secretary who had become one of Lockwood's trusted advisors, as Acting General Secretary. This action demonstrated, Lockwood stated, not their unwillingness to accept a Chinese general secretary, but rather their desire to try out Tsao in the role for a few years while keeping the door open for Lockwood.\textsuperscript{49}

Many of the new activities launched during this period were headed by Chinese secretaries, such as S. K. Tsao, and one such new program was working with Chinese boys. Up to 1911, Y.M.C.A. work had almost entirely been devoted to Shanghai young men, not to boys. However, due to the Lockwood's success on his first furlough in raising
the money to build a separate building for boys' work, the period from 1911 to 1917 saw enormous growth in this area. Just as the opening of the first Y.M.C.A. building in 1907 had been a major event, the opening of the boys' building on October 13, 1915, attracted all the major Chinese Y.M.C.A. secretaries, a special envoy from President Yuan Shi-kai, and leading Shanghai government officials. The building, on the day of the opening, was already in use by 500 children in the day and 600 at night. 50

Under the auspices of the boys' division, boy scouting was started in Shanghai along with a boys' camp during the summer. The Y.M.C.A. also had the boys go out into the city to survey the working conditions of boys in Shanghai factories. 51 It must be remembered that the boys involved with the Association were, by and large, not from the lower classes of the city. In fact, the Association had no difficulty in interesting the boys in their academic programs, it was the physical and recreational work which proved difficult. Lockwood remarked that:

The training of the boy in old China meant from sun up to sun down memorizing the Chinese classics. No games, no recreation for him except a little while at Chinese New Year. 52

Statements such as this one demonstrate the middle- and upper-class status of the boys Lockwood dealt with, as the proportion of boys in "old China" who spent the day "memorizing the Chinese classics" was extremely small in
comparison to the millions that spent their day laboring in the fields.

Lockwood argued that boys' work was perhaps the most valuable of all activities because it had potential both to change the lives of boys and of their families.\textsuperscript{53} Reaching the Chinese at an impressionable age was important, Lockwood argued, because contact with the Y.M.C.A. would allow them to lead Christian lives from the beginning. The activities of the boys' division were designed to impart different aspects of Christian living onto the boys.

Every one of the boys going back daily into his home is an evangel for a strong, healthy Christian life. With SERVICE as the dominant note of its activities this new building is a light house, a life saving station, a training school, a character-making institution, the influence of which in a country like this will never be reduced to writing and never approximated by figures.\textsuperscript{54}

Lockwood believed that the outlook of the boys' parents would undergo change when the boys' thinking was affected by his Y.M.C.A. contact. Some of the boys made the conversion to Christianity, despite heavy opposition from their parents.\textsuperscript{55}

The Shanghai Association, under Lockwood's leadership, also moved during this period to work with another group that had not received attention from the Y.M.C.A. In 1913, the Navy Y.M.C.A. was formed to deal with the thousands of enlisted men that passed through
Shanghai. Due to the strategic nature of Shanghai as a port for the American Asiatic Fleet, the city frequently had up to 2,000 sailors roaming the streets, spending their pay checks, and creating problems. At first, Lockwood was very reluctant to begin work with this group of people because he felt that it would take effort away from the Chinese work of the Association. However, Lockwood believed that the situation was urgent enough to warrant his time and effort.

Lockwood saw Shanghai as a sinful trap that lured American servicemen away from moral lives. The American sailor finds a Chinese city of more than one million people, and a white population of all nationalities, not exceeding twelve thousand, of whom fifteen hundred are Americans. The clubs are closed to him; respectable hotels will not admit him in uniform...In such a city the appeals of immorality to the uniformed sailor are strong.

Furthermore, the sailor did not think that news of his actions in Shanghai could ever reach home. Consequently, the Navy Y.M.C.A. was formed to provide housing, food and a place for the servicemen to socialize away from the prostitution and drugs of the city.

The major dilemma facing the Navy Y.M.C.A. was a lack of permanent quarters. After three years in a rented building, Lockwood made an appeal to the International Committee on behalf of the Navy Association for money to buy land and build a structure. Not only was the
International Committee reluctant to commit the funds for such a project, but the Chinese sources which traditionally funded Y.M.C.A. activities were not interested in funding the construction of a building exclusively for foreigners. Lockwood, at one point, suggested that American businesses based in Shanghai contribute to the cost, considering that these firms are "whose interests the American fleet is out here to protect." 59 Eventually the money for the building was raised and, according to Mary Lockwood, Lockwood was responsible for this accomplishment. 60

Another aspect of the Association's growth from 1911 to 1917 was physical education - a department begun before Lockwood's first furlough. The program's success, however, seems more to have been in training physical directors and serving as a model for other cities rather than in mobilizing large numbers of Y.M.C.A. members into exercising. With regards to training physical education secretaries, five men finished the Shanghai training program in 1914 and were sent to five different cities in China. Six more secretaries were still involved in the physical education training program. 61 The Shanghai Association, due to its comparatively advanced physical education facilities, became and remained the primary agency engaged in training physical directors for other
Associations in China.

Lockwood argued with the International Committee in 1916 over whether or not they would allocate another foreign physical director for China. The International Committee was more willing to allocate one director to work on all of China - assisting many Associations and trying to force the government into greater health consciousness. However, Lockwood felt that it would be a better use of a foreign director to help develop one city's physical education department, make concrete gains, and let it served as an example for other cities.

> If the Association has given any lesson to missions in China it has been that a small, well directed centralized work, - a training center - is superior to a large, inefficient, scattered work which makes a show for a while but in the end gets nowhere and in the end shows no permanent results. 62

But even in light of Shanghai's success in training physical education secretaries, the department was still termed by Lockwood the "missionary" department which was only beginning to make concrete gains. 63

Despite Lockwood's downplaying of the success of this department in Shanghai, the Y.M.C.A. was responsible for the creation and training of the first Chinese team to the Far Eastern Olympiad, held in Manila in 1915. The foreign physical director of the Shanghai Association helped to organize the Amateur Athletic Federation of China, of which all the major officers were Y.M.C.A. members, and
the Federation organized the team. The Chinese team took second place, and the following May the Far Eastern Games were held in Shanghai, with the Y.M.C.A. serving as headquarters for the games.\(^6^4\)

The emphasis that Lockwood and the Y.M.C.A. gave to physical education was due to the desire to improve people's health. During this period of expansion, the Shanghai Association moved confidently into the area of health education. Lockwood said that he had seen a new health consciousness in the United States during his first furlough, and argued that the health movement "has an immediate application to China, as a method leading to individual and social regeneration."\(^6^5\) According to Lockwood, 2,000,000 individuals died from tuberculosis each year in China.\(^6^6\) This was due, he argued, to the overcrowding of homes, the lack of fresh air and sunshine, a diet that was favorable to tuberculosis, the prevalence of unsanitary conditions and finally to "many centuries of a civilization which has magnified the value of the mind and minimized the value of the body."\(^6^7\) Consequently, the Y.M.C.A. offered lectures on hygiene, anatomy and first aid, and began to use newspapers, the pulpit and other agencies to spread health education. If the Association's campaign was successful, he argued, "right and righteous living will be promoted and the battle for purity of life
made easier."  

This new emphasis on health education was part of a growing feeling on Lockwood's part that Christian missionaries and the Y.M.C.A. had to study the urban condition more thoroughly. Lockwood, in addressing the ways in which the missionary movement could be more successful in China, argued that missionaries had to look at every geographic and economic section of the city, not just the wealthy and elite sections. Using this information, he continued, missionaries could discover the "moral geography" of Shanghai and know not only the moral condition of all the classes but also the forces for good in the city, such as social clubs, anti-opium and reform organizations.  

This newfound consciousness that the Y.M.C.A. and other missionaries in Shanghai had ignored the lower classes emerged right after his return to China in 1911. The source of this strain of thought most likely is Lockwood's study of American urban conditions and how the Y.M.C.A. and philanthropic organizations dealt with them that occurred during his first furlough. Lockwood argued that if the study of urban conditions was not carried out in China, than the efforts of missionaries could end in "reduplication and endless waste" and even worse, "lack of direction."  

He further asserted that the scarcity of Christian resources in China heightened the need for study
so as to use missionaries' time and effort most effectively. Increasingly after 1911 we can see Lockwood viewing his work at the Y.M.C.A., and the work of the whole missionary movement, as a business which had to employ modern managerial and enterprise techniques to achieve its goal.

The results of the increased desire to study urban conditions came after 1917, although some beginnings were made during this period. The anti-opium work of the Association was increased, and in 1913, Lockwood was involved in a committee formed to study the condition of rickshaw pullers, whose standard of living was exceptionally low. The Y.M.C.A. would later launch programs designed to alleviate the desperate conditions of Shanghai's poor, but it would take time for the Association to branch out into this area.

Efforts like the anti-opium movement, as well as the regular and newly promoted Y.M.C.A. activities, were the key reasons why Lockwood was generally positive about the progress of the Christian movement in China. In 1917, as President of the Shanghai Missionary Association, Lockwood gave a speech evaluating the successes and failures of the missionary effort up to that point, and proposed a general outline for future action. The success of Christianity in China can not be judged solely by the number of Chinese
converted to Christianity, he argued; missionaries must also look at their impact on the living conditions and lifestyles of the individuals that they have come in contact with.

In a large country like China where missions have worked for more than a hundred years, where conditions are various and rapidly changing from year to year, it is very difficult for us to apply rigid tests of efficiency. The bringing of Christianity to a non-Christian country is not a simple, but a complex, process. It will naturally lead to complex results which are not easily analyzed. There is the social result - the effect upon the country as a whole - upon the industrial, social, educational, and political life.

Lockwood saw the growing desire for Western education, better social and industrial conditions, and increased political awareness as tangible results of their efforts.

However, Lockwood also emphasized that the eventual goal of converting Chinese to Christianity should not be lost sight of. He argued that the missionary should closely examine his methods of promoting Christianity and Christian living to insure that they produce Christians. The standards of efficiency that the businessman applies to his work must also be applied by the missionary in examining his own.

It is all right for the missionary educator to point with pride to the number of his students, the increase of his equipment in buildings and staff, but what is the final product?'

Lockwood constantly pointed with pride in his report letters to the number of Y.M.C.A. members who had
converted that year to Christianity.

Lockwood felt that the missionaries had failed, in one sense, by not paying enough attention to building up the strength of the Chinese Christian Church as a separate entity. The Christian movement was growing in China, he asserted, but the churches needed to be more flexible and the pastors needed to be better trained in order to benefit from this movement. He believed that the foreign missionary needed to take a stronger lead in training pastors, guiding the churches and insuring that they could develop on their own.73

What did Lockwood believe to be the final result of the Christian movement in China? Although he did not often speak of the second coming of Christ, Lockwood on occasion said that a failure to reinvigorate the Chinese church and to create a fertile ground for conversions through social service would delay the millenium. Yet Lockwood was clearly speaking of the millenium metaphorically, not literally, using it to describe the positive and glorious result of their efforts.

We must lay siege to these cities. We must change methods with changed conditions. We must grapple with evil by entrenching the good.74

Lockwood went on to say that missionaries should look to Apostle John, who foresaw the "perfect place" which would rise up after the present earth passed away and which would institute the reign of peace and happiness.75
Lockwood's attachment to China can be seen by his belief that the conversion of China would be a significant step towards world conversion. This attachment which had developed by 1917 would be mirrored in Canton by William's younger brother, who arrived in 1915 as a Y.M.C.A. secretary. Like William, Edward Lockwood had graduated from DePauw and worked for two or three years in a city Y.M.C.A. (Pittsburgh). Edward concentrated while in the United States on working with students, and this interest and ability of his would be carried over into his work in China, where his original assignment was to work with students in Canton. Edward and his wife immediately began to study Chinese upon their arrival, and he began to develop the Canton Association, which was still in its formative stages. In many ways, Edward's experience in China proved to be very much different than William's, especially since he and his wife Helen did not leave China until 1950, one year after the Communist revolution. Lockwood's trip to Canton in 1916 was the first time he had an opportunity to see Edward at work, and William stayed with Edward the whole time he was in the city.

