

FULLY CHINESE AND FULLY CHRISTIAN Ts'ai Yung-ch'un (Cai Yongchun)¹

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Born Christian in Fujian

I feel I must first work toward the discovery and full understanding of essential Christian truths and their relation to China's life today & yesterday, her philosophical, religious & cultural background. For to work for the promotion of an imported religion is to assume a responsibility unsurpassed toward the nation.

¹ The material in this article will appear in a fuller monograph from the Day Missions Library of Yale Divinity School, who should be consulted on any copyright issues. Responsibility for any errors of fact or judgment it contains rests with Hugh Barbour. I am grateful for the Ts'ais' personal friendship with myself and parents. I have been helped by Ts'ai's family through translations of Ts'ai's guidebook and selections in Chinese from the New Testament. A basic source has been his widow Ts'ai Hsiu-ying (Cai Xiuyin; hereafter TH)'s biography, *My Companion, Cai Yongchun* (privately printed, 1995). Dr. Franklin Woo whose wife is Ts'ai Hsiu-ying's niece, was the first and only previous scholar to review Ts'ai Yung-ch'un's Columbia University theses on Confucian funeral rituals and the Neo-Confucian philosopher Ch'eng Yi. *Most Chinese personal names in this article are transliterated in Wade-Giles phonetics as their contemporaries knew them, but place names are still currently in PinYin.*

Besides seeking the Xn truths I must seek also some understanding regarding the church, the embodiment of the truths. ...After these studies, I think I will go to some virgin field and try to realize the church that ought-to-be, probably with some like-minded co-workers. ...After some ten or fifteen years of experience, I hope either to build a training school for church workers, or go & teach in some theological school. Writing would be a by-product, but would then be with some real contents of hope.

This article shows that Ts'ai's life had fulfilled all these hopes as he wrote them in 1934 to an American Christian friend and colleague.² Ts'ai throughout his life tried with saintly integrity to be both fully Chinese and fully Christian and therefore fully responsive to Chinese ethics and philosophy, both classical and contemporary.

His life also provides a model in miniature of the evolution of Christianity in 20th Century China. He was born March 15, 1904 in Jinjing near Amoy (Xiamen) in South Fukien (Fujian) province, where his father, Ts'ai Chien-shi (Cai Jianxi, 1868-1948) owned a prosperous mixed-goods store and several river boats for supply. His mother, Kuo He-yuan (Guo Heyuan, 1871-1956), was a recently converted Christian. She dedicated Yung-ch'un at his birth to be educated for Christian ministry. Yung-ch'un's father was also a Christian, so were probably his elder brothers Ch'uo-peng (1890-1956) and Cheng-te (1897-1977). There were also six sisters: Hsiu-tzan, Hsiu-shiang, Hsiu-mei, Hsiu-chi, Hsiu-shian, and Hsiu-feng. With his younger brother Shih-wei, he said "have been imitating most of my actions, ideas, & attitudes," and helped him on his return from America.³ The Ts'ais thus personified two generations of western mission work since the first Protestant church in China was built in Xiamen in 1848, just after the first "Opium War" had forced the "open door" for western trade and made the city to be one of the first five "treaty ports" conceded by the Ch'ing government.⁴ By 1909 they had opened eight mission stations up river, with seventy-five congregations, eight thousand baptized members, thirty pastors, and a Union Boys Middle school and Union Theological College, eighty schools, ten hospitals, and under a hundred missionaries. The doctor

² Ts'ai Yung-ch'un (hereafter TY) to Dorothy Barbour (hereafter DDB) Nov 23, 1934.

³ TY to DDB, Jun 25, 1927; TY to Henry Seaman, May 20, 1950.

⁴ Rev. Philip Wilson Pitcher, *In and About Amoy* (Shanghai & Foochow: Methodist Publishing House, 1909), 15-20, chs. XIII & XIV.

fathers of Yung-ch'un's friends, the Barbours (parents of the present writer), A.H.F.Barbour in 1891 and Robert L. Dickinson in 1919, had each visited Presbyterian mission schools and hospitals in southern Fujian.⁵ Dickinson had published a paper with his own sketches of ocean-going sailing ships on the Fujian coast.

Yung-ch'un's mother sent him to Yuying Elementary School, where he was often kept after school for being slow to memorize the China's Four Books and Five Classics by rote. His family attributed this to his physical weakness and recurrent tuberculosis. He went on to Peiyuan Middle School in Quanzhou. At fifteen, Yung-ch'un joined the local congregation of Presbyterians (Zhonghua Jidu Jiaohui). His late admission was partly because "the traditional value hsiao made me willing to realize what mother had hoped for."⁶ The proclamation of the Chinese Republic by Sun Yat-sen in Canton on October 10, 1911 became overnight a national revolution. In 1919 Yung-ch'un was rebuked by his English school headmaster at Peiyuan, for participating in the May Fourth Movement of protest against the Versailles Treaty, by which China's fellow-allies deeded the German Concession in Shantung to Japan. Yet he graduated as an outstanding student.

After teaching for half of 1922 in Peiyuan, Yung-ch'un entered Yenching University in Beijing, which was recently formed by merging three Christian colleges, and began to lay out on a former prince's estate a new campus, using reinforced concrete but in Chinese style.⁷ Yung-ch'un had won a scholarship to Yenching, which he decided to transfer to the otherwise financially limited Wu Renjie. Ts'ai enrolled in the Sociology Department, under John Burgess, Hsü Shih-lien and Wu Wen-

⁵ When DDB reported A.H.F.Barbour's death, Yung-ch'un wrote "we are specially sorry...because of the kindness he has done to the Church in South Fukien."

⁶ TH, *My Companion, Cai Yongchun*, ch.9.

⁷ Philip West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952* (Cambridge: Cambridge MA, 1975), ch. 4. George Barbour, who had arrived to teach Geology & Physics early in 1921, located drilling sites for five hundred wells in the famine-ravaged ShenTeFu area. He had chosen the site for the University's artesian well, which gave sixteen thousand gallons an hour from forty meters down for the water-tower in the shape of a pagoda. Barbour, *In China When*, (Cincinnati: 1975), 61. When Dorothy Barbour was teaching Religious Education; her sister Jean Dickinson was already teaching Sociology. Dorothy Barbour's China papers and letters, including those from Ts'ai, are in the Day Missions Library of Yale Divinity School.

tsao, where he was inspired to work on literacy with peasants in the villages. At the beginning he also took courses in Religion,⁸ Ts'ai did not play a role in the "Christians Renaissance" and its journal *The Life*, but he must have heard much about them from his professors, and early tried to combine their emphases on Christianity and social reform, which applied to China the "Social Gospel" interpretation of Christianity then current in America. In 1922-1926, Ts'ai's first years at Yenching, the University was still in temporary quarters at K'uei-chia-ch'ang in the southeast corner within the walls of the "Manchu city" of Peip'ing, where the students shared political concerns with those of the national Peking University. Beijing and Tianjin changed hands often in the civil wars between local warlords: Japan-backed Chang tsolin, versus Wu Pei-fu, and the "Christian" Feng Yu-hsiang. Meanwhile control of South China, and later much of the Yangtze valley, was secured by the Nationalists. A flood of tracts against imperialism published by the Anti-Christian Student Federation and May Fourth Movement solidified students' nationalism, and led them to demand secularizing the universities. In response the Chinese Christians' own publications preached the "Social Gospel" of justice and reform, the integration of faith and reason, and historical study of the Bible. Ts'ai had learned a new way to faith:

All the Christian doctrines must be accordant with rationality. One should not accept these doctrines without rational understanding. I became acquainted with the rational Christians in my secondary school years and was critical of fundamentalism and spiritualism. I believe that religion is from human nature and God's revelation. We are born with the need of spiritual belief; God has revealed himself to us incessantly in history.⁹

National Turmoil and Ts'ai's Vocational Testing

Ts'ai was still in Beijing on May 30, 1925 when British soldiers in their concession in Shanghai fired upon a student demonstration on Nanking Road arising out of labor disputes. Students' reaction in every university throughout the country was to strike to try to arouse the press and the city workers and to close down the colleges and the foreign treaty-port concessions. Ts'ai took part in drawing propaganda posters

⁸ Religion was a university department headed by Timothy Tingfang Lew until the government's edict for registering and secularizing Chinese universities, 1925-1928, required setting it off as a separate Yenching School of Religion.