Before William left for his second furlough in May of 1917, he sent the International Committee a detailed outline of the goals he hoped to work toward when he returned to China. He hoped that Tsao would be appointed
permanent general secretary of the Shanghai Association and that he, as Associate General Secretary, would devote most of his time to building upon the expansion of programs during this period, specifically in boys', Navy, and industrial work. Lockwood felt that he should help develop an Association in the southern section of Shanghai, which was notably poor, and work with the lower classes, especially industrial workers, railway workers, and rickshaw pullers. He also planned to put more time into training secretaries and hoped to spent two months a year visiting and helping to develop other cities' Associations.  

Clearly, the program he set out for himself demonstrated his belief that the "traditional" programs of the Shanghai Association, such as college preparatory and night education, physical and religious education, and social functions were already well established, and firmly under Chinese leadership, and that his experience and expertise could best be used in developing new programs and training more Chinese secretaries. Lockwood had safely guided the Association through turbulent years in modern Chinese history, and his reputation in Shanghai and China grew because of this success. But he also had begun to realize some of the shortcomings of the Association's work. The gap between the Y.M.C.A. and the lower classes was still wide, and Lockwood seemed determined to narrow it.
CHAPTER THREE NOTES


3. Ibid., p.77.

4. Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."

5. Ibid.


7. Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. From WWL to "friends," November 7, 1911.


12. From WWL to Robert Lewis, November 16, 1911.


15. From WWL to W. E. Taylor, January 4, 1912.

16. Ibid., and Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."


18. Ibid.


20. WWL, "Occasional Letter Number Three," August 13,
1913.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.


24. Ibid.

25. Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."


27. WWL, "Quarterly Report to the International Committee," December, 1913.

28. Ibid.


32. Ibid.

33. Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."


35. Ibid.


37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.


41. From WWL to Robert Lewis, March 11, 1913.


43. WWL, "Notes on Trip to South China," March 20 - April 22, 1916.
44. From WWL to J. S. Tichenor, November 25, 1916.
45. From WWL to Fletcher Brockman, March 24, 1917.
47. From WWL to Brockman, March 24, 1917.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
56. WWL (Secretary of the Local Committee of Management of the Navy Y.M.C.A.), "Report to the International Committee," November 10, 1916.
57. From WWL to Brockman, November 25, 1916.
59. From WWL to J. S. Tichenor, November 25, 1916.
60. Mary Lockwood, "Manuscript."
63. Ibid.
66. Ibid.


68. WWL, "Occasional Letter Number Two," December 31, 1912.

69. WWL, "The City as an Evangelistic Centre," The Chinese Recorder, September, 1911.

70. Ibid.

71. WWL, "The Local Church, the Supreme Test of Our Mission Methods," The Chinese Recorder, September, 1917.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. From C. W. Harvey to George Lerrigo, September 27, 1915.

77. WWL, "Notes on Trip to South China."

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DAWN OF INDUSTRIAL WORK

William Lockwood had constantly focused his energies on promoting the Y.M.C.A. in China from 1903 to 1917. Even during his first furlough in 1910, Lockwood had represented China, first to international gatherings, then to the American constituency. However, on Lockwood's second furlough, which stretched from May of 1917 to October of 1920, he was required to devote his attention to another field of Y.M.C.A. work - relief to the soldiers in World War I. Lockwood threw himself into this new endeavor, and only secondarily represented the work in China. Upon his return to China in 1920, Lockwood again faced a new and challenging development - services to help industrial workers and their families. This change in priorities, and Lockwood's leadership role in these new
activities, presented a new set of questions regarding the Chinese political and economic situation, and how the Y.M.C.A. should deal with it. We also see Lockwood's first statements on Communism during this period, as the May Fourth Movement inspired young intellectuals to question China's own history and the missionary's role in that history. Yet, Lockwood was perennially optimistic, and he continued to plan for the Shanghai Association's future development and its transformation of China.

Lockwood's experience in Y.M.C.A. work was quickly utilized on his second furlough by the International Committee, which was rapidly expanding its operations to deal with World War I. The Y.M.C.A. headquarters in New York, which had previously taken up four floors of an office building, had usurped five more floors to handle the increased of activity.¹ Lockwood's job was to help obtain the personnel and supplies to continue the war work. Originally, all candidates for Y.M.C.A. service in Europe were handled through this main office, but finally a de-centralized system was adopted so that individual recruitment boards would do most of the work. All candidates who had been accepted by local committees were shipped to New York, given their orders, briefly trained in language and Y.M.C.A. work, and sent off to the war. The Y.M.C.A. War Work Council, which coordinated this effort, processed about 50 men a day and in June of 1918,
some 800 secretaries were sent to France. Upon arrival at the front, these secretaries would help to provide support services for Allied troops.

Most of the secretaries sent to the war were not existing Y.M.C.A. secretaries, because the leaders of the Y.M.C.A. felt that the home bases and foreign missions could not be abandoned. Lockwood himself sent letters to American Y.M.C.A. colleagues in China encouraging them to continue the work there, and he quoted John Mott, who said that if all of us abroad were to be made available for service in France that we would only be two hundred men among the six thousand needed and that this number would not save the situation if we did go. On the other hand if we went the whole world would suffer and tremendous possibilities would be sacrificed.

Meanwhile, Lockwood himself was almost sent to France at the request of the War Work Council to study the work of the Chinese Labor Battalion, which consisted of Chinese laborers brought over to assist in the war effort. However, at the last minute, Lockwood did not go, and he was requested to help recruit people for this work upon his approaching return to China. Furthermore, Lockwood's health was not good at this time, and he went through numerous consultations with doctors about his sickness.

Despite Lockwood's attention to the war work of the Y.M.C.A., he continued to remain in touch with and assist the Chinese Association movement. Upon arriving in the
United States in 1917, he and another Y.M.C.A. secretary on furlough, Charles Harvey, met with Chinese students to look for leaders for the Chinese Association. He also continued to press for money to build a new Association building in Shanghai - a request that was turned down because of the war work. Lockwood also had to deal with one of the foreign secretaries in Shanghai who worked under him, and was threatening to leave China unless more money was made available in salary and benefits. S. K. Tsao, the Chinese secretary who had been appointed Acting General Secretary for Lockwood's furlough, continued to receive Lockwood's praise and confidence.

After 2 1/2 years in the United States, the Lockwoods were ready to return to their home in Shanghai. Lockwood noted that he had some trouble in becoming reoriented to the work of the Shanghai Association. He wrote in 1921:

> During the past year I have given my main attention to getting back on the job in China. Two years and a half absence from China had done much to put me out of touch with the work in Shanghai and it has been a difficult year getting back again.

Despite Lockwood's desire to have Tsao appointed as the sole general secretary, the Board of Directors appointed Lockwood Executive General Secretary and kept Tsao on as General Secretary. Part of the reason for returning the "executive" duties of the Y.M.C.A. to Lockwood appears to be the $22,000 debt that the Shanghai Association had incurred by Lockwood's return in 1920. Although most of
the debt was quickly paid off, there may have been a feeling among the Board of Directors that Tsao was not completely ready for the job. ¹¹

The Shanghai Association was reorganized in 1921 to reflect its ever-expanding activities and its change of emphasis to industrial work. Many departments, such as membership, religious and social, were merged, and new separate departments for industrial and student work were created. The Shanghai Association now only had six departments, which Lockwood felt could be more easily managed and efficiently run. ¹² The National School of Physical Education, designed to train Y.M.C.A. secretaries for physical education work, opened in 1918 as the sole physical education training school in China, and by 1920, it had 12 students enrolled. ¹³ The Shanghai Association continued to train secretaries for non-physical education work, and by 1922, after 15 years of secretarial training, it had trained over 100 Chinese secretaries. ¹⁴

Lockwood helped to initiate a new era in the history of the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. with the launching of a full program to aid industrial workers and their families. Clearly, the preceding period saw the beginnings of this change, with Lockwood's increased emphasis on studying the urban condition and helping to alleviate the problems of the rickshaw puller and opium addict. However, it was
from 1920 to 1924 that the financial, organizational, and personnel resources were devoted to the new task.

The industrial aspects of Y.M.C.A. work would expose Lockwood's views on subjects which are often raised in discussions of the missionary effort in China. What was the extent of Lockwood's realization of the poor condition of life for the Chinese urban worker? Did Lockwood see Western influence as one cause of this poverty and economic exploitation? How far would Lockwood go in downplaying the Christian education and conversion aspect of social service work? What was Lockwood's opinion of those who offered more radical solutions to China's political and economic dependence on the West, such as the Chinese Communist Party? Did advocating better conditions for the Chinese working poor mean that Lockwood could alienate the key financial and political supporters of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. - the urban middle- and upper-classes?

The opening to expanded industrial activities for the Chinese Y.M.C.A. was the return to China of the Chinese laborers who had worked in France during World War I. By the end of 1918, there were 140,000 Chinese in France, "unloading ships, constructing camp, digging roads, and reburying the dead."\(^\text{15}\) The French employed about 40,000 of these laborers, and allowed them to live where they wished, but the rest were under British jurisdiction and were put in special camps without recreational
facilities.  The Y.M.C.A. offered their services to the latter group, and by 1918, there were 80 Y.M.C.A. huts in camps "where men could drink tea and smoke, play chess, put on amateur theatricals, have letters written, and engage in sports." When the war ended, these individuals returned to China, where some went back to their villages, and others went in search of employment in the cities. As these laborers were used to Y.M.C.A. assistance, they turned to the Association for help.

In 1921, the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. was interviewing hundreds of these laborers, and assisting them in finding jobs. The Association was particularly suited for this work as its contact with Shanghai's business and industrial elite gave it access to the people who could hire a large number of unskilled laborers at once. The Association also sent some of the workers to hospitals for medical attention and assisted some in their return to their home villages or cities. Lockwood was especially aware of the presence of these people as he almost was sent to France to study their condition during his second furlough in New York.

The hut system that served these laborers in France was transplanted, on an experimental basis, to Shanghai. The Pootung Hut was opened in 1920, and was located in an industrial section of the city where 17,000 people were
employed in four large factories.\textsuperscript{19} The complex had a reading and assembly room, schoolrooms, a small dormitory, and a dispensary. The school facilities were used by 60 students, who were the children of factory laborers, and the clinic was extensively used, as it was one of the few medical facilities open to these workers.\textsuperscript{20} Evening meetings were held each night which drew 1,000 to 1,500 workers. The operation was partly financed by the British American Tobacco Factory, one of the nearby companies.\textsuperscript{21}

The Shanghai Association also began extension work in seven Shanghai factories in 1920. Using a car and a projector, the secretaries involved in this program would leave the Y.M.C.A. at four in the afternoon, and spend the evenings in the factory, where a group meeting would be held. Those in attendance would be taught to sing "patriotic songs" and hymns, and a short talk by the secretary would follow. Afterwards, the laborers would divide into small groups for "clubwork", such as a savings club, discussion and study groups.\textsuperscript{22}

Three free schools for poor children were also opened in industrial neighborhoods and served a total of 453 boys. One school had mostly "rag and ash pickers" as students, while another, financed by local merchants, served the children of rickshaw coolies and laundry workers. Most of the schools were staffed and taught by volunteers.\textsuperscript{23} The Association also formed the Sunday School
Promotion League, which encouraged Bible class students at the Y.M.C.A. to leave the classroom and teach "Christian truth to street children." Labor unions were also increasingly allowed to use the Y.M.C.A. building for meetings.