⁹ TH, *My Companion*, *Cai yongchun*, ch.9

with his schoolmate, Qiao Situ, later a famous painter. Yenching students were among the foremost, but the University did not close in order to protect the students who wished to complete the term. The Barbours, impressed with Yung-ch'un's good judgment and creative ideas, took him to their summer seashore cottage at BeiDaiHo to help Dorothy writing a book for Christian teachers of Religion, which was asked for by the Christian Church in China:

I have written a book.... It didn't seem I could, but it suddenly dawned on me that Ts'ai Yung-ch'un, the student who was with us while recovering from an operation, was the very person to do the version in Chinese. So we persuaded him to delay his homegoing a couple of weeks. We planned together, then I wrote the English, and he the Chinese translation. He left last night.¹⁰

But Ts'ai had already discovered that he was ill with tuberculosis, and went home to Fujian for treatment. He was in Hungling Hospital from September 2, 1926 to January 13, 1927. It is not surprising he wrote in 1927 that for four years his faith had been crumbling:

I am going to tell you something about our religious life at home. The religion that the church teaches makes my mother suffer a great deal, & set us in great difficulties. The church places church attending above everything else. Take away Sunday worship, prayer meetings, home evening worship, formal prayers, & the morning watch that some of the members keep, and the church has no religion left. ...Now for four years and a half I have been in a period of religious doubt which my mother cannot understand, and have not passed out of it even now.¹¹

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

I learned all the rules for the recovery of my disease. Curious to tell, most of the things & knowledge I got not from the Doctor but from [your] letter and from a booklet called Rules for the Recovery of TB. Dr. Strick indeed laid too few rules for me. I am not afraid of rules. And I have tried my best to keep the rules I know. ...I no longer regret for my ill health. Bitter though the experience is, it is at any rate a lesson...no less valuable than college courses. With regard to religion, I seem to have come to the stage of rebuilding of faith. I am trying to have daily reading of the Gospels and I am reading it with new interest & appreciation. I am

¹⁰ DDB to her parents, July 24, 112. Letters from DDB to her cousin Eleanor Stabler Brooks in Worcester MA in 1924 to 1931 describe the genesis of the book but not TYC's role, which is, however, fully acknowledged in the Prefaces to Dorothy Dickinson Barbour, *Desired Bible* (Shanghai: China Christian Educational Association, 1926), i; and its much revised American edition *Making the Bible Desired* (Garden City NY: Doubleday Doran, 1928), vii.

¹¹ TY to DDB, Jul 27, 1927, as postscript to his letter of Jul 25, 1927.

learning to pray. ...I love to read some great lives, ...men like Jesus, Tagore, Gandhi, Beethoven, Tolstoy & Lincoln, leading socialists & other seekers & lovers of truth...I can read...only very little each day.¹²

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

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

The Ts'ais had to pay a ransom. Dorothy Barbour recounted this story often,¹³ using pseudonyms and adding details she may have learned orally: that the girl, Ts'ai Chun-yu (still living) was mistaken for a boy, and left in a village enroute, the other captives were held in a barn whose cellar was filled with manure; a shop assistant among the captives died, after they had been made to sleep on a narrow ledge two feet below the floor, so fresh air had to come by enlarging a knot-hole.

By July, 1928, he moved to Canton for his health at the suggestion of Xu Xian, Principal of Peiyuan Middle School to study agriculture at Lingnan University, whose lovely architecture, he reported, was by the same man as Yenching's. He worked in the chicken house two hours a day for twenty-four silver yuan a month, and took three-hour labs. "With regard to the decision of future work, the approach of the problem by studying social needs will not help much, because in present-day China

¹² TY to DDB, July 25, 1927.

¹³ This manuscript, undated, is on Lingnan University paper, but Yung-ch'un himself corrected a version of the same (which may have been typed by his brother) and added a sentence about getting milk and tomatoes for his health.

practically everything is needed."¹⁴ In the course of his year at Lingnan, he found his health would not let him be a chicken-farmer, and that most of the professors of agriculture were on furlough. He was transferred to the College of Liberal Arts, and rejoined a church after attending the White Cross Bible class, where he met Huang Hsiu-ying (Xiuyin), a fourth-generation Christian who graduated from Lingnan in 1930, and became his fiancée.¹⁵ In September 1929, he returned to Yenching to study sociology, and wrote a thesis on China's population that won him election to Phi Tau Phi and Phi Beta Kappa. Hsiu-ying, at his suggestion, enrolled in the Yenching School of Religion for a Bachelor of Divinity degree.

In the summer of 1930 Yung-ch'un was again at Dorothy Barbour's Beidaiho cottage, helping her write a second book, which was on child care for Chinese mothers and was entitled *Chit-u-hua-ti Chia-t'ing Chao-yu*. They began by constructing a vocabulary that would add ten words per chapter, for illiterate mothers, and would begin with universal issues such as what to do when the baby cries. Dorothy Barbour's letters to her husband, who was suddenly in Scotland for his mother's illness and death, are full of details:¹⁶

I will take Ts'ai Yung-ch'un to Petaiho to help me, [on a book on Childcare, doing another book first]; having discovered, when the first book was written in English and translated, that there remained a 'foreign smell', D and Ts'ai discussed in Chinese, he wrote it out in a conversational educated vocabulary and read it to her, she suggested changes; he rewrote it, and finally it suited them both in ideas and style; written for High School graduates in language they would talk to each other...

¹⁴ TY to "Dear Brother," Oct 11, 1928. He regrets missing his brother's wedding "for the sake of economy."

¹⁵ She completed her B.D. at Yenching in 1933 (Datasheet by TY for United Board of China Colleges, 1946 which is now at Day Missions Library). She said later that she had declined a scholarship at the University of Michigan because she was already in love with Yung-ch'un and wanted with him to "share the lot of the people."

¹⁶ DDB to her parents, May 22, 1930; to her sister Jean, Jul 1, 1930; to GBB: Jul 2, 1930, Jul 25, Aug 2, Aug 9, Aug 15, Aug 21, Aug 22, Aug 25, Aug 26, Sep 16. Cf. Barbour, *In China When*, 198. Ts'ai Hsiu-feng, the sister, had been accepted to Jinling School of Arts and Sciences, in Nanjing, and with help did in fact study there. The author remembers Ts'ai playing "Nearer, My God, to Thee" on his guitar on our porch that summer. The next year, he continued to keep in touch with the book, suggesting verbal changes for the new edition (GBB to Millican of Christian Literature Society from Yenching, Jun 13, 1931; GBB protests that the book, costing only thirteen cents to publish, must not be sold at forty cents). See also CLS's *Education Notes* (1032), 4.

Ts'ai has had word today: that the family junk was robbed of \$7,000 worth of goods—the third attack by bandits. They have not yet repaid all the debts resulting from the first robbery, and he thinks it will mean the complete failure of the family business, and that his sister cannot go to college. It seems a crying shame. His work on this book shows a maturity and honesty and clarity of thought I do not see in any of our theological faculty.... We decided to pray overnight, and if he still feels clear I will see Jimmy Yen about possibilities for him in Mass Education. [DDB assigned] the translation into English of the book [to T'an Hui-Ying], because the National Christian Council of N.India wanted to use it and could find no-one who knew both Chinese and Marathi. The translation was literal but accurate and used in China also as a 'pony' by missionaries [as an English] textbook in Middle schools. Its Chinese original was reprinted 31 times in the first year or two.

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

[At Yenching] Saturday we had 8 students for dinner and a farewell party for Ts'ai, a most hilarious success.

Hsiu-ying was invited for a week in August, cut short by Chang Hsueh-liang's troop movements. In September, Yung-ch'un began a ministry in Dingxian where he could work with Lu Hongzhou on "Jimmy" Yen's literacy program.¹⁷ But bicycling in winter back and forth between Dingxian and its villages for seven months brought a relapse of tuberculosis. In May, 1931, he had acute appendicitis, and was rushed by the Barbour to Peking Union Medical College for an operation.¹⁸ He was at Xishan Sanitarium, west of Beijing, for twenty-two months. His marriage waited until June 26, 1933. Their honeymoon was at Qingdao.

In July, 1938, the Japanese had found their puppet warlord Chang Tso-lin uncooperative with their plans to take over Manchuria, and blown up his private train. The young Japanese officers involved met no check at home or abroad. They sidelined peaceloving civilian leaders such as Baron Shidehara, and by 1931 had made Manchukuo autonomous under "the last Emperor" Pu Yi. During Ts'ai's second hospital stay, the Japanese navy bombarded Shanghai. The resulting national boycott of Japanese goods was led by the students, who held a massive anti-Japanese rally in Beijing in 1935. Ts'ai had adopted Christian pacifism as his personal stand, and the moral chaos of the time seems to have moved his central

¹⁷ Dr. Y.C. James Yen, *His Movement for Mass Education and Rural Reconstruction*, ed. John C.K. Kiang (South Bend IN, 1976).