Yet the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. faced a multitude of problems in carrying out their industrial programs. One major dilemma, according to Lockwood, was the lack of experienced guidance from a Y.M.C.A. secretary. In 1921, Lockwood and George Fitch, a Y.M.C.A. secretary in Shanghai, were devoting part of their time to the effort, along with three Chinese secretaries who were working full-time on the industrial program. Furthermore, the Shanghai Association was training Chinese secretaries for industrial work, providing them with lectures by teachers and social workers.

However, Lockwood appealed constantly, and unsuccessfully, from 1920 to 1924 for an American secretary with industrial experience.

We ought to begin with the wealth of experience that the Association movement has in this as we have in the student and city work. But in order to do this some man must be found in America and transplanted across here in the flesh.

Lockwood went so far as to suggest that the International Committee consider withdrawing current Y.M.C.A. secretaries in China, including himself, in order to
replace them with secretaries who had worked with industrial workers. The need for the Y.M.C.A. to address the needs of the working class was clearly seen by Lockwood, yet he, and other experienced Y.M.C.A. secretaries in China, were definitely bewildered as to how to address these needs, especially based upon Y.M.C.A. experience in America.

Lockwood became so intent upon getting an industrial secretary that he attempted to circumvent the standard procedure for requesting additional help from America. The local committee, Shanghai in this case, was suppose to place a request with the National Committee of China, headed by David Yui, for a new secretary, and then the International Committee would act upon the request of the National Committee. Lockwood had gone through this procedure, but he felt that his particular request had not been pushed enough by Yui, who had requested 26 more secretaries in 1920. Consequently, he appealed many times in letters to friends at the International Committee office in New York to approve his request. During this period, there was not only growing tension between Lockwood and the National Committee, but also between the International Committee and the National Committee due to the latter's growing assertion's of independence.

In addition to a lack of qualified leadership, Lockwood felt that industrial work was problematic because
it put the Association in the position of having to side
with management or labor on some important issues. On the
one hand, Lockwood saw the desperate conditions of the
urban workers, who labored long hours, for low wages and
in unsafe conditions. Yet at the same time, the key
supporters of the Y.M.C.A., and some of Lockwood's Chinese
friends from the Board of Directors, were managers and
owners of large industrial complexes. In a 1922 report to
the International Committee, under the section entitled
"Unsolved Problems," Lockwood lists as the number one
dilemma:

Just what part the Association should take in
helping to create better conditions for the
laborers. How to do this work, be true to our
conscientious convictions and at the same time keep
on good terms with both labor and capital. It is
very difficult and will be increasingly so not to
identify ourselves with either one side or the
other, and how to keep our building from being
either the meeting place for the labor agitator on
the one side or the recognized institution of the
capitalist on the other.

The whole notion that the interests of labor and capital
could differ seems to only have entered Lockwood's
thinking as the Y.M.C.A. got increasingly involved in this
field. Up until the beginning of industrial work,
Lockwood had little contact with urban workers and union
leaders because most of the Y.M.C.A.'s chief supporters
were industrialists.

Lockwood, and the Shanghai Association, adopted a
conservative position in this conflict. The Industrial Committee, which supervised the activities in the factories and poor neighborhoods, was "made up of the leading men in modern industry in Shanghai." Furthermore, it was resolved that the Y.M.C.A. should not become involved in labor questions, but should stick to questions that "fall within the recognized province of the Association." The "recognized province" of the Y.M.C.A. was education, social and religious activities, and medical care. Lockwood believed, however, that "welfare work," such as the activities described above, ideally should have been provided by the employers, and not by the Y.M.C.A.

Despite the problems and uncertainties of industrial work, Lockwood viewed this aspect of the Y.M.C.A. program as an absolutely vital and integral part of the Association's mission - to upgrade the spiritual, material and moral position of the individual Chinese man. Lockwood often restated his view that Shanghai was a morally decadent city, and that commercialism and materialism were responsible for this decadence. According to Lockwood, Shanghai had "All the evils of western industrialism and few of its virtues." Lockwood believed that the old social order had fallen apart and that Christianity had not become strong enough to fully take its place as an ordering and stabilizing social
force.

Lockwood also asserted that the Y.M.C.A. had a responsibility to intervene at what he saw was a critical period in relations between capital and labor.

We are seeing these workingmen joining together for mutual protection and coming to realize their importance in society. We are seeing the agitator, the walking delegate arise and appeal to class prejudice...Capitalists, some of the leaders are Christians, want to assist, but they are helpless. They want to help their employees, they want to establish welfare plans, but they do not know how to move. There is no other organization that is prepared to enter the field at this time.\textsuperscript{34}

Lockwood believed that the Y.M.C.A. was particularly suited for the task of mediation between industrialist and worker because the Association had no political affiliation, already had an existing program of social service and education work and was on good terms with both labor and capital.

Lockwood's confidence in the Y.M.C.A.'s ability to solve difficult labor problems can be seen in his view of the 1917 Russian revolution. If the Y.M.C.A. had gone into Russia thirty year ago, he asserted in 1921, and launched a program in the cities and countryside, "the history of the world would be different."\textsuperscript{35} He argued that unless the Y.M.C.A. stepped up its industrial activities remarkably, a similar revolution was inevitable. Lockwood often used scare tactics such as this to increase the
financial support from America; nevertheless, it is significant that Lockwood recognized the growing power of the Chinese Communist Party and saw it as a potential threat to the progress of Christianity in China.

Many of the individuals involved in the CCP were students and intellectuals from the May Fourth Movement. One area these people were interested in was the problems of the urban worker. Shirley Garrett argues in Social Reformers in Urban China that this consciousness of the plight of the urban poor was first raised, for many of them, through the seminars, lectures and social service work of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. Garrett writes:

Now the Association's more thoughtful and serious student members wanted to know what part the organization planned to take in rectifying social injustice. What good was a Christian organization that seemed unwilling to face the problems of industrial exploitation.36

Lockwood himself, in a plea for more secretarial help for industrial work, asserted that students at government schools were asking the Y.M.C.A. why its activities centered upon the "favored classes" and not upon the poor.37 The Chinese political scene was changing rapidly, and Lockwood believed that the Chinese Y.M.C.A. had to change along with it.

The educational programs of the Shanghai Association, which reached the largest number of men and boys of any activity, were partially reoriented to reflect the new
interest in industrial work. One of Lockwood's goals for 1921 was to shift the educational work from "the classical to the technical." New courses were offered in industrial chemistry, engineering, office mechanics, and business practices. The Day and Evening Schools of Commerce had nearly 2,000 students combined in 1921, and the students still were mostly clerks, office men, salesmen, apprentices, and university students. Thus, the recipients of this reorientation in educational goals were not primarily the industrial workers themselves, although the extension program offered some educational programs for them, but rather the individuals who were or worked for the managers and owners of Shanghai's industries.

The expansion into industrial work, combined with the growth of more traditional Association activities, necessitated serious thought about expanding the facilities of the Shanghai Association. The Navy and Foreign Y.M.C.A.s entered upon a very successful period of development from 1918 to 1924. Lockwood devoted a good portion of time to helping the Navy Y.M.C.A. secure funding for a new building in 1920, and his persistence paid off in 1921 when money left over from the Y.M.C.A. war effort was redirected to the Shanghai Navy Association. By 1922, there were five secretaries working in the new six-story Navy Y.M.C.A. headquarters, and the new facility was inspected by U.S. Secretary of the Navy
Denby. The Foreign Y.M.C.A., which served primarily American and British residents of Shanghai, received a large gift of land and cash from an American for the construction of a new facility. ⁴⁰

However, the one central plant that served Chinese men and boys was being rapidly outgrown. There were too few rooms to be used for educational purposes during the day and evening, and an increasing number of applicants had to be turned away. The secretarial staff, which had grown to almost 50 people, could not be given adequate office space. ⁴¹ In short, the main facility was inadequate to accommodate ever-increasing activities, and Lockwood believed that the Association had to expand to other parts of the cities. The caution that Lockwood urged ten years previously on Y.M.C.A. expansion had been abandoned in light of growing needs.

The Shanghai Association Board of Directors approved a five-year development plan in April of 1922 which proposed that five new structures be built. The whole scheme was estimated to require U.S.$637,000, and the Board asked that the International Committee provide half of that sum. ⁴² As Lockwood noted,

The accomplishment of this great plan would mean for China what the completion of the first modern buildings in cities like New York and Chicago meant to the movement in America.

All five structures were to be located in areas that were
removed from the current Y.M.C.A. facilities, in sections of town experiencing high population and industrial growth, and in places where existing community and social service agencies were few.

The problems surrounding the financing of the Frenchtown building, which was given first priority, reveal some of the difficulties the Chinese Y.M.C.A. was facing after 1920. The International Committee offered to help finance the project if U.S.$200,000 was raised in Shanghai by December 31, 1924. However, the Y.M.C.A. only managed to reach a portion of that goal, and they were forced to ask for an extension.44

Under the circumstances that prevailed up until the early 1920s, the goal could have been reached, in Lockwood's view, without difficulty. The Association had nearly 4,000 members in 1920 and by the end of 1921, it had 5,000 members.45 In 1922, the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. operated on a budget of U.S.$100,000, of which $97,000 was raised locally in dues and other contributions.46 The annual membership renewal and contribution campaigns continued to set records for China and other Asian nations.47

However, the Y.M.C.A. faced a different situation in 1924 when they tried to raise money. In addition to their inability to raise the money for the Frenchtown building,
their annual membership and contribution drive only reached 75% of its goal. Lockwood noted that:

business is at a standstill, the country is in a chaotic condition, and campaigns have been as numerous as graves outside the West gate of a Chinese city.

Furthermore, Lockwood said that the Y.M.C.A. now had to compete for money against new non-Christian social service agencies which had developed in Shanghai. He also asserted that entertainment centers for young men had emerged in the central part of Shanghai, which limited the uniqueness of the Y.M.C.A. as a social and community center. One large Shanghai union had also recently built a five-story clubhouse for its members.

The anti-Christian movement during this period was clearly another reason for the Association's lack of success in 1924. Many groups which grew out of the May Fourth Movement first decried Confucianism and Chinese religions, and then broadened their attack to include Christianity. For many May Fourth intellectuals, religion was irrational, superstitious, and held back the development of the Chinese people. Shirley Garrett writes:

Swept away by nationalism and by revolutionary political movements, aroused by militant student unions and the Communist party, buffeted by new ideas, students began to see the Y.M.C.A. as a tool of the bourgeoisie, irrelevant and even inimical to Chinese needs...The amicable climate within which the Association had flourished was changing rapidly.
It is not surprising that Lockwood, and other Y.M.C.A. secretaries in China, began to urge greater emphasis on student work during the early 1920s. What once served as a powerful base of Y.M.C.A. support was changing, and the Y.M.C.A. realized, perhaps too late, that it had neglected this aspect of Association work.

In 1920, the Young China Association (YCA) tried unsuccessfully to organize an anti-religious, anti-Christian campaign. The YCA expanded the movement in 1922 to include anarchists, Communists, and leftists in the Kuomintang. The Y.M.C.A. was attacked directly, and the World Student Christian Federation meeting in Peking, which attracted student delegates from many nations, was attacked in newspapers.52 Lockwood believed that the agitation at the Conference was primarily organized and funded by Communists, with Russian support. Although the Chinese Communist Party was definitely involved in the effort, there were other non-Communists groups involved as well. The anti-Christian movement, Lockwood asserted, was not deeply rooted, and he felt that the reputation of the Association had not been tarnished by anti-Christian activity.53

Lockwood was very optimistic about the progress of Christianity in China up until 1924. Two key factors in Christianity's success, he asserted in 1922, were "the
greater liberality of western nations in the treatment of China shown in the Washington Conference," and "the desperate straits in which China now finds herself politically." On the one hand, these statements show his support for China and its sovereignty and his belief that the correct treatment of China by the West would naturally lead the nation to accept the West. But on the other hand, this liberality had to be combined with the failure of China to provide its own solutions so that the full effect of Christian influence could be realized. In Lockwood's view, China needed the West, first to treat it kindly on the international level, then to solve its domestic problems. Yet he was not totally enamored with the positive effect of the West on China, arguing that the brutality of the West in World War I actually hurt the Christian cause in China.

Christianity would also be successful, he asserted in 1920, because there were no native religions rising to meet the religious needs of the Chinese people. He saw the Christian church as the only active and aggressive religious force.

Buddhism, Taoism, Mohammedanism, are anachronisms in a republic. They live upon ignorance and superstition...As practised in China, these religions cannot any more flourish in a modern state than darkness can exist in light.

Furthermore, he asserted that the leadership of these religions came from the "dregs of society" and could not
discuss the value of their respective religions in an intelligent way. Lockwood's analysis may accurately reflect the religious situation in Shanghai during this period, yet his estimation of the strength of Buddhism and Confucianism seems to ignore the majority of urban and rural areas of China.

The unrealistic analysis of the Chinese religious situation hardly is unexpected considering that Lockwood continued to live in a small world of comparatively wealthy, urban dwellers, and to whom Christianity had some appeal. There were indications in Shanghai that could be read as a continuing and growing appeal of Christianity. Lockwood noted that the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce was headed by a Christian, that the organizers of the newest and largest cotton mill in China were either Christians or sympathetic to Christianity, and that 7 out of 27 elected members of the Chinese Taxpayers Association were Christians. Compared to the countryside and to smaller Chinese cities, the percentage of powerful Christians in Shanghai was high.

Lockwood could also look at the Bible study classes offered at the Y.M.C.A. and those he taught himself for encouragement. In the Fall of 1921, there were 69 Bible classes, with 1,391 students, and 268 other religious meetings. Furthermore, the gospel was being carried to
high schools, factories, the Municipal Reformatory and Association dormitories. Lockwood stated at the end of 1920 that "the religious work of the Association was never in more health that during the past year." During his whole stay in China, Lockwood always taught Bible study classes, and in 1922, he led one at a local church, one at the Y.M.C.A., and one for Nanyang College students.

Teaching Bible study classes was just one aspect of his daily work at the Shanghai Association. Two other parts of Lockwood's work from 1917 to 1924 show that he was considered the senior and most experienced Y.M.C.A. secretary in China. Lockwood wrote two guides for the National Committee in 1920: one laying out a course of study for secretarial training on Association principles and the other delineating different facets of Bible study education. More importantly, Lockwood temporarily became Acting Senior Secretary of the International Committee in China in March of 1923, while another Y.M.C.A. secretary was on furlough. Lockwood was reluctantly released from his duties in Shanghai by the Board of Directors, and for the next six months he concentrated on attending to the personal and financial problems of American Y.M.C.A. secretaries in China, transmitting problems to the International Committee and basically being the public relations person for the International Committee in China. This position should not be confused with that of David
Yui's, who was General Secretary of the National Y.M.C.A. Committee of China.  

Outside of the Y.M.C.A., Lockwood spent a considerable amount of time from 1920 to 1924 on developing the Shanghai American School, which was designed to educate the children of Americans in China. All of the Lockwood children attended this school until they went to college in the United States. In 1920, the school was in the process of raising the money for and constructing a large school building in the International Settlement. Lockwood served as a member of the Board of Managers and Secretary of Executive Board. The new structure was complete around 1924, and Lockwood was a member of the Building Committee which oversaw its construction.  

On a personal level, Lockwood spent his free time during these years in a number of different ways. Lockwood played tennis in the summer and exercised indoors during the winter, living up to the commitment he asked others to make in Association activities to be physically fit. Mary Lockwood entered the hospital for surgery in 1922, but recovered soon. The rest of Lockwood's time was spent vacationing with the family in Peking or Mokanshan (a summer resort popular with foreigners), entertaining an endless stream of American tourists and supporters, and
raising his three boys.

The Spring of 1924 brought another short furlough for the Lockwoods in the United States. Once again, Lockwood would bring to America the latest happenings in the development of the Chinese Y.M.C.A., in the hopes of gaining further support for the organization. As always, Lockwood would speak with optimism about the successes of Christianity in Shanghai, the rapidly expanding industrial programs, and the constantly growing membership of the Association. However, Lockwood could not be as secure with his optimism as he was in previous furloughs. Students were demanding that the Association actively support the lower-class against those that exploiting them, but the key supporters of the Y.M.C.A., by and large, were the targets of these accusations. The activities of the Y.M.C.A. clearly needed to be reoriented, and they were during this period, yet Lockwood and the Y.M.C.A. had to decide how far the should or could move without sacrificing the primary purpose of the Association.
CHAPTER FOUR NOTES

1. From William W. Lockwood to C. W. Harvey, July 24, 1918.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. From WWL to S. K. Tsao, July 30, 1918.

6. From WWL to E. C. Jenkins, May 24, 1918.

7. From John R. Mott to WWL, May 25, 1918.

8. From George Fitch to WWL, May 25, 1918.

9. From WWL to Tsao, July 30, 1918.


11. From WWL to Jenkins, January 16, 1921.


16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., p.155.


19. From WWL to Jenkins, April 3, 1921.

21. From WWL to Jenkins, April 3, 1921.


23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. From WWL to Jenkins, April 3, 1921.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.


32. Ibid.

33. From WWL to Mr. Nichols, August 5, 1920.

34. WWL to Jenkins, April 3, 1921.

35. Ibid.


37. WWL to Jenkins, April 3, 1921.


40. WWL, "Secretary of Navy Denby Finds the Navy Y Serving American Sailors in China Waters," July 29, 1922.


42. WWL to C. A. Herschleb, May 13, 1922.

43. Ibid.

44. WWL to Hollis Wilbur, May 6, 1924.

46. WWL, "Occasional Letter Series IV, No. 4," April 6, 1922.


48. WWL to Wilbur, May 6, 1924.

49. Ibid.


52. Ibid., pp. 173-174.

53. WWL to Jenkins, May 28, 1922.


56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.


62. From Fletcher Brockman to WWL, March 6, 1923.

CHAPTER FIVE
MAY THIRTIETH RAISES NEW QUESTIONS

Expressions of nationalistic fervor by Shanghai's Chinese residents reached a high point in 1925, with the onset of the May 30th Movement and its demands for lessened privileges for foreigners and greater sovereignty for China. Lockwood's view of this movement, and his further re-thinking of the role of the Y.M.C.A. and foreign missionaries in China, is a major theme from 1924 to 1929. Although Lockwood was highly mobile during these five years - taking two separate furloughs in the United States - his work in China and America reflects this increased awareness of Chinese nationalism. As Associate General Secretary of the Shanghai Association, he once again sought to steer the Y.M.C.A. clear of attachments to nationalists and political parties. In the United States,
first as a graduate student at Harvard and then as an administrator for the International Committee in New York, Lockwood increasingly questioned traditional Y.M.C.A. methods of missionary work and began to look towards economics as providing some of the solutions to China's problems. The Y.M.C.A. in China had always sought to alleviate poor economic conditions, especially as it became engaged in industrial work. However, Lockwood began to argue during this period that the American government and the Y.M.C.A. had to move beyond limited forays into helping the poor towards taking on the responsibility of providing large amounts of economic and technological assistance to develop China's industry and agriculture.

Lockwood's first furlough during this period, which stretched from March of 1924 to April of 1925, was unusual for its brevity. One important reason Lockwood made the journey was to escort the two Lockwood children who had just finished high school in Shanghai to DePauw University, Lockwood's alma mater. Originally, Lockwood was scheduled to spend most of his time in the mid-west raising money for the International Committee, but he worked mostly in New York, meeting with the heads of large corporations to raise money for a new building for the Foreign Y.M.C.A. in Shanghai. Heeding the call of the Shanghai Association's Board of Directors, Lockwood
quickly returned to China in April of 1925 because the
Association was facing serious problems with its program
and finances.³

From April of 1925 to December of 1926, Lockwood
served in three main roles for the Shanghai Association.
Lockwood was Associate General Secretary, assisting C.G.
Hoh, the new general secretary, in staff, finances,
building management and affairs relating to foreigners and
foreign organizations. Secondly, he was a member of the
Shanghai Navy Y.M.C.A Committee of Management and
"unofficial advisor" to P.W. Brown, the executive
secretary.⁴ Finally, Lockwood met often with the Board of
Directors and secretaries of the Foreign Y.M.C.A.,
especially in assisting them to raise the rest of the
money necessary to build a new structure.

Almost immediately after his return to Shanghai in
1925, Lockwood had to deal with the most vehement
expressions of nationalism in Shanghai since the 1911
revolution. In the weeks preceeding the May 30th
Incident, which was the direct cause of the nationalistic
outbreak, Lockwood voiced concern over one component of
the political activism in China - the Chinese Communist
Party. Lockwood asserted that the Y.M.C.A. program had
been hurt by recent statements of individuals connected
with the Association which expressed support for the
Communist cause. In particular, he said that an American
Communist, Professor Henry Ward, was in China expounding
Communist doctrine while at the same time claiming he was
financially supported by the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.s. The
success of the Y.M.C.A.

...won't continue forever if men like Ward are
allowed loose to speak for Bolshevism and all that
it implies. I hope that as far as the Y is
concerned we put an embargo on such men and keep
them there to work in the parlors of the
intelligentsia in New York or still better send
them to Russia where the government is already
turned over to their liking.

Lockwood asserted that he had an opportunity to meet with
Ward personally before the latter returned to the United
States.

Lockwood was concerned not only about Ward's
influence on Chinese people, but also on the foreign
residents of Shanghai who might react very negatively to
any linking of the Y.M.C.A. to Communist activities. The
possibility of a bad response among foreigners was
especially important to consider in the early 1920s, when
the tension between foreign and Chinese residents of
Shanghai was on the rise. A primary cause of this
conflict was the bitterness all classes of Shanghai
residents felt about the existence of the International
Settlement, which contained most of the major business and
commercial areas of the city and was governed by a
Municipal Council elected only by a small number of
foreign taxpayers. Within this settlement lived nearly 900,000 Chinese people in 1925, who were not allowed to vote nor have a role in the governing of this key area of Shanghai.\(^8\) The wealthy Chinese business class in Shanghai, whose success was tied to that of the foreigners', generally believed that that their wealth and status should have entitled them to the same amount of power as the foreigner.

The latent tension between the two communities was set off when, on May 15th, a Japanese foreman in a Japanese textile mill in Shanghai killed a Chinese worker.\(^9\) The labor unions appealed to the Shanghai Students Union, which was influenced by the Communist Youth League, to organize demonstrations against this injustice. When four students protesting the incident were arrested, student from eight universities on May 30th took to the streets in small groups to speak on street corners and distribute literature about the labor strikes in Japanese mills and about the unjust policies of the Municipal Council. After some of these students were arrested, a crowd gathered outside the Louza Police Station, which was run by foreigners, to protest their arrest. In the afternoon, after the crowd had grown more agitated, the British officer in charge of the jail ordered everyone to leave, waited ten seconds, and then gave the order to open fire. Eleven students were killed
and twenty wounded.\textsuperscript{10} As a result, students, shopkeepers and workers went on strike, supported by the labor unions, student unions, the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang), the Communist Party, and the General Chamber of Commerce (a powerful commercial organization in Shanghai.) By mid-May, 150,000 workers were out on strike, 50,000 students were not in class, and most shops were closed.\textsuperscript{11} Strikes and protests were launched in many cities as a result of the happenings on May 30th in Shanghai.