¹⁸ Barbour, *In China When*, 196-200, 212.

concern from social service and the rebuilding of Chinese society, to a deeper exploration of the bases of morality. In a short happy interval at Yenching in 1933 to 1936, the Ts'ais' daughter Hong-yu was born on July 10, 1934. As a student at Yenching School of Religion, under continuing restraints after a discouraging X-Ray, Yung-ch'un was still testing his vocation, mulling over

the relation of Christianity to myself and China's national life. Is Christianity a vital religion to me? Does China need such a religion? How can Christianity be fitted for modern China? What am I going to do with the existing Church? What real good is it doing to China?"¹⁹

He studied for his B.D. degree, and saw DDB's book through the press. George Barbour, between field trips with Pierre Teilhard de Chardin across northwest China, visited the couple in hospital upon their child's birth. He also advised them on a gynecologist, and discussed with him a new cover for the new edition of the "green book" for Chinese mothers, and accepted Ts'ai's suggestion to cut out an English introduction so it would not seem "foreign" to the mothers.²⁰ Hsiu-ying worked in 1934 to 1935 under Mabel Nowlin pre-paring Sunday School materials. Yung-ch'un may have worked with Nowlin in setting up a village school in TaWangChuang where "a group of 5 girls about 15 years old who have learned how to read the first 1000 characters are the nucleus of the volunteer teachers."²¹

Meanwhile in 1936 to 1938 the Ts'ais went back to Fujian. Yung-ch'un taught Church History and the life of Jesus, and Hsiu-ying taught Psychology at Minnan (also known as South Fujian) Theological College in Xiamen. On July 7, 1937 the Japanese army had staged the "Marco Polo Bridge" incident west of Beijing, and proceeded to occupy North China and the lower Yangtze valley, massacring a quarter million civilians

¹⁹ TY to GBB, Jul 28, 1934 and Nov 23, 1934. The opening quotation for this article, as to his vocation comes from the second letter, by which the time his doctor, Sam Hall, was predicting his return to fulltime work by the following autumn. In May, 1935 he wrote the Barbours again (this time to London) with a list of his recent reading and a report of tension over Hsiu-ying's work.

²⁰ GBB to DDB, May 29, 1934 and May 30, 1934.

²¹ Mabel Nowlin to DDB, Sep 25, 1935 from M.E.Mission, Changli, North China. Mabel Nowlin's other papers in the Day Missions Library at Yale and "Old Mrs. Wang's Funeral" in *Woman's Missionary Friend* (Nov, 1931) show her as immersed in village church, family life and rural evangelism. A similar person, Nettie Mabelle Senger of the Church of the Brethren, helped Nowlin and Yung-ch'un complete the editing of DDB's second book.

in Nanjing. The school moved to Zhangzhou in 1937 due to the Japanese attacks. In March 1938, Ts'ai was arrested as a traitor:

The reason was a talk which he was asked to give at an all-day meeting organized by seven Christian schools for prayer, talk, and discussion. The subject of the meeting was "Christians and the War," and [he] gave the main talk. ...He prepared this talk carefully, and went next door to pray for more than an hour before he gave it. For three weeks all we heard was praise. Then suddenly there appeared in the local newspaper an article accusing him. The writer used perhaps half a sentence which [he] used,...and then continued as if [he] said it all. [He] did not discuss the question of war, but he did say that the cruel deeds done by Japan are sin, and sin is a hateful thing,...We hate the sin but we can still love the sinner. ...Two detectives took him away....[Hsiu-Ying] was able to see him two days later. It was a surprising wonder to see him so quiet, calm and joyful. ...Many students have gone in and have been inspired by his attitude..."We have come to comfort you, but you comfort us." While he is in prison we can send in one meal each day. ...The little room was so dirty, but...he asked for two buckets to be sent in, one with a cover for a toilet, the other to wash the floor. The soldiers were thrilled to see him doing this, even with chains on his feet. Books are allowed to be sent in, and he prepares work for his classes to do and sends out lecture notes. He asked for separate copies of the gospels and gave them to other prisoners.²²

Ts'ai was imprisoned for three weeks with thirteen others in a room four feet by fifteen. In July, 1938, Xiamen was occupied by the Japanese. The Ts'ais then retired to Hsiu-ying's family home in Hong Kong. There, meditating at a turning point in his life, he felt he heard God commanding "share the lot with your people." Declining invitations to be Religious Dean at Puiching Middle School and Mandarin-language chaplain in Hong Kong, Yung-ch'un and Hsiu-ying were from 1938 through 1940 on the faculty of Canton Union Theological College.²³ From Sept 1938 to March 1939, he worked for four or five months with refugees in camps near the former Lingnan University campus outside Canton (Guangzhou), organizing the students to distribute food and medicine, and conducting Bible study with the women and children, teaching them to sing Christian hymns. The Japanese bombed the harbor, and occupied the city in October. Hong-yu had been left for her safety with Hsiu-ying's family in Hong Kong. The Seminary (and Lingnan University) withdrew to Hongkong, where the Seminary merged in structure with Huachung (Central China) University, which was escaping from Wuhan.

²² TH to DDB, quoted in Dorothy Barbour, *China Trek* (New York: National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, Lent, 1941).

²³ According to their daughter they were then the only Chinese on that faculty, as their Chinese colleagues had left to avoid the Japanese.

Trek Westward: Teaching Minchia Tribes & Studying Confucian Funerals

In 1937 to 1939 ten million Chinese migrated westward to escape Japanese rule and the ravaging of Shanghai, Nanjing and Guangdong. After Nankai University in Tianjin was terror-bombed and shelled in August, 1937, other universities were targeted. 33 of China's 108 institutions of higher education also moved "en masse" to Yunnan, Szechwan (Sichuan), and Kansu (Gansu) behind the mountains, seventeen were closed. Others moved, often only temporarily, to western protection in Hongkong and Shanghai, but others to Hunan, Guizhou and Guangxi.²⁴ Many of the westerners went with their Chinese colleagues; those who did not spent most of the war in internment camps after the Japanese attacked the American, British, Dutch and French Empires in Asia in December, 1941. Through mediation by Bishop Ronald Hall,²⁵ the Lingnan & Huachung faculty and students were invited by Yin Hsin-chu, a wealthy merchant, to resettle in his home town of Hsichow (Xizhou), ten km north of Tali (Dali) in Yunnan, where the mountain trails come down from the "Lost Horizon" of Tibet. The Ts'ais agreed to move with them to west China, choosing to "share the lot of the people" and delay taking up Ts'ai's Student Friendship Fund Fellowship to Union Theological Seminary, New York.²⁶ The Ts'ais traveled steerage by steamer to Haiphong and took the weekly one-car train up the French-built railway to Kunming, rather than going by bus or on foot up the West River.²⁷ Xizhou lay two hundred and fifty km west of Kunming along the newly hand-hewn "Burma Road" running west to Bhamo or Myitkyina, opened in 1938 (and blocked by the Japanese in 1942). Kunming already had two new college level schools,

²⁴ Robert Freyn, *Chinese Education in the War* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1950; Taipei: 1974), 11; William P. Fenn, *The Effect of the Japanese Invasion on Higher Education in China* (Hong Kong: China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940), 5-10.

²⁵ A lively picture of Bishop Hall's personality and achievements is given in his biography by David M. Paton, R.O., *The Life and Times of Bishop Ronald Hall of Hongkong* (Diocese of Hong Kong & Macau, 1985); see also G.F.S. Gray, *Anglicans in China: a History of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui* (Episcopal China Mission History Project, 1996). After serving on the staff of the British Student Christian Movement and the Shanghai YMCA Student Program, he was in 1932 ordained Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, overseeing all South China Episcopal churches except Fujian.

²⁶ Datasheet by TY in files of United Board of China Colleges.

²⁷ Freyn, *Chinese Education in the War*, 35.

four emigre art, medical or physical education schools, the Southwest Associated University of the former faculty and students of Nankai, Tsing Hua, and Peking Universities

The high plateau of western Yunnan is incised by the mile-deep canyons of the Yangtze, the Mekong, the Salween, and the Irawaddy. But Dali lies near the shore of a "finger lake" called Erh Hai, between 5-km wide strips of farm land along a branch of the Mekong. It had formed the heart of the independent kingdom of Nanchao from 751 AD until conquered by Kublai Khan in 1252, and defended by his army against invading Burmese in a battle watched by Marco Polo. Xizhou was known for its fine carving of beams and doorways from cedar in the neighboring forests.²⁸

Huazhong (Central China) University was a 1924 union institution of former Episcopal, Wesleyan, Reformed and Congregational colleges and Yale-in-China, from which "a truckload was arriving every five days – it took them fourteen months to move the two thousand one hundred miles" by way of Changsha and Guilin.²⁹ But Yung-ch'un, though also teaching at the Seminary and Central China College, took on as his main work initiating a mission among the Petso people, called by Han Chinese Min-chia (Minzhia) in the valley from Dali northward and in the surrounding hills, who had kept their language and culture distinct from the Han Chinese who had lived in the main towns among them for 1800 years.³⁰ Ts'ai's work at Shang Yang Chi village in 1940 had the approval of tribal chiefs and President Francis Wei of Central China College³¹ and was suggested to him by Wu Wen-tsao and John Burt Foster, an Episcopal missionary who had become English secretary for the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives in South China in 1941.³² Though

²⁸ The best study of Dali is by anthropologist C.F. Fitzgerald, *The Tower of Five Glories* (London: Cresset, 1941) 57, 69; his guests there in 1939 included the mountain climbers I.A. Richards and his wife, and Gerald Reitlinger, who wrote *South of the Clouds* (London: Faber & Faber, 1940).

²⁹ Barbour, *China Trek*, 21; Freyn, *Chinese Education in War*, 67. In 1938 to 1939 the university's enrollment fell from 350 to 162, reporting losses of \$3,383,400 in property (Fenn, *The Effect of the Japanese Invasion on Higher Education in China*, 8, 11,37).

³⁰ In Ts'ai's academic summary for Columbia University in 1946.

³¹ Barbour, *China Trek*, 22; his sponsoring committee included John Kunkle, Song Daoliang, Wu Shengde and Foster.

³² The papers of John Burt Foster at the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul MN, were scanned for me by David Freeland Barbour.

Lutheran and other missionaries traveled through Dali en route to Tibet, the only mission there, by the China Inland Mission, had converted only a few dozen. Anthropologists had shown that most individuals there were mixed in blood and grammar, but the Minzhia language had never been written. Yung-ch'un, a sociologist as well as a missionary, was able to make a script for Minzhia, he believed for the first time. He aimed at "entire reconstruction of village life."³³ In 1940 his second daughter, Liangyu was born. But his tuberculosis again flared up, and he was forced to withdraw to recuperate for most of the next two years. His health prevented him from going with the Seminary when it moved back to northern Guangdong province because Dali was threatened by the Japanese invasion of Burma, just to the west. At Xizhou, he was treated as a family member by the family of Yin Hsin-chu, whose Confucian funeral rites he could thus share in directly.³⁴

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

Ts'ai was his assistant, responsible for the co-ordination with the students and staff of the Southwestern University. Ts'ai left a deep impression on the people. A professor at Yunnan University remembered that "Yung-ch'un was a pastor. He preached every week, but he did not speak like most pastors, asking people to join the religion...What he taught was full of philosophical wisdom and was very convincing." The chief secretary of Kunming YMCA, Wang Tse-hing, wrote of Ts'ai's preaching as "rich in content, and convincing." Mr. Li Chuming, who worked

³³ Ts'ai's "Notes on the Minzhia People" and proposed script for their speech are lost. Others who studied the language used a great variety of phonetic renderings based on French, German, English, and Chinese. Wilhelm Credner, *Cultural and Geographical Observations made in the Tali (Yunnan) Region, with special regard to the Nan-Chao problem*, trans. Erik Seidenfaden (Bangkok: Siam Society, 1935), 8, claimed in 1930 to have first recorded the Minzhia vocabulary in two places. However, Terrien de Lacouperie's *The Languages of China Before the Chinese* (London: David Nutt, 1887), 60, showed the Nanchao rulers were Shan, not Minzhia.

³⁴ Tsai Yung-ch'un, "Tali Funeral Rites: Study in "Ancestor Worship," his 1947 Master of Arts Thesis for Columbia University under the faculty of Union Theological Seminary, said that on Oct 10, 1941, he and his family had been living in the home of Yin Hsinchu for over 3 years. No other Ts'ai's documents from these years seem to have survived. Notes for a talk by GBB in 1943 summarized Ts'ai letters on "War and Reconstruction" and cooperatives in West China, and referred to the Minzhia work and to changes in the communion service in response to antichristian attitudes.

at the student association of the Southwestern University, frequently invited Ts'ai to preach in the religious gatherings. ...A student at Southwestern University, Wang Shanguo, who came from Shanghai, grew up in a Christian family, and was a lover of music, came to our church every Sunday. ...In 1980 he wrote...Mr. Ts'ai's preaching in Kunming, always [is for] me a wonderful memory."³⁵

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

Because I had not received the doctrine of Christ, I could only preach on the doctrine of God. ...I felt I must overcome this problem. Otherwise I could only resign from my position at the church. At that time I tried hard to find a solution from western theological literatures, and discussed it with a number of Christians."³⁶

In the summer of 1943 Ts'ai asked for and got an important heart-to-heart talk with Bishop Ronald Hall, who was returning to his new base in west China by air "over the hump" via India from a fundraising year in England. Hall lent him Richard Niebuhr's book *The Meaning of Revelation* with its pragmatic approach to truth, his doubts faded:

He fully accepted Christ. He was liberated from many years of uncertainty. His faith, his theological thinking make a great leap to a new height. He was joyful, excited, fulfilled, and relieved. But more so, he was thankful. He meditated many days on a passage in St. Augustine's *Confessions*: 'My God, I knew only this one point, and I give thanks to you.' Since then, Ts'ai preached about the grace that God gave his only son to man, ...on the mystery of salvation, incarnation, and justification by faith.³⁷

Having worked in the United Church of China with American Congregationalists and Scottish Presbyterians, Ts'ai showed the ecumenical spirit of Christian China by transferring to and being ordained a priest in the Chinese Episcopal Church. Another friend for decades of Ts'ai, his Yenching teacher Dr. Chao Tze-ch'en (Zhao Zichen) (1895-1979) who as a layman had headed the Union Christian University in Kunming, also had accepted Episcopal ordination in 1941.³⁸ Ts'ai was

³⁵ "He joined the choir of the church, and after the war went to M.I.T to study air-conditioning. ...He came back to China to work. He was with the textile department until the Cultural Revolution." TH, *My Companion, Cai Yongchun*, 43ff. Translation thanks to Gideon Lee. To the Barbours Ts'ai reported lecturing on Mencius' idea of human goodness, Hsün-tze's ideas on human evil, and St.Paul's teaching on how humans can be transformed.

³⁶ Quoted TH loc.cit.

³⁷ Quoted TH loc.cit.

³⁸ From 1926 he had taught theology at Yenching University, and at its School of Religion, which he headed after Timothy Tingfang Lew. He was imprisoned for six

disappointed that his health prevented him from calling on his Kunming parishioners, and especially the poor, to "share the lot of the people." Bishop Hall suggested he accepted instead the post of chaplain at the C.M.S. (Episcopal Church) Huei-tien Hospital in Kunming,³⁹ where his experience of sickness would help doctors and nurses as well as patients. D.Short, a teacher from his Presbyterian Middle School, ate and stayed as Ts'ai's guest at the hospital while awaiting a plane "over the hump" to Calcutta.⁴⁰ In 1944, Ts'ai designed and supervised the construction of the hospital chapel and persuaded its administration to let the staff contract monthly with the hospital canteen, as a hedge against the hyper-inflation of Chinese money. He became President of the Zhuqing Foundation to cover medical fees for the teachers' families of Southwest and Yunnan Universities.

During his West China years, Ts'ai's thinking returned to the central issue for classical Chinese philosophy, good and evil in human nature.⁴¹ During his talk with Bishop Hall "by the pond" in Kunming, he asked why Buddhism had been able to integrate with Chinese culture to a degree that Christianity had not, and was reassured that "the difference between Christianity and Buddhism is that the former enters the world, the latter escapes from the world; the former seeks to resolve people's suffering, the latter only seeks that fortune in the next life." During this period Ts'ai became interested in the teaching of family loyalty (Hsiao) through the traditional Chinese mourning ceremonies, which, in the cultured Confucian home in one wing of which the Ts'ai family had lived, were kept in purer form than he had known in his Christian boyhood. Neither Ts'ai nor his host took part in an annual fertility rite in which a secret society of people from local places danced and sang lewd

months by the Japanese. Most of his books and dozens of articles for *The Life* were attempts to understand the role of Christ and the Church in terms which could be integrated with Chinese culture, social reform and moral responsibility. These also explained Chao's key roles in the International Missionary Conferences at Jerusalem (1928), Tambaram, Madras (1938), and Whitby, Canada (1947), and his choice at the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948 as one of its six Presidents. Chao has been studied extensively by theologian Winfried Gluer, *Christ-liche Theologie in China: T.C.Chao, 1918-1956* (Gutersloh: Verlag Gerd Mohn, 1979).