The Municipal Council reacted swiftly and strongly. It declared a state of emergency, and the Shanghai Volunteer Corps (the policing agent of the Municipal Council) was called out. A large number of the British and American soldiers stationed offshore were brought into the city, and many Chinese people were killed in clashes with the soldiers and the Shanghai Volunteer Corps. Attempts to negotiate between the two sides fell apart because their points of view were too distant. The Municipal Council only wanted to carry out a private investigation into the matter, while the United Society of Workers, Merchants and Students put forth demands which aired "all their long-standing grievances about the role and nature of foreign privilege in Shanghai."\textsuperscript{12} In the end, May 30th brought few concrete and important changes,
but the slayings on that day did give increased status and power to the Communist and Nationalist parties, who played key roles in channeling the nationalistic sentiments of the times.\textsuperscript{13}

As he had done with the 1911 revolution, Lockwood attempted to resist any direct or indirect Y.M.C.A. involvement in expressions of nationalism. In a report letter of October, 1925, Lockwood said that "It has been difficult for me to appear as an unqualified advocate on either side of the controversy that has raged."\textsuperscript{14} He was reserving judgement, he continued, until the judicial inquiry into the incident, directed by foreigners, had made its findings public. The Association itself took no official position on the controversy, except that the Board of Directors passed a resolution offering "no opinion on the guilt of either police or students, but asking that an impartial investigation be announced and held as soon as could be."\textsuperscript{15}

Many of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. staff members in Shanghai, however, "issued a manifesto of support for the boycotts and helped to raise money and organize meetings for the strikers."\textsuperscript{16} The Y.M.C.A. magazine \textit{Progress} refused advertising from British firms, which angered Lockwood considerably. Other Associations in China made concrete ties with the protesters, and the Canton Association sponsored a public lecture on Communism with a
Russian as the speaker. David Yui of the National Committee cabled John Mott in America urging him "to protest to the 'highest authorities' about the Shanghai incident."

Despite public neutrality on the May 30th Incident, both Chinese and foreigners outside of the Y.M.C.A. brought the Shanghai Association into the controversy. According to Lockwood, some Chinese attacked the Y.M.C.A. as an alien import, staffed by foreigners and evasive of national political issues. Chinese Y.M.C.A. secretaries were called "foreign dogs" and "hirelings of Western capitalism." There were demands that the Shanghai Association allow political meetings in its building, declare itself "100 percent Chinese," release all foreigner staff members and refuse all foreign money. In other Chinese cities, the Y.M.C.A.s were forcibly closed and members of the Kuomintang were forbidden by the Party to join the Association. Some members of the foreign community, on the other hand, believed that the Y.M.C.A. lectures, educational classes, and Chinese leadership were the source of the trouble. These individuals said that the Association should denounce the attacks on foreigners and work to end the strike.

Despite these unwelcome attacks on the Y.M.C.A., Lockwood believed that there were two positive outcomes of
the May 30th Movement. Both foreigners and Chinese now recognized, he argued, the few "constructive forces", like the Y.M.C.A., that were working in Shanghai to counteract radicalism. The Association was devoted to slow, reforming change rather than abrupt changes in the political, economic and social system. Secondly, the Movement encouraged people to discuss the future of foreigners and foreign communities in China.

May 30th caused Lockwood himself increasingly to question the privileges and role of foreigners in China. Lockwood wrote in October of 1925:

China must be gradually freed from the shackles that makes the nation today unable to discharge some functions that are the inalienable right of every free state. No one can read the history of the treatment of European powers towards China without being ashamed of the part that has been played by the West.

Lockwood argued that the right to set trade tariffs, which was held by foreigners, should be immediately returned to China. Yet China's problems were not solely caused by Westerners, he continued, China's rulers were partly responsible for the economic and military chaos, corruption, prostration of industry, and division of the nation among "selfish military barons," which marked this period in Chinese history.

May 30th not only encouraged Lockwood to question the privileges foreigners had in China, but also whether they should remain in China at all. For the first time in
Lockwood's tenure in China, he questioned whether China should remain a his life-long work. Under the section "Chief Problems" for his annual report for 1925, Lockwood wrote that secretaries must think about withdrawing from the China work "for the ultimate good of the cause." He asserted that he believed there was still vital work for the foreign missionary to do for the Y.M.C.A., especially in the more traditional fields of Association work, but that this general belief could not be applied to all the situations faced by foreign Y.M.C.A. secretaries in China. In the same report, Lockwood vowed:

...to plan for the future, that is, to decide whether one's contribution to the future should be made in China or elsewhere. If I am to change back to America I must do so in the near future in order to get re-inducted into American life and work again.

The influence of May 30th must have been strong, as Lockwood had never before questioned his life-long commitment to the Shanghai Y.M.C.A.

Several thousand American missionaries fled from inland missions to Shanghai and outside of China in late 1926 and early 1927 because of anti-foreign demonstrations in many Chinese cities. Although most soon returned to their posts, Lockwood was clearly not alone in re-thinking the future of Christian missions in China. Three American bishops in Shanghai associated with the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions, urged, on the basis of growing anti-
foreignism, that no new missionaries be sent to China, no expansion of facilities should be undertaken and that care should be used when giving money directly to Chinese.  

The American magazine *Christian Century* 

saw no hope for the continuation of missions unless American mission boards relinquished paternalistic control and government protection. Missionaries should not go back...unless mission boards renounce the use of force and unless the boards turn over control of property and schools to the Chinese without delay. 

The Chinese Y.M.C.A. had met these demands years before, but it is significant that both in America and in China people related to the missionary effort were re-thinking their assumptions.

Lockwood would remain in China despite his thoughts of leaving, but his vision of the foreign secretary's role had changed considerably since 1903. The foreign secretary had to help the Chinese secretaries adapt the Association to Chinese needs and desires.

Ours is to share with you the experience of the past and to work side by side with you in the demonstration center, the laboratory and the training center, to help adapt the seed to the soil, to safeguard the essential life. We do not ask for ownership of the fields or control of the product. How long we stay in your midst, depends upon how long you feel the need of us. We work under you direction. Our tasks are determined in conference with you and the use that you make of us will determine how long we remain.

One of the most striking aspects of this statement is the idea of safeguarding "the essential life" of the
Association. The Y.M.C.A. had to be adapted, in
Lockwood's view, but foreign secretaries, as individuals
who had experienced both Western and Chinese Y.M.C.A.s,
were responsible for insuring that the Association did not
loose sight of its essential mission. The two most
significant aspects of the Y.M.C.A's mission that were
under attack were the inclusion of Christianity in all of
its activities and its status as a non-political
organization. Secondly, the statement clearly gives all
control over the foreign secretaries to the Chinese
leaders of the Association. If the Chinese felt that the
foreigners were no longer useful, or if the foreigners
believed that they were not being utilized effectively in
their advisory roles, than the work of the foreign
secretary in China could be re-evaluated and re-
considered. The life-long commitment that Lockwood had
made in 1903 was no longer mandatory for either party in
light of his changed vision of the Chinese Y.M.C.A.

Lockwood's view of May 30th and his ensuing
uncertainty about the role of foreigners in China was
expressed in March of 1926 in an article he wrote for the
Brooklyn Y.M.C.A. newspaper. Lockwood said that he had
"never felt less like writing about China than during the
past year," because of the complexity of the political
situation. Nonetheless, the number of foreigners who wrote about
China, having little knowledge of the country, was on the
increase, he asserted. These reporters blamed a whole range of groups for China's dilemmas - the Western nations, Bolshevism, capitalism, the Y.M.C.A. and the missionaries. Yet the labeling of the Y.M.C.A. and the missionaries as the cause of the problem made Lockwood the most irate. Some people had tried to lay the trouble at the door of the missionary who has tried to 'force a foreign religion down the throat' of a people that were civilized long before the Christian era. Religion seems to be the one thing in all the world that is 'forced down the throat.'

Lockwood appealed to Americans to avoid generalizations about the causes of China's economic and political problems.

The situation in China is a most complicated one...These people are of all kinds just like the people of America, some of them the most lovable, some the most unlovely. The more you know about 'China' the less you are willing to say, certainly the willing you are to generalize.

He asserted that it was a waste of time to blame Bolshevism, imperialism, and capitalism, because these concepts and ideologies, in his view, did little to change the everyday life of people in China. The real solution to China's dilemmas was the "slow quiet process, so clearly taught and exemplified by Jesus." The Christian Chinese would live among their non-Christian neighbors, he argued, and gradually bring others to know God and give themselves unselfishly to helping others.
In Shanghai during this period, a "model village" was under construction as a physical manifestation of Lockwood's belief that Christianity would succeed by providing models for Chinese to emulate. The original plan called for the erection of 54 homes, with a Y.M.C.A. hut on one side of the village. However, only 12 homes were built due to lack of funds.42 The houses were rented to laborer families for $2.00 per month, and the Y.M.C.A. hut provided educational, recreational and religious services.43 The villagers were required to live under strict rules - curfews and standards of cleanliness were established, and extended families were not allowed to share the same home (which was the tradition in China.) Lockwood hoped that the village would serve as a model and inspiration for thousands of other similar complexes.

The International Committee granted Lockwood a special furlough in November of 1926 to spent time in America "checking up" on the three Lockwood boys in college.44 David Yui, of the National Committee of the Chinese Y.M.C.A., said that the Shanghai Association needed Lockwood's leadership, but the furlough was expected to be short.45 However, because Lockwood contracted sprue, he would not return to China for three years.

In the Spring of 1927, Lockwood recuperated from his illness at a sanitarium and clinic in Clifton Springs,
New York. The time Lockwood spent in Clifton Springs, away from work and from China, allowed him to follow up on his questions regarding the foreigner's role in China that were, in part, sparked by the May 30th Movement. Lockwood wrote a long and important letter to his good friend and fellow Y.M.C.A. secretary Fletcher Brockman from the sanitarium that he prefaced by stating, "I haven't lost my mind. I have only had a chance to let it wander." In that letter, Lockwood seriously considered the magnitude of the task of Christianizing China.

Do you ever get away from that feeling of depression, bewilderment, and hopelessness that has come to you as you have made your way down the crowded streets of a great city in China...and the woes of that suffering and patient people have settled down on your soul, a burden that has never since completely lifted?

Lockwood went on to lament at the dire poverty of the peasant family, who worked hard, but still had low standard of living. The optimism and stress on positive achievements which usually marked Lockwood's writing is not to be found.

Lockwood questioned, in the same letter, whether Westerners and Christians had been offering the right solutions. The Communists had set forth one failed alternative, he asserted, and that was that those who produced the wealth and power should control it. Christian missionaries, on the other hand, had offered
religion, education, health and the Y.M.C.A. as solutions, but have fallen short as well.  

...these have blessed many and the gospel has verily worked as leaven and certain phases of the life of the nation have been changed, but Christianity, as Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism before it, has not eased the load of the common man.  

Seven years before, Lockwood had asserted that Christianity was distinct from Chinese religions and philosophies because it offered meaningful solutions to China's problems. Now, Christianity, too, had serious deficiencies which raised important questions about the past, present and future of the Christian effort in China. In Lockwood's view, the Christian movement had not concerned itself with providing economic assistance to the poor and had not reoriented Christian theology to reflect the magnitude of China's poverty. 