³⁹ "The Hueitien Hospital of our Church, with 130 beds, 20 doctors and 40 nurses, was considered the best and largest in Southwest China," wrote Quentin K.Y. Huang ordained suffragan bishop of Yunnan in 1946 (*Now I can Tell*, [N.Y.: 1954], 7).

⁴⁰ D.Short to DDB from London, Feb 10, 1954.

⁴¹ TH loc.cit.

songs in a procession through each village from Xizhou to a lake port near Dali. The Muslims and evangelical Christians were seen as outside Minchia life, in their own families and villages; hence Ts'ai's desire to make over village life.⁴²

Ts'ai was still in Kunming in 1946, when a letter came from Chao, inviting him to teach Comparative Religion at the newly reconstituted Yenching School of Religion, and to prepare himself for it by study in England or America. The invitation to teach Comparative Religion at Yenching combined for Ts'ai his lifelong interests in sociology and theology, and also let him analyze and study his own new data from Dali. Situations in China as well as America made the division of his family unwelcome. His scholarship to Union Seminary did not cover the expenses of bringing over his wife and children, who stayed for 1946 to 1947 in Oakland, California, where Hsiu-ying earned free board and lodging as manager of the Home of Peace, a small inn for missionaries. Ts'ai had to use his father's inheritance to cover travel costs.⁴³ The Church provided a small subsidy in 1947 to 1949 parallel to those for missionaries on leave.

Comparative Religion: Study in America of Confucian Rituals & Cheng Yi

Ts'ai took an eight-hour Critical Introduction to the History and Philosophy of Religion at Columbia University in 1946-47. He also took various courses at Union Seminary with a total of twenty-two points. He took an introduction Church History under John T. McNeill and Paul Tillich and a six-hour General Survey of the History of the Philosophy of Religion from Richard Kroner. Moreover, he spent two hours on Religions of India & Southeast Asia, four hours on Religions of China, Korea and Japan with August K. Reichauer, two hours on the Christian View of History from Reinhold Niebuhr and four hours on Advanced problems in Systematic Theology with Tillich; altogether an array of

⁴² Fitzgerald, *The Tower of Five Glories*, 121-30, 14;

⁴³ On Mar 14, 1946 he had written to Randolph Sailer from Kunming asking help in getting a U.S. visa, in light of American requirements about TB, despite clearance by local doctors. On Mar 8, 1948 he wrote to C.A. Evans, Treasurer of the United Board for Christian Colleges in China, acknowledging two supplemental grants of \$1000.

theological talent then unmatched anywhere in the world.⁴⁴ He started but dropped a course in medieval art, instead taking French in the Spring Term.

Ts'ai's M.A. thesis was written in the same academic year under Reischauer, and Rev. R.H.L. Slater of Cambridge University. His M.A. thesis on Confucian rites gave him a chance to compare his findings with other scholars. James Thayer Addison, though never in Dali, was an Episcopal missionary whose book on Ancestor Worship is one of the few modern works Ts'ai cited in "Tali Funeral Rites."⁴⁵ Like him, Yung-ch'un, a "participant observer" in Yin Hsin-chu's home, was centrally concerned with the meaning of the rituals for those who took part, in their relation to Christianity, and in their rootage in the Confucian classics: *Rites*, (*Li Ji*) *Analects* (*Lun Yu*), *The Mean* (*Zhong Yong*), etc. Both men knew these books well. Both spoke of the love as well as reverence aroused for the parents,⁴⁶ and of "carrying on the unfulfilled life purpose of the parents." Both discussed disagreement among Chinese today about whether the spirits of the dead were present and acted benevolently.⁴⁷ Both described the eighteenth Century "Rites Controversy" of Dominican and Franciscan missionaries in China against the Jesuit scientists in Beijing over whether reverence for ancestors was idolatry. Unlike the Popes and Presbyterians,⁴⁸ the Anglicans concluded that reverence for parents was not idolatry; though warning against Buddhist and Taoist gods and idea. Ts'ai saw that the key issue was the meaning for the participants of food sacrifices to the dead. He noted the

⁴⁴ Transcript and information on professors, kindness of Philip Paris, Registrar of Union Seminary. Ts'ai's average grade was B+. He may have got credit for Yenching work.

⁴⁵ Addison's *Chinese Ancestor Worship* (Chung Hua Chung Kung Hui, 1925) and Cornelius Osgood, *Village Life in Old China*, (New York: Ronald Press, 1963), chs, XVIII-XIX, was based on a year in the village of Kao Yao south of Kunming in 1938. Most Chinese do not consider these elements to be any more incompatible than Americans regard Christian and Platonic ideas of afterlife.

⁴⁶ Ts'ai, "Tali Funeral Rites," 66; Addison, *Chinese Ancestor Worship*, 56. Franklin Woo, in "Ts'ai Yung-chun's Intellectual Legacy: a Paradigm for Theological Work in China in the Twenty-first Century (unpublished paper), 1, notes that "he himself was obviously moved by this funeral process, and his emotions come through the printed page" (2).

⁴⁷ Addison, *Chinese Ancestor Worship*, 50-55; Ts'ai, "Tali Funeral Rites," 49-50.

⁴⁸ Ts'ai noted "Tali Funeral Rites," 5 that in Dec, 1939 the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda had ruled that bowing "and other signs of civil respect" before the dead or their tablets "are to be considered licit and proper." Ts'ai, "Tali Funeral Rites," 5.

importance in the Classics of *Li*, the conduct proper to "a good father, a good son, a good ruler, a good subject," by which "cultured forms [are] given to naive emotions: genuine feelings coming from within are harnessed in restraint and provided with reasonable, aesthetic, and socially adequate expressions" to achieve a harmonious society. He was seeking, as were the Marxists in economic areas, a basis in nature and human nature for social ethics.⁴⁹

After setting the stage, Ts'ai's thesis describes the rituals in the family's main hall in detail. The traditional Confucian rituals are led by the sons of the deceased, without priests; and the Yin family added only a two-hour service of monks on the third day to "open the way" to the Buddha's "Pure Land," (a Shamanist medium reassured the women about Yin's arrival there). Of Taoist elements they used only the role of a "Feng shui" expert, the burning of paper animals and paper money, and a major sacrifice to the Earth or Mountain. The family were already in white mourning sackcloth on the morning of Yin's death. At the end of the first day, the body was placed in the coffin. After seventy days, two days of Formal Mourning were held, with continuous music indoors, thousands of visitors, each bringing offerings of money, rice, a chicken or a goat, and members of the clan (except those senior to the deceased) offering incense, and performing kotow and triple tso-yis. Chia-chi, the family's own triple sacrifice, of incense, wine, tea, fruit and food, and the burning of paper money, and three offerings by the women, was the central ceremony, "the most moving sights of a similar nature that I have ever seen. One could find no better way to teach the uneducated people to love and revere their parents."⁵⁰ The Chih-wen (sacrifice address) summarizing the life and titles of the deceased was read by the oldest son, and ceremonially burned to send it to the spirit-realm. Ts'ai describes the writing of the "Ancestral Tablet" by a Confucian scholar, the Chi-wen dedication text, and details of the consecration and ceremonial "dotting" which makes it the home of the deceased's spirit. He includes the text of the invocation of the Mountain Spirit, and ceremonial family visits there four times yearly, notably Tsing-ming in April, ending in a joyful picnic.⁵¹ The last pages of Ts'ai's thesis discuss

⁴⁹ Ts'ai, "Tali Funeral Rites," 8.

⁵⁰ Ts'ai, "Tali Funeral Rites," 24, 13, 19, 20, 39, 43. Osgood and Fitzgerald also discuss Mingchia and Miao shamans.

⁵¹ Ts'ai, "Tali Funeral Rites," 29-35; Addison, *Chinese Ancestor Worship*, 30-35.

which elements in the Confucian ceremony Christians may honor, and which are Taoist and should be dropped, and concludes with a suggestion for a ceremony combining Christian and Confucian elements. "We do not mean [that] the church is to encourage or revive the Confucian rites [but] that the Church may tolerate them."⁵²

The M.A. degree was granted in May 1947. In 1947 to 1948, Ts'ai took a Seminar on Christianity and Tragedy with David Roberts, Old Testament with Samuel Terrien, two more courses in Christian Ethics from Niebuhr, and at Columbia six hours each in the History of Philosophy and Problems in the Philosophy of Religion. He had also learned to read Greek, Hebrew, and German, and later learned Russian.

In the summer of 1947 the Ts'ais stayed in my parsonage at South Coventry CT, where Hsiu-ying provided delicious meals and lively Vacation School classes. Yung-ch'un was already working on his doctoral thesis on Neo-Confucianism, but he did not speak of who had led him to Cheng Yi (Ch'eng I). His daughter summarizes: "the aim of Yung-ch'un's studies was to find a way to combine Christianity with Chinese culture, so that the church could take root in China. In his opinion, although Christianity was disseminated into China during the Tang dynasty [by Nestorians] (608-907), and again [by Franciscans] in the Sung dynasty (960-1270), each time it did not last long. The reason for its withering away was that its thought, rites, and customs were incompatible with Chinese culture. Therefore he laid emphasis on comparative religion and the history of religion, including the history of primitive religions and the main world religions, especially the intrinsic religion of China and the history of Chinese philosophical thought. Since his Ph.D. topic must be creative in a new field, he decided on the thought of the Ch'eng brothers."

Ts'ai did not find it easy to become a scholar in the field, since after his secondary school immersion, he had not been schooled as a Confucian, as had William Hung, Yenching professor Hsu Pao-ch'ien (Xu Baoqian), and Wu Lei-ch'uan, the Vicepresident (1926-29) and Chancellor (1929-34) at Yenching.⁵³ Until 1947, Neoconfucian studies, though earlier

⁵² Ts'ai, "Tali Funeral Rites," 62. Ts'ai notes that sacrifices of hair and blood of animals may be dropped (pp.41-54).

⁵³ See Chu Sin-jan, *Wu Leichuan, a Confucian-Christian in Republican China* (New York: Peter Lang., c.1995). Wu had passed the second level Confucian exam with

studied in Europe, had centered in Shanghai, where the Commercial Press had resumed reprinting the Basic Sinological Series of classical texts; and in Beijing, where William Hung was organizing the Sinological Index Series under the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and Dirk Bodde was working with Fung Yu-lan to translate into English the second volume of Fung's *History of Chinese Philosophy*.⁵⁴ T'sai knew and used the lively, compact work of J. Percy Bruce in England,⁵⁵ and Alfred Forke's two hundred pages on the Neoconfucians, from Shao Yong through Chu Hsi (*Zhu Xi*), in his folio *Geschichte der neueren chenesischen Philosophie*.⁵⁶ Ts'ai's thesis, "The Philosophy of Ch'eng I," (Cheng Yichuan) was dedicated with fitting *Hsiao* to Yung-ch'un's parents, but written for Professors Horace Friess, Arthur Jeffrey and L. Carrington Goodrich of Columbia. Like Fung, Forke and Bruce, he focused on key concepts, represented by single Chinese characters.⁵⁷ Among the eleventh Century Neoconfucians, Ts'ai chose the most crucial and least studied, *Ch'eng I (Cheng Yi)* who most clearly aimed to combine morality and the laws of nature and human nature, minimizing Taoist or Buddhist metaphysics, inner meditation disciplines, and magic. Since the austere Cheng Yi outlived by twenty-two years his more charismatic, intuitive, and monistic older brother Cheng Hao, known to his disciples as Ch'eng Weiming, Ts'ai did not lump them together,⁵⁸ and in 1950 lacked time to study Ch'eng Hao. The Ch'eng brothers' disciples included their most famous synthesizer *Chu Hsi (Zhu Xi)* (1130-1200). Most of the Ch'eng's disciples, even in their contemporary lecture notes had not distinguished between the sayings of the two brothers. Ts'ai the scholar appreciated Chu Hsi's efforts to do so.

the title *juren*. Wu enabled Yenching to fulfill the Nationalist government's 1929 demands that all universities be made Chinese and secular; indeed he did not speak nor read any European language.

⁵⁴ Bodde had translated Vol. I, which covered only the Chou Dynasty classics, in 1937; Vol. II on all later philosophers had appeared in Chinese in 1934.

⁵⁵ J. Percy Bruce, *Chu Hsi and his Masters* (London: Probsthain, 1923).

⁵⁶ Alfred Forke, *Geschichte der neueren chenesischen Philosophie* (Hamburg: Friedrichen de Gruyter & Co, 1938). For Forke, Chu Hsi as a philosopher outshines Confucius (p.7).

⁵⁷ Ts'ai notes the rebirth of then-vernacular Chinese in T'ang literature.

⁵⁸ Ts'ai cites Forke and Fung on Ch'eng I as dualist and Ch'eng Hao as Monist, though his predecessors naturally discussed them together, as did the Ch'eng's most important scholar after Ts'ai, A. C. Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers, Ch'eng MingTao and Ch'eng Yich'uan* (London: Lund Humphries, 1958).

After summarizing the Ch'engs' background and family history, T'sai's second major chapter, therefore, examined critically the textual source material. Ts'ai's five detailed appendices may represent the most thorough analysis ever made of the authenticity of the texts of the Ch'eng brothers.⁵⁹ Franklin Woo notes that Ts'ai had learned "higher critical" methods regarding the Bible. Equally vital was his faithful continuing of the textual criticism by Chinese scholars, from the "Old" and "New Text" debates of the Han dynasty up through the remarkably alert comments of Chu Hsi himself. Other cultures with sacred texts, such as the Torah, Koran, and Christian creeds, have developed in the Mishneh, Shariah, and medieval dialectic their own methods for comparing and evaluating sayings and manuscripts, but Chinese scholars' methods were as early and as sophisticated as any, once the Chinese canon of the Five classics and the Four books was established in the late Han Dynasty. The price of each such tradition has been the stereotyping of starting points. In Cheng Yi's case this meant that the one book he felt central enough to write out himself was a commentary (*I Chuan*, also named *Yizhuan*) on the Book of Changes (*I Ching*) which for him as for two millennia of Chinese framed their thinking about the cosmos, even though it had begun as simply spelling out the meanings when the narrow stalks and Eight Trigrams were used for divination. Ch'eng Yi also began but did not live to finish a similar commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Ch'un Ch'iu*). Most of the *Collected Sayings of the Two Chengs and Secondary* collections could only be attributed to one or other brother by the similarity of their ideas to sayings whose speaker is identified. Ts'ai's detailed textual study, therefore, expands with Hsiao an old tradition, and overthrows no idols. Their English style is lively, idiomatic, and compact, notably in telling the life stories of the Cheng brothers, their debt to their mother, and their relative independence from their teachers Shao Yong, Chou Tun-Yi (Zhou Dunyi) and Chang Tsai (Zhang Zai). He makes the Ch'engs' court careers vivid without describing national events, but notes carefully conclusions of Ming and Ching Dynasty Confucian scholars about the Sung books, and the roles of printed editions from the Ch'engs' days onwards.

⁵⁹ He added thirty pages of glossary and bibliography in German and French as well as in Chinese and English. By contrast, Fung and Forke were covering the whole history of Chinese philosophy in two tomes apiece. Bruce in the 1920's took his texts from Legge. Graham and Smith, coming later, added less and recognized Ts'ai's work.

Ts'ai, like the Ch'engs' Neoconfucian followers, and later Fung and Graham, outlines their ideas under key Chinese words, ignoring the often unknown settings in which they were said. Ts'ai begins with essences "above forms": Tao, which he treats as the Way of Heaven, and Li,⁶⁰ which he translates as timeless Natural Law, and which the Ch'eng brothers defined as the Ultimate, replacing the T'ai Chi or Supreme Ultimate, upon which their teacher Chou Tun-Yi had tried to base Confucian metaphysics. But Li is embodied in diverse entities "below forms", produced by Yang and Yin, which the Ch'engs saw as not simply sky and earth, male and female, (or whole and broken lines in the Trigrams) but as the essence of change and quiescent stability, outpouring and return, through which Tao acts in the cosmos.⁶¹ Ch'eng I, says Ts'ai, was refuting Taoist and Buddhist ideas that the Great Ultimate was inactive, or that men should be. "The mind of Heaven and Earth is revealed in movement rather than in stillness."⁶² It contrasts in humans with selfishness. Ts'ai speaks as a subhead of Li about ke wu, the "Investigation of Things" which the Great Learning had made basic, but which Ch'eng I stressed as intuitive search for the inner Li of each outward thing, rather than induction of facts as in western science. Ts'ai and Ch'eng wanted students to recognize the Li or essence of being "a good son," "a good father," "a good ruler," or "a good servant," and to express them in suitable rituals.