The solution to this deficiency in the missionary movement, Lockwood continued, was that missionaries and the United States must share economic, as well as spiritual, knowledge and resources with China. The Chinese Y.M.C.A., Lockwood argued, had done very little to help develop the modern industry and economic life of China. The Y.M.C.A. had to facilitate the bringing of knowledge from American labor and capital regarding the development of natural resources to China, where it could be used to exploit "great potential resources." Lockwood
quotes C. C. Nieh, a prominent Y.M.C.A. member, as saying that what was needed was not another Y.M.C.A. secretary, but rather an American engineer who was trained "in the latest methods of efficiency" and who could teach Chinese industrialists how to run a factory properly. This request for an engineer rather than a secretary, Lockwood stated, was a real challenge to those who stubbornly argued for a spiritual and educational program rather than an economic. Lockwood concluded that physical, intellectual and spiritual development could only occur after the economic status of China was uplifted.

Lockwood's newly expanded concern for the economic well-being of China was further detailed in 1928, when he addressed a Y.M.C.A. conference in New York. "The greatest challenge of the world to-day," he stated, "is the difference in standards of living of nations, particularly as between the peoples of the West and the East." America is a nation of rich and prosperous people, he asserted, while the people of China live the life of "the people of Europe one thousand or more years ago." The Chinese standard of living had to be raised above its present level, which was not even suitable for a beast of burden.

America's position of economic superiority thus carried with it certain responsibilities, especially because, in Lockwood's view, the Soviet Union had failed
in its attempt to aid China. Chinese leaders were looking to improve their economic situation, and Russia had offered its system. Lockwood stated:

There were those in China who welcomed this assistance. Most of these have now been disillusioned. 59

The Soviets had lacked an altruistic motive, he continued, and had not made a contribution to China's economic life. Furthermore, it was an "anti-movement," that stirred up class hatred and created discontent. 60

As the Soviets had failed, Lockwood argued, America could carry out its responsibility by offering economic assistance and knowledge to China. In Lockwood's view, the Y.M.C.A. could play a special role in this process.

Might we not, as secretaries, open the way - instead of 'getting in the way' - and make it possible for laymen from both sides of the water to get together and discuss frankly - as man with man - as Christian with Christian - not only the question of how to extend the Gospel of Christ, abstractly or in artificial stilted ways, or how to promote the Association and the Church - but how can we share our experiences as Christians in the economic concerns of life? 61

The act of sharing would not be one-way, flowing from West to East, Lockwood explained, because China could make a unique "contribution to the interpretation of the Gospel..." 62 This contribution would be to help adapt the Gospel to real life conditions of economic hardship and to make Christianity a religion of reality. 63

In the Fall of 1927, after partially recovering from
sprue, Lockwood began studying for an M.A. at Harvard University. He studied both economics and history, and took one credit of Chinese (Mandarin dialect.)  

Lockwood felt that his academic pursuits would be useful to his work in China, and wished that he had done more studying before he went to Shanghai in 1903.  

The two courses Lockwood took in economics demonstrate the increased role it played in his view of the Chinese missionary effort. Lockwood received his M.A. in 1928.

By the Spring of 1928, Lockwood had moved to New York City to work on administrative work for the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. He served as Acting Corresponding Secretary for the Far East and was responsible for personnel actions as well as arranging the financial and travel plans for Y.M.C.A. secretaries from China who were in the United States on furlough, or leaving and arriving from China.

Even in this administrative role, Lockwood had to deal with the changing role of foreign secretaries in China and its implication toward Y.M.C.A. policies. In a letter to his friend Fletcher Brockman, Lockwood said that all the reductions that had been made in the China staff were not only due to budget limitations, but also to the situation of foreign secretaries in China.  

One key problem Lockwood identified was making American personnel
acceptable to a Y.M.C.A. movement, like China's, which had grown to have autonomy and individual character. Secondly, Lockwood asked how the Y.M.C.A. could create conditions which would insure that the foreign secretaries themselves would find work in China meaningful and satisfactory. 68

In answering the second question, Lockwood sought to deal with the changing expectations of foreign secretaries in light of the increased autonomy of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. movement. Y.M.C.A. work in China had changed since 1903, and being a secretary was no longer automatically a lifetime occupation - each secretary had to be asked to return to China after a furlough by the National Committee. But in order to make the job satisfying, foreign secretaries had to "see for themselves a life service under conditions that will satisfy their highest aspirations." 69 Uncertainty about their future had led to secretaries failing to return to China from furlough even when invited by the National Committee, poor work, and the feeling that some men were dispensable. 70 Lockwood believed that this dilemma had to be resolved if the North American movement was going to continue to provide American personnel. The alternative, he suggested, was to look for other ways that America could assist the Associations in China. 71

Meanwhile, back in China, the Shanghai Association was facing serious problems in staffing, leadership, and
programming. Z. H. Tong, who took charge of the Association after C. G. Hoh resigned, was confronted with a crisis in confidence from the staff and Board of Directors. Although it was generally agreed that Tong was an amiable person, he did not have the leadership qualities, nor the ability to deal well with staff, to direct the largest Y.M.C.A. in China. The Board of Directors, in fact, considered having the whole staff resign, including Tong, but they had no one to make general secretary if such an action was carried out. 72

Furthermore, on a nationwide level, the Y.M.C.A. had problems in maintaining adequate staff levels. David Yui, of the National Committee, felt that a key part of this problem was that no new foreign secretaries had been sent to China for seven years. 73 Others in China asserted that many of the Y.M.C.A. secretaries were being lured away by the government and other organizations because Association secretaries were considered to be well-trained and well-educated. Many Chinese and American Y.M.C.A. leaders said that there were few Chinese individuals with true leadership qualities that remained in Y.M.C.A. service. 74

The Board of Directors of the Shanghai Association sent a formal plea to Lockwood in October of 1928 urging him to return to China as soon as possible. Lockwood had been in the United States for just over two years. The
Shanghai Y.M.C.A. was facing serious questions about the advisability of expanding its facilities, and it was proposed that the existing Y.M.C.A. complex be sold and a central, larger facility be constructed with the funds.

We all feel that you are the only one who knows all the past history and relations of this Association, and we can not afford to make moves such as those stated above without your presence, guidance and judgement. Your service to the Association during the past twenty years has been invaluable, but your service at this critical moment will mean much more to us.75

They requested that Lockwood return immediately to Shanghai. However, he stayed in New York until October of 1929.

When Lockwood returned to China in 1929, it was with a new and different understanding of the role of missionaries and the Y.M.C.A. in China. The May 30th Movement had a large impact on Lockwood, and he subsequently began to question many of his own and the Y.M.C.A.'s assumptions about the purpose and role of Christianity in China. The Chinese Association was, more than ever, a Chinese institution that sought to limit its dependence upon America. Furthermore, Lockwood now believed that spiritual and moral improvement was insufficient, and that the United States and the Y.M.C.A. had to make a deliberate attempt to upgrade the economic life of China. Spiritual and moral improvement was essential to building a "New China", but Lockwood
increasingly felt that the Association must go further than those previously accepted goals.
CHAPTER FIVE NOTES

1. From William W. Lockwood to "Friends of the Association Circle," April 6, 1925.

2. Ibid., and from WWL to Hollis Wilbur, September 29, 1924.

3. From WWL to Wilbur, September 29, 1924.


5. From WWL to Fletcher Brockman, July 16, 1925.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.


10. Ibid., pp.14-17.

11. Ibid., p.21.

12. Ibid., p.32.

13. Ibid., pp.80-81.


17. Ibid.


19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.


23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.


26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.


29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.


32. Ibid., p.289.

33. Ibid., p.298.

34. From WWL to "Friends of the Association Circle," April 6, 1925.


36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. From WWL to Brockman, October 13, 1926.
43. Ibid.


45. From David Yui to Brockman, May 7, 1926.

46. WWL to Brockman, March 17, 1927.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.


52. WWL to Brockman, March 17, 1927.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.


57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Harvard University, Transcript of William W. Lockwood, 1929.

65. From WWL to Charles Herschel, December 10, 1927.

66. From E. H. Hall to WWL, August 23, 1928; from B. H. Schmid to WWL, July 18, 1928; and from Edward Lockwood to WWL, October 21, 1928.
67. From WWL to Brockman, August 6, 1928.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. From L. E. McLachlin to WWL, September 26, 1928.
73. From Brockman to WWL, July 16, 1928.
74. From E. H. Hall to WWL, August 23, 1928.
75. From Shanghai Y.M.C.A. Board of Directors to WWL, October 19, 1928.
CHAPTER SIX

"DEMOBILIZATION" IN AN EMBATTLED CHINA

The Chinese Y.M.C.A. was struggling to survive, rather than expand, by 1930. Economic and political chaos, combined with Japanese occupation of Chinese territory, had taken its toll on the Y.M.C.A.'s financial, personnel and programatic situation. When William Lockwood returned from furlough in November of 1929, he joined the staff of the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. of China and sought to apply his expertise towards solving the deep problems shared by many Associations in the cities of Eastern China. However, the whole Chinese Y.M.C.A. movement was being hampered on the American front, as the Depression caused the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. to severely cut the number of foreign secretaries in China. There was hope for China
despite these crises, Lockwood argued from 1929 to 1936, in the Nationalist Party and Chiang Kai-shek, but that hope was being offset, in his view, by the negative aspects of the Nationalist government combined with the Communist Party and the Japanese. These are the dilemmas Lockwood dealt with during this six-year period, which ended with his death in November of 1936.

After Lockwood returned to China in mid-November of 1929, he partially moved out of his traditional role as "senior secretary" of the Shanghai Association and began to have a larger occupational focus. Three distinct periods from 1929 to 1936 can be identified in Lockwood's responsibilities within the Y.M.C.A. structure. Lockwood was Regional Secretary for the City Division of the National Committee from November of 1929 to September of 1932. From October of 1932 to September of 1933, Lockwood became Acting General Secretary of the Shanghai Association. Finally, after the installation of a permanent general secretary in Shanghai, Lockwood gave one-half of his time to the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. and the other half to the National Committee.

As Regional Secretary for the National Committee, Lockwood was responsible for six cities in Eastern China, including Shanghai. Lockwood had to travel extensively in this new position to meet with the staff, Board of Directors and members of the different Associations and to
help them solve their problems. For instance, immediately after returning to China, he went on a two-week tour of Y.M.C.A.s in Eastern China with David Yui, General Secretary of the National Committee. At the Associations, Lockwood directed a "series of local training institutes of secretaries and laymen in which we are re-studying the program features of the Association in China with a view to their readjustment to new conditions."¹ The Y.M.C.A.s in Eastern China had suffered extensive damage because of local fighting and were in the midst of rebuilding.²

Lockwood assisted the Associations of many other cities elsewhere in China, and his influence on Y.M.C.A. secretaries and members on a nationwide scale thus grew enormously. In early 1930, Lockwood embarked upon a two-week trip to Tsinan, in Northern China, to assist in a local training institute.³ Later the same year, he was part of a special study tour of Associations in Southern China, including his brother Edward's Association in Canton.⁴ Lockwood also took a month-long journey to Sian, in Western China, to help the secretaries study their current program and personnel needs, and to see how the National Committee of China could assist the local Association.⁵

In October of 1932, Lockwood reluctantly agreed to
become Acting General Secretary of the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. L. T. Chen, who had served for three years as general secretary, had unexpectedly resigned, and the Board of Directors asked Lockwood to fill in temporarily. It was not an easy year to direct an organization in Shanghai, given the Japanese invasion the city in March of 1932, which seriously hurt the Shanghai Association's finances. According to Lockwood, Shanghai had suffered over $3 billion in property damage due to the fighting between the Japanese and the Chinese, but he was confident that the money needed to run the Association could be raised.\(^6\) Although the Y.M.C.A. fell (Chinese) $10,000 short of its $50,000 goal, Lockwood counted the whole fundraising effort a success.\(^7\)

Lockwood was "relieved" to hand the job over to K. Z. Loh, who had just returned from studying in America and England, in September of 1933.\(^8\) However, Lockwood's responsibility to the Shanghai Association did not cease, and he spent the next year serving both as Regional Secretary and as Associate General Secretary for Shanghai, training Loh and "helping to save the Association from financial collapse."\(^9\) The Y.M.C.A. had acquired a $700,000 debt under L. T. Chen's leadership because of a loan used for completing the building in Frenchtown and purchasing another piece of land.