Ts'ai comes only in his second chapter of Ch'eng's ideas to Li's polar partner, Ch'i, which Ts'ai wisely translates as "energy". China's tradition and grammar do not encourage ideas of static matter versus dynamic ideas or principles, but rather the transformation of everything into everything else, even among the five basic "elements" of wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, whose relationships to colors, seasons, and directions were elaborated by the "Yin & Yang" school before the Neoconfucians.⁶³ Chi in its root meaning as breath or air, is the source of continual creativity and the spontaneous generation of living creatures, but is not soul or spirit.

⁶⁰ No-one has disputed Ch'eng Hao's claim that his fame rests on putting Tien Li central in Chinese philosophy, which his disciples called the Hsing Li School. See Ts'ai, "The Philosophy of Ch'eng I," 75.

⁶¹ Ts'ai explains Ch'eng I's claim (like Aristotle's) that timeless Li as Natural Order is nevertheless not prior or posterior to its concrete manifestation in every concrete thing.

⁶² Ts'ai, "The Philosophy of Ch'eng I," 69.

⁶³ See DeBary, esp. 198-204 and Fung, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, ch. VI.

Ts'ai makes a third chapter from the Ch'engs' cyclical theory of history, which, though they buttressed it with remarkably detailed knowledge of events, developed Chinese ideas of successive reigns and ages based on Yin & Yang and the Five Elements. Ts'ai wanted to show that for Ch'eng I, no Deity intervenes in historical cause and effect, and that Ming is not divine Decree, but mysterious Fate. Ts'ai and Ch'eng I, each living in chaotic times, said that humans should live by righteousness, not by dictates of fate.

Ts'ai's fourth and central chapter is on Ch'eng I's idea of Human Nature, also called Hsing or Xing which since Mencius the Confucians had insisted was essentially good, though in need of cultivation and education. Ts'ai digresses at once to see the source of human evil in the Ch'engs' philosophy as the "clouded" state of humans' Ch'i (Energy or material), rather than in human Li. Yet the Ch'engs could not consider Ch'i itself as evil, because of the Yijing (*I Ching*)'s key idea of cyclical Changes of Yang & Yin and the Chengs' desire not to accept Buddhist otherworldliness. For them the cleansing of human nature combined Confucian ideals of straightening by study and self-discipline or austerity. The human mind, as Li, completes the shaping of heaven and earth; but human feelings (Ch'ing) "muddy the waters." The Ch'engs saw Jen (*Ren*), humaneness or benevolence, as one of the Five Norms or root virtues, along with duty, propriety, wisdom and truthfulness, namely Hsin or Xin, though also as the Li or essence of human nature. Sympathy, as a feeling, is only its fruit, evoked by outward encounters, as is anger when appropriate. As an alert psychologist, Ch'eng I warned that without detachment it was easy to wrongly transfer anger from those who did to those who did not deserve it. Ts'ai thus tries to demystify *Chung* (Zhong), the Mean which is also Tao, by a long discussion of Ch'eng I's teachings about the class *Chung yung* (Zhong Yong). Chung is only meaningful as a balance between the passions. "The Universal Mind, or Tao or Wu were all too abstract for the Confucian temperament. It was the Confucian genius to affirm...ultimate Reality by putting moral content into it."⁶⁴

Ts'ai's fifth chapter, "Fundamentals of Ethical Teaching," takes him beyond the scholars like Fung and Forke who were interested mainly in metaphysics. Ch'eng I "was never interested in any intellectual pursuit for its own sake [but for] the sole purpose of understanding moral truth

⁶⁴ Ts'ai, "The Philosophy of Ch'eng I," 160.

and...the achievement of perfect manhood [Ren]. The fundamental presupposition of Ch'eng I's ethical thinking is that there is a universal ethical order. Right must be for its own sake, not because it can bring desirable results or happiness."⁶⁵ Ts'ai builds a sixth, concluding chapter on "the Two-Fold Way to Perfect Manhood" (Chih jen or Je Ren), Cheng I's phrase written when he was only nineteen years old.

But Ts'ai saw that if right action must base on Natural Order, the aspect of Li which sets men in ranks and families, Confucianism creates hierarchical societies. Filial Piety (Hsiao or Xiao) and fraternal love describe instinctive service, which without stopping to calculate is to "equal to knowing your nature." A man's resting place is given by his social role as father, son, ruler and servant. Ts'ai did not ask how far "the people" could put the same kind of obligation upon a person, but said that Jen is Kung or disinte-rested, the opposite to selfinterest. Duty or I or Yi must be done regardless of reward or one's own happiness or the results it will bring. "Some even sacrifice their lives to crown their true manhood."⁶⁶ Here Ts'ai's Christian and his Confucian ideals fused. Yet Ch'eng I also measured right acts by their balance (Chung or Zhong) and by their timeliness (Shih). "Ethical conduct is not a set of fixed rules, but a timely adjustment to the living situation," just as the Yi Jing Hexagrams showed how different powers applied in different situations.⁶⁷ The Scope of Learning moves from *Chung* (Zhong), equanimity to *Ching*, "reverent devotion," that Ch'eng preferred as he grew older.⁶⁸

Ts'ai appends a fifty-page essay on Ch'eng I's political and social ideas. These assumed the four traditional strata in Chinese society: king, ministers, scholars, and common people. The good minister, wrote Ch'eng I, must put first the peace and welfare of the people, but also protect and encourage the scholars. Selected from primary schools for academic training and study from the ages of fifteen to forty, the scholar is to be supported, and separated from the farmer. The common people, though the root of society, can mostly not keep their Li pure enough. "The Confucian idea of government is essentially rule 'For the People' [not

⁶⁵ Ts'ai, "The Philosophy of Ch'eng I," 178, 180.

⁶⁶ Ts'ai, "The Philosophy of Ch'eng I," 206, quoting Confucius *Analects* IV, VIII.

⁶⁷ Ts'ai, "The Philosophy of Ch'eng I," 202.

⁶⁸ Ts'ai notes that Hu Shih called *Ching* "seriousness," and *Bodde* "attentiveness."

'of the people' or 'by the people.'"⁶⁹ But the will of Heaven, represented by the will of the people, may lead to a revolution to fulfill the principles of change, if the ruler does make changes at the proper time. Ts'ai noted Ch'eng I's warnings that "one of the greatest difficulties of Chinese ethical and political life, is namely the relation of family love to political justice." (p.311) He discussed the Ch'engs' role in debates about land reform of the "well-field" (*ching-t'ien*) village system, wanting to base taxation on this Confucian ideal. Education in the sense of self-cultivation was for Ch'eng I both a condition and a duty of good government. As an overseer of the Imperial Academy, he advocated tutoring rather than frequent exams, and adequate dormitories, but was scornful of second marriages and adultery, not of divorce, taking a Yang-over-Yin attitude to women. Even in families, "a certain amount of severity and sternness is required."⁷⁰

I suspect Ts'ai wrote this essay in 1949 to 1950, the last year he worked in America. Ts'ai, like Chao and Wu Lei-ch'uan had taken upon themselves the challenge of the May Fourth Movement as Chinese, at the same time that they were active as Christians. They felt as a moral challenge to the chaos of the times, and the corruption of the Kuomintang after the devastating war of 1937 to 1945. The Communist alternative inspired Wu Lei-ch'uan, Chao and Ts'ai with more hope for a new Chinese society (though none were members of any party). Ts'ai asked Prof. John Bennett at Union Seminary for a list of books on Marxism and went to a night school that interpreted Marxism. Ts'ai always tried to practice his belief as a Christian socialist. The churchmen believed, however, that science did not in itself provide adequate basis for social morality and service to the people, which they felt was more personal in the Christian "social gospel." "The full and natural expression of this ethical goal was to be found in nothing otherworldly, but rather in the service of men and in the building up of an ideal social order."⁷¹ Hsiu-ying summarized a letter Yung-ch'un wrote to his nephew in March 1950:

1. In terms of revolutionary theory, Mao is the most lucid among Chinese. Chinese believe that government is established according to the decree of heaven. But heaven hears through the people and sees through the people... The government

⁶⁹ Ts'ai, "The Philosophy of Ch'eng I," 306-7.

⁷⁰ *I Chuan* III.23b, quoted by Ts'ai, "The Philosophy of Ch'eng I," 334.

⁷¹ TH, *My Companion*, Cai Yongchun, 8.

which people abandon ought to collapse. This is the most democratic way. ... China has changed 25 dynasties. Now the people have abandoned Chiang Kai-shek.