The Association resembled a man who had been ill
for a long period. It was on the verge of bankruptcy as to finances, staff and program... 10

By paring down the Y.M.C.A.'s program and selling some land, the Association managed to rid itself of part of the debt. 11 However, these clearly were not good times for the Shanghai Association. The membership had declined by almost 50 percent by 1933, and the number of staff members was reduced to a 1916 level. 12 The remarkable growth of the Association begun after the 1911 revolution had peaked, it seems, in the early- and mid-1920s, and the Y.M.C.A.'s were forced to operate under less privileged conditions.

The Y.M.C.A. was not alone in experiencing a decline in popularity. Rural churches associated with inland missions were closing, and attendance at church services all over China was also declining. The number of Chinese students who decided to attend missionary schools also dropped considerably. 13 The heyday of the Christian enterprise clearly had passed.

The inability of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. to continue a high level of growth is not only due to the political and military conditions in China, and to the changing attitudes toward organizations with ties to Western nations, but also to severe budgetary problems in America which hampered the flow of personnel from the United States to China. Since 1924, American staff in China had
been reduced from 60 to 30, and the allowances given to foreign secretaries was barely adequate. The whole missionary movement in China lost large amounts of American financial support from 1924 on, due to the constant news of nationalistic strife from China and the overuse of the Chinese missionary effort as a fundraising tool. In March of 1931, as the Depression in America set in, the International Committee began to ask more American secretaries in China to return to the United States. Lockwood felt, at this time, that the Y.M.C.A. movement in China would be severely hurt by these demobilizations. However, the worst cuts were not to come until 1933 and 1934. The International Committee had already gone deeply into debt by 1933, and further cuts in staff were required so that a $200,000 deficit could be averted. It was proposed in December of 1933 that the entire field staff for the world be reduced to 30 men. While Lockwood said that he sympathized with the plight of the International Committee, he argued that China should be spared further cuts because foreign secretaries had provided exceptional stability to the Chinese Y.M.C.A. in times of immense conflict. Furthermore, the Y.M.C.A. as a whole, in Lockwood's view, was a chief stabilizing factor in the Chinese political and social scene.

While Lockwood himself was not affected by the cuts, four out of six city Associations in Eastern China were.
He remarked in 1935:

None of these four Associations will be closed as the result of the removal of the foreign secretary. We in China would consider our Association policy unsound and the secretary concerned a failure if after a foreign secretary has worked for a period in a given Association it would close as the result of his removal. 21

However, he argued that the Associations would not be fully able to meet their objectives and their contributions to the community would be lessened.

Despite Lockwood's pessimism about the "demobilization" of American personnel and its negative impact on the Chinese Y.M.C.A., he felt that there were hopeful signs in China during this period - one being the Nationalist government ruled by Chiang Kai-shek. Lockwood asserted throughout this period that the key leaders in the Nationalist government were basically committed to democracy and reform. In December of 1929, Lockwood stated that:

There are officials in many places who are trying to introduce a more modern and more honest governmental regime. 22

Furthermore, many of the leaders in the government had studied in the United States and returned to serve their nation. Their friendliness to the United States and to American values and ideals, Lockwood argued, would help bring about social, economic and political change. 23 Most importantly, in Lockwood's mind, was that key government
officials like C. T. Wang (Foreign Minister), H. H. Kung (Minister of Industry and Labour), and T. V. Soong (Minister of Finance), had all been "inspired and trained" by the Chinese Y.M.C.A. Lockwood personally knew all of these individuals, and met with them on occasion.

Another important reason for Lockwood's continuing support of the Nationalists was Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang's conversion to Christianity, and his active support for the Chinese Y.M.C.A., was partly responsible for Lockwood's trust in and support for him. Lockwood also admired his "strong grip" of the government and his military campaigns against Communists inside China. In 1936, when the Nationalists were securing victories against the Communists, Lockwood remarked that:

"It is apparent that the General is much wiser and more clever than his critics...The Chinese have been very slow to acknowledge his leadership, the remarkable change of the past 18 months has been the growth of his popularity with the Chinese leaders."

Yet, Lockwood continued, it was hard to convince the "so-called experts" in America of Chiang's ability to govern China.

Lockwood's support for the Nationalists was tempered when certain sections of the Nationalist Party proposed the takeover of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. by the government. According to Lockwood, some members of the Party wanted to put all social and religious agencies under
the control of either the Party of the government. In July of 1930, one of the three Party district meetings in the Shanghai area passed a resolution calling for government takeover of the Y.M.C.A. because the Association had foreign connections and because its goal was the spread of Christianity in China. L. T. Chen, then General Secretary of the Shanghai Association and a member of the Party, responded to these charges by saying that the Y.M.C.A. was a Chinese institution, and that only Communists wanted to deny Christians religious freedom.

Lockwood was reassured by the actions of Chiang Kai-shek. After a resolution was narrowly defeated at a National Education Association meeting in April of 1930 calling for government absorption of the Y.M.C.A., Lockwood reported the Chiang was "disgusted" and demanded answers from the Minister of Education.

Chiang wanted to issue a manifesto laying the men responsible low, but the Minister advised against this, so Chiang gave his opinion in Oriental fashion by sending $2,000 to the Nanking Y, and making the fact public.

However, the Y.M.C.A. agreed to invite Party officials to all Y.M.C.A. meetings and to send them information on all Association events.

Nationalist-Y.M.C.A. relations aside, there were two other primary reasons why Lockwood did not wholeheartedly support the Nationalist government. Lockwood believed that "fundamental social, economic, and political
reconstruction" was necessary, and that the Nationalists had partially failed in this task. Specifically, he felt that the Party had to give up its exclusive control on power and take steps toward democratic institutions and civil, not military, administration. Secondly, Lockwood argued that the Nationalists had failed to improve the economy and that taxes were excessively high. If this situation remained unchecked, Lockwood asserted, radicals could succeed in their revolution.

Despite these criticisms of the Nationalist regime, Lockwood continued to hold very negative views on the two primary groups which threatened the power of the Nationalists - the Chinese Communist Party and the Japanese. Lockwood argued during these years, as he had in the past, that the Communists had no solution to China's problems. When the "red menace" gained control of the cities that had Y.M.C.A.s during the civil war, the Association buildings were often taken over by the Communists. Lockwood often related the story of how a Y.M.C.A. secretary had escaped from Changsha on an American gunboat with only a few possessions, and how the Y.M.C.A. building and the secretary's home were subsequently looted by the Communists. Most Christian missionaries in China during this period also held extremely negative views of the Communists, mostly because
Party members persecuted missionaries in areas that they controlled and were less likely to be influenced by Westerners. 37

Lockwood had definitely heard positive reports about the Communists, but chose not to investigate them further. At a meeting of National Committee staff members, General Secretary David Yui reported that the Communist rebels had "remarkable leadership," and that they had introduced honest and capable administration wherever they had gained power. 38 American observers, too, had returned from Communist-controlled areas with positive evaluations of Communist administration, yet they were ignored by the American government which continued to support the Nationalists.

The Japanese occupation of Chinese territory during this period also threatened both the power of the Nationalists and the national sovereignty of China. Writing to his brother George in 1931, Lockwood sought immediate U.S. action against the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. 39 George Lockwood was important in national Republican politics and had access to President Hoover. William Lockwood believed that if President Hoover came out strongly against the invasion, then the "military group" in Japan would have to change its policy towards China. He accused Hoover of hiding behind the League of Nations and having failed to live up to existing treaties
between the United States and China. Lockwood told his brother that he had just met with Dr. H. H. Kung, Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labour, who asserted that the American government must take action or "there may result a situation in China from which it will take a generation, at least, to recover." \(^{40}\)

In the same letter, Lockwood said that the invasion was already arousing severe protest in China and could lead to an increase in Communist power.

Radicals are taking advantage of this situation to push their propaganda. They claim that the nations of the West, particularly America, have deserted China at the time of crisis. They say that this only proves that all nations of the West are imperialists and selfish. \(^{41}\)

Lockwood fully supported the Nationalist soldiers who were resisting the Japanese and thought that they had surprised the whole world by their courage and fighting ability. The fighting between the Chinese and Japanese soldiers not only engulfed most parts of the city, but also extended into surrounding areas. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria and Shanghai caused Christian missionaries, by and large, to jump to the defense of China. Subsequently, many were more willing to overlook internal, domestic problems under the Nationalist government. \(^{42}\)

Shanghai suffered greatly during the several-month Japanese occupation, and the Y.M.C.A., as usual, helped to
deal with the thousands of refugees who streamed into the International Settlement, which was the only area of the city not involved in the fighting. There were, according to Lockwood, 300,000 Shanghai residents who sought refuge in the Settlement, and although many left for their home villages in the countryside, many remained in the city living in refugee camps.\textsuperscript{43} Five Y.M.C.A. secretaries in Shanghai were giving full-time effort to directing the Christian War Relief Committee, which operated the largest refugee camp.\textsuperscript{44} Both Y.M.C.A. buildings were occupied by hundreds of Chinese refugees, many of whom were either Christians or Y.M.C.A. members.\textsuperscript{45} As the situation in Shanghai was safer for foreigners, Lockwood himself escorted Chinese secretaries to areas outside of the International Settlement so that they could retrieve their belongings from their homes.\textsuperscript{46}

The Y.M.C.A. not only had to deal with the refugees created by the Japanese invasion, but also by a massive flood in the fall of 1931. The Yangtze River flooded and created a lake which, according to Lockwood, was 600 miles long and 35 miles wide.\textsuperscript{47} As all the cities in Lockwood's region were affected, he took a three-week tour of the area to assess the situation and help with the Y.M.C.A. relief effort. Perhaps most interesting about this event, and Lockwood's reaction to it, is his statement on how the
Chinese peasants were dealing with the flood.

Millions of these frugal, industrious people are engaged in re-establishing their humble homes. There is no unhappiness or discontent apparent. These simple country folk have no one to complain to, no one upon whom they can fasten the blame for their misfortune...These folks have from birth fought with nature for the means of simple existence and those who remain are undaunted by disaster. 48

As we have seen in Lockwood's past statements about peasants, his lack of contact with the countryside had allowed him to claim that people who had just had half of their relatives killed and their homes demolished were "undaunted" and had no unhappiness.

After all the floods, military invasions, political turmoil and economic difficulties from 1929 to 1935, Lockwood requested a short furlough in America to see his children. The furlough lasted from September of 1935 to February of 1936. All of the Lockwood children had graduated from college and married since the Lockwoods had last seen them in 1929, and Mrs. Lockwood's mother was in poor health. 49 Lockwood attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of the World's Committee of the Y.M.C.A. in Geneva and spent "five grilling weeks in the Middle West, in connection with the budget for 1935." 50

Upon return to China, Lockwood continued his work for the National Committee. The Chinese Y.M.C.A. was in the midst of clarifying its relationship to the New Life Movement, launched in 1934 by Chiang Kai-shek. This
nationwide movement was designed "to rally the Chinese people for a campaign against the Communists," and "to tighten discipline and build up morale in the Kuomintang and nation as a whole."\textsuperscript{51}

The main tenets of the New Life Movement were drawn from both Confucian and Christian philosophy, and emphasized self-cultivation, frugality, dedication to nation, personal hygiene and physical education.\textsuperscript{52} Thus, the Movement's aspirations were very similar to those of the Chinese Y.M.C.A.'s. Former Association secretaries, in fact, were key figures in directing the Movement, and Chiang Kai-shek stated that the Y.M.C.A. was a model for this new effort at strengthening China.\textsuperscript{53} Chiang constantly appealed to Christian missionaries to support the Movement, especially after it began to falter in 1935, and the Y.M.C.A.'s role in mobilizing missionary support was "uniquely significant", according to James Thomson, author of While China Faced West.\textsuperscript{54} Y.M.C.A. secretaries actively supported the New Life Movement, but rejected any formal organizational ties between their efforts and that of the Movement's.

Cooperation with the NLM [New Life Movement] would not only threaten to immerse the association in something vast and not explicitly Christian, it might also serve to identify the association in the public mind with the less savory aspects of the Kuomintang.\textsuperscript{55}

The Y.M.C.A. had already lost members because of increased
support for the Communists in the cities and among university students, and they feared becoming associated with an anti-democratic force like the Kuomintang.\textsuperscript{56}

The Chinese Y.M.C.A.'s effect on government policy can also be seen in Nationalist support of physical education programs and legislation. The Legislative Yuan passed the first national physical education law in 1929, which mandated compulsory physical education in government schools. As Chih-kang Wu argues in "The Influence of the Y.M.C.A. on the Development of Physical Education in China," Y.M.C.A. secretaries designed many of the physical education programs as the law was implemented in all levels of the school system.\textsuperscript{57} The Chinese Y.M.C.A. had laid the base for government and public support for such programs, as the Association had introduced the first structured physical education programs to China.

Furthermore,

The Y.M.C.A. initiated all athletic organizations and contests, locally, sectionally and nationally, and was the motivating force in stimulating the Chinese delegations to participate in the emerging international contests.

The Shanghai Y.M.C.A., as previously stated, was particularly influential in developing the Y.M.C.A. physical education program.

Aside from dealing with new developments in physical education and the New Life Movement, Lockwood began to
plan for his retirement, which would have occurred on July 1, 1937. If he had lived to that date, Lockwood was planning on retiring in Shanghai and working on a volunteer basis for the Chinese Y.M.C.A. In fact, Lockwood's work was so valued, that the International Committee was prepared to continue his salary after the mandatory retirement age. 59

On Sunday, November 8, after attending church, writing letters to his sons and taking a walk with his wife Mary, William Lockwood had a heart attack. During the night, he suffered a second attack. By November 11, Lockwood had lost all strength and his heart was functioning poorly. The same day, William's brother Edward flew up from Canton to be with him. 60 William Lockwood finally died on Thursday, November 12, 1936, just two days after the 33rd anniversary of his arrival in China.
CHAPTER SIX NOTES

1. From WWL to Charles Herschleb, November 1, 1930.
2. From WWL to Herschleb, October 18, 1929.
3. From WWL to Herschleb, December 28, 1929.
4. From WWL to Herschleb, April 28, 1930.
6. From WWL to Francis Harmon, December 23, 1932.
7. From WWL to Herschleb, March 18, 1933.
8. From WWL to Herschleb, July 28, 1933.
10. From WWL to "Mack and Mabel," December 5, 1933.
11. From WWL to Herschleb, August 13, 1934.
16. From WWL to Herschleb, March 7, 1931.
17. From Herschleb to Edward Lockwood, January 30, 1934.
18. From Eugene Barnett to Herschleb, December 23, 1933.


21. Ibid.

22. From WWL to Herschleb, December 13, 1929.

23. From WWL to Herschleb, October 6, 1931.

24. From WWL to A. H. Godard, April 11, 1930.

25. From WWL to R. H. Weber, March 26, 1931.


27. Ibid.

28. From WWL to Herschleb, July 17, 1930.

29. Ibid.

30. From WWL to Fletcher Brockman, January 2, 1931.


32. From WWL to Arthur Jordan, January 7, 1930.

33. From WWL to Herschleb, December 18, 1929.

34. From WWL to Herschleb, April 9, 1930.

35. From WWL to Herschleb, December 13, 1929.


39. WWL to George Lockwood, October 6, 1931.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.


44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.


48. Ibid.

49. From WWL to Herschleb, August 13, 1934.

50. From WWL to Gerald Birks, November 25, 1935.


52. Ibid.


54. Ibid.

55. Ibid., p.167.

56. Ibid.


58. Ibid., p.2.

59. From Harmon to Hollis Wilbur, October 14, 1936.

60. From Wilbur to Barnett, November 19, 1936.
CONCLUSION
THE CONTINUATION OF THE CHINA ATTACHMENT

William Lockwood's influence on the Chinese Y.M.C.A. and on U.S.-China relations did not cease with his death in 1936. Lockwood's wife and three sons continued their involvement with China in their personal and professional lives. They, like so many returned missionaries and their children, were considered "China experts", who interpreted China to Americans and who lobbied Washington for increased support for China during the 1940s and 1950s. Harold Isaacs writes:

The nature and role of these China-born Americans, as persons and as figures in American-Chinese affairs, still awaits someone's closer look. At present we have little more than fragmentary single impressions...it is certain that the China-born were people whose lives and personalities were decisively shaped not only by emotional involvements with their parents as people—like everyone else—but with their parents as missionaries, and with their parents as missionaries in China.
Mary, Lockwood's widow, who was the figure behind the scenes during William's 33 years as a missionary, maintained her China ties after William's death. After returning to the United States in 1937, Mary lived in Columbia University's Butler Hall with many other returned missionaries from China. She became active in China-support groups and wrote the story, in 20 pages, of her husband's life and work in China.²

William Lockwood Jr., the author of many books on U.S.-China relations and Japanese economics, served with the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in Burma, helping to supply the Nationalists in their fight against the Japanese. After the war, Lockwood worked for the Department of State. He was also active in the Institute of Pacific Relations, and eventually became a professor of History at Princeton University and Associate Director of the Woodrow Wilson School of International Affairs.³

John Lockwood, a surgeon in New York, was active in the China Aid Council during the 1930s, and would have appeared on a radio show in New York for the Council in 1939 if he had not suffered his first heart attack. When Madame Chiang Kai-shek visited Columbia Presbyterian Hospital, he helped to greet her. He reportedly arrived home irate after the meeting because Madame Chiang had insisted that her room have silk sheets.⁴
Edward Lockwood, an Engineer for Bell Labs, for many years served on the Board of Directors of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A.\(^5\)

Can William Lockwood be considered "representative" of many Christian missionaries in China during the twentieth century? On the contrary, it would be a mistake to assume that the thought and actions of one missionary in China was basically the same as that of any other missionary. During the twentieth century, there were literally thousands of Western missionaries in China, working in the countryside and in the cities. A missionary who served with the North China Mission or the Inland China Mission had to deal with radically different political, economic and social circumstances than did William Lockwood at the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. A missionary who spent his life working in the city with elites who had been educated in the West, like Lockwood, was bound to have a different view of China and possible solutions to its problems than a missionary who lived in a small village and dealt primarily with rural landholders.

What, then, is William Lockwood's significance in the history of the Christian movement in China and, more generally, in modern Chinese history? This thesis has attempted to establish the importance of William Lockwood in the Shanghai and Chinese Y.M.C.A. movements. Lockwood
was the most influential figure in the history of the Shanghai Y.M.C.A., and his experience and leadership helped develop the Shanghai Association into the largest and strongest Y.M.C.A. in China. The Shanghai Y.M.C.A., consequently, served as the model for Associations in other Chinese cities, and Lockwood's particular responsibility for training Chinese secretaries further spread his influence. As Lockwood became the most senior Y.M.C.A. secretary in China, he increasingly was viewed as the "expert" in Y.M.C.A. development, and his views on the Chinese political and social situation were given special notice in America.

However, the Y.M.C.A. and Christian movements in China never attracted a huge number of adherents. The number of people who considered themselves Christians was only a very small percentage of the entire Chinese population. Yet the number of Christians and people who had contact with the Y.M.C.A. in the economic, political, and social elite, especially in the Nationalist government, was disproportionately high. The effect that Christianity and the Y.M.C.A. had upon government policies can be seen in increased government support for physical education in the schools, the large amount of aid given to western education on all levels of the Chinese education system, and in such events as the Nationalist government's New Life Movement.
Lockwood also must be considered influential in terms of the formation of U.S. policy towards China. Missionaries in China communicated, in their report letters and on furloughs, a lot of what became "known" about China. William Lockwood was a prolific writer, and his letters and reports to friends and supporters in America not only sought to relay news about the Shanghai V.M.C.A., but also interpreted news of Chinese military, economic and political happenings as well.

There are aspects of Lockwood's thought and action which, in retrospect, highlight some of his faults. From 1903 until his furlough in 1926, Lockwood overestimated the ability of Christianity to become a dominant influence, one that would sweep China in the near future. Furthermore, it was primarily ideas and institutions from the West, such as democracy and Christianity, that Lockwood thought would save China. These visions of the role and future of Christianity in China can, in part, be attributed to his isolation from the countryside and the large number of friends and associates he had in Shanghai who had converted, or were friendly to, Christianity.

Yet Lockwood went as far as he could in adapting the Association and Christianity to Chinese conditions while still remaining true to the values and beliefs he held sacred. Power over the Shanghai Association was handed
over to a Chinese person under Lockwood's reign, new programs were launched to deal with the urban poor, and the role of the foreign secretary was increasingly diminished in importance during the years Lockwood was in China. Lockwood was an important force in the creation of a constantly changing and adapting organization. For Lockwood to go further than these bold initiatives by secularizing the work of the Y.M.C.A. or by associating it with political movements would have gone against his belief that the Association had to retain the objective of bringing young men into the sight of God and leaving politics up to the politicians.

Lockwood's success with the Y.M.C.A., and the status to which he grew, must be attributed to several key factors in his personality and view of the Y.M.C.A.'s role. The friendly, joking, non-abrasive manner in which Lockwood dealt with his colleagues and friends endeared him to many and encouraged many to place great trust in him. Lockwood's championing of Chinese involvement and control from the beginning convinced many of his Chinese associates that his real desire was to create a Chinese institution rather than implanting a Western institution unchanged. Most significantly, however, was Lockwood's absolute dedication to the cause of the Young Men's Christian Association. Ever since William Lockwood had heeded the call of Dr. John Mott to spend his life as a
missionary in China, he gave his full attention to
propagating the Christian solution to China's needs.
CONCLUSION NOTES


2. Conversation with Elinor Yeo (Milwaukee, Wisconsin) on March 23.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.
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The personal letters and reports of William Lockwood, along with other documents from the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. and the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A., are located at the Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, temporarily located in Chicago. At present, there is no formal organization for these documents, except that the primary sources for this thesis were found in boxes containing documents relating to China.

In my own possession, I have an unpublished manuscript written by Mary Lockwood between 1950 and 1955 on the life and work of William Lockwood which is approximately 20 pages long. Furthermore, I have memoirs written by Edward Lockwood in March of 1945 which describe his youth in Peru, Indiana, and copies of William Lockwood's transcripts from DePauw University and Harvard University.

I have also used conversations with my mother, Elinor Lockwood, as a resource providing information on William Lockwood and the Lockwood family.
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