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

3. China has a long history. We ought to read history with a long view. Westerners tend to be impatient. We should give an opportunity to the Communists for a few decades, experiment with their approach. .

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

5. Before 1948, the Communists did indeed persecute the Church. Since 1948, the Chinese Communists have allowed religious freedom.⁷²

The Ts'ais were returning in deep loyalty to the people and future of China.

Sharing the Life of the New China

In July, 1949, after Beijing fell gently to the Communists in January, the Yenching School of Religion was expected to open, though necessarily independent of Yenching University. Chao asked Ts'ai to teach there Anthropology, Apologetics, and Comparative Religion. The Ts'ais, who were still at the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, where he had lived for 1948 to 1949 while Ts'ai was working on his thesis in the Harvard libraries, had originally planned to return to Yenching in September, 1949, but were held back by Hsiu-ying's hysterectomy until the following June. From August 9, 1949, the Ts'ais lived at the Grace Episcopal Church parsonage in Amherst MA, where Ts'ai preached monthly for Rev. John N. Coburn, who wrote appreciation of his gentleness and his preaching.

The Ts'ais sailed from San Francisco on the *Marchen Maersk* May 31, 1950, stopping over in Hong Kong. "It took us 33 days to get to Hongkong, including 8 days in [various ports] in the Philippines [where]

⁷² TH, *My Companion*, Cai Yongchun, 72, translated by Gideon Lee; abridged by Hugh Barbour.

we met and visited hundreds of Chinese friends and relatives." While they were at sea, the Korean War had already broken out, a tragic for all sides and also for Chinese-American relationships. From Hong Kong, Yung-ch'un hoped to visit his mother in Fujian but he failed "because of the unsettled coastal situation." After five weeks with Hsiu-ying's mother and brother they sailed for Tianjin which was only two and a half hours by train to Beijing. On October 20, 1950 they wrote in a newsletter to "Dear Friends":

We arrived safely in Peking on August 24, after 31/2 months journey. ...We spent 3 weeks crossing the continent .We sailed from San Francisco on a Danish freighter. Arriving in China, we were impressed by the disappearance of inflation and corruption. ...People live very simply, but they are nevertheless fed and clothed: wartime misery is gone. ...The Christian churches in China have recently issued a declaration [which] re-emphasizes the self-government, self-support, and self-propagation...towards which both churches and missions have been labouring for many years. Yenching University campus is as beautiful as ever...The School of Religion is in the best shape ever...The enrollment of students is the largest we have ever had. We...arrive with a home already prepared for us at the Friends Center, started by Lucy Burt [for] three Chinese families and Miss Burt herself. We both began teaching three weeks after our arrival. Hsiu-ying offers courses in Religious Education and Personal Counselling. Yung-ch'un teaches a course in the History of Christian Thought and another in Christianity and Chinese Culture (a Survey of the History of Chinese Thought from the point of view of Christian Apologetics).

The churches in China, centered in the National Christian Council, had taken the lead in most religious and educational thought for half a century. Church buildings represented a leading economic asset. The statement in 1948 of what became the Three-Self Movement for self-support, self-government, and self-propagation of Chinese Christianity, May, 1950 had become the basis of a Christian Manifesto, eventually signed by four hundred thousand protestants. By 1956 the government had nationalized church property, and required the unification of all Protestant Churches in the authorized Three Self Church. Church leaders met in April, 1951 with (Chou En-lai Zhou Enlai), who suggested missionaries and all foreign teachers were condemned as agents of imperialism. Within the next twelve months, only thirty-six out of 2,345 American and British Protestant missionaries, and two out of 1,027 continental European missionaries who had been in China in 1949 were remained. In 1951,⁷³ all the thirteen interdenominational Protestant

⁷³ West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952*, ch.7; Ruth Hahoe, *China's Universities* (New York: Garland, 1996), 74-80.

Universities in China, including Yenching, had been nationalized within the same year. Yenching University and its campus were absorbed into Peking University (Bei Da) since February 1951. Ts'ai was among those put on trial, and responded with integrity. On 1956, D.Short wrote about Ts'ai to Mrs. Barbour from London: "Did you hear that when he got back to Yenching he was required to confess his old errors including his association with Western Imperialists? He said he was willing to confess his own faults but not those of other people, and for that reason was judged unfit to teach." which led to Ts'ai's isolation at home. In November, 1952, the Yenching Commission for Inspecting Discipline announced that Yung-ch'un's self-examinations and confessions were accepted, and he could resume his normal life. He was unemployed for four years from 1952 to 1956. Yung-ch'un translated several books and papers at home, including *China Belongs to God*.

In April, 1956, Chou Enlai moved to reinstate Chinese scholars in place of Russians, as China broke with the Soviet Union. Both Yung-ch'un and Hsiu-ying were recommended by their old Yenching friend Ts'ai Liu-sheng, Dean of the Chemistry Department of the Northeastern Peoples' University in Changchun, Jilin, to its President Kuang Ya-ming, who invited Yung-ch'un to teach English and American History. In 1961 Ts'ai was transferred to teaching English in the Foreign Language Department. He also drafted an outline of his intended objective textbook on the New Testament for Chinese students.

In 1966, however, Chinese education was entirely torn apart by Mao Zedong's "Great Cultural Revolution." University ranks and examinations were abolished. Most universities were closed and old-style professors were sent to the collective farms to experience productive labor. Ts'ai was detained, interrogated, beaten on his back and mouth, placarded at his gate, paraded for ridicule through the town, and being finally hidden in the home of his former maid. In the winter of 1969, after the Zhenbao incident on China's northeast border with Russia, the Ts'ais were sent to a village of hundred families, Helong in Kirin province, near the Korean border, where life was very arduous, without running water, firewood, nor a market. During the season of snow and ice, the aging couple could not do everything for themselves. Some sympathetic peasants helped them draw and carry water from the well, chopped firewood from the forest, and sometimes helped them to buy eggs and vegetables from their own private plots. Yung-ch'un was ill most of the time. He had to struggle to walk several kilometres to the clinic, even

sometimes half-carried by Hsiu-ying. In September he was retired in Jilin, and went on sickleave briefly to Maoming in Guangdong at his daughter's suggestion. In May 1975 his retirement became official and the couple were settled in Xiamen. In 1978 he began to edit and compile his solid little anthology of New Testament passages, published only in 1992 after his death. His *Guidebook to the New Testament for University students*, published in the Religious Culture Series, with a preface by Bishop Ding, includes a bibliography of secondary works. In his last years he was still eagerly asking for more recent works. It is Ts'ai's only published book, but excellent scholarship, emphasizing the human characters of the Bible writers. In 1979 he was publically rehabilitated and reinstated as professor in Jilin. He died in Beijing.

Ts'ai Yung-ch'un died on May 24, 1983, a month before what would have been his fiftieth wedding anniversary. His health had never fully recovered from the Great Cultural Revolution, but he had resumed his scholarly work. Hsiu-ying quoted at length his essay "Justification by Faith",⁷⁴ which remains fully Chinese and fully Christian:

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

YC was very fragile in his last days. He recorded in his diary, in both English and Chinese, the "light" he saw in his daily reading of the Bible. Here are some excerpts:

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

⁷⁴ TH, *My Companion, Cai Yongchun*, ch. 8. The essay was written in 1956 and being translated by Liang Lei.

June 26th. 1982 was our forty-ninth anniversary. Because he was at the time very fragile, he could only afford to give a brief outline. Later they remembered his saying:

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

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

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

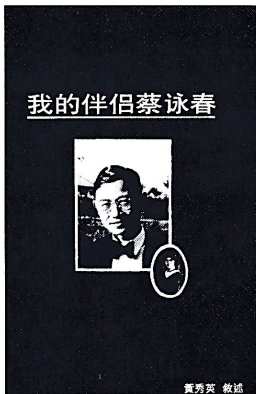
After the disastrous Cultural Revolution, YC reflected incessantly upon his faith. In 1981, he wrote to his dear friend Ts'ai Liu-sheng, urging him to resume his faith:

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

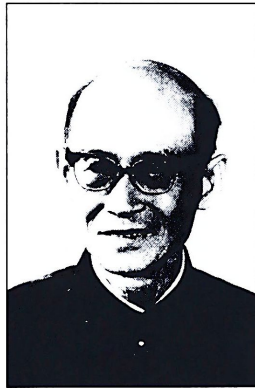
Though YC returned to "justification by faith" in his last years, mental struggles remained:

The fundamentalists' approach is through 'the resurrection, the Holy Cross', and 'the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.' But in what way should these be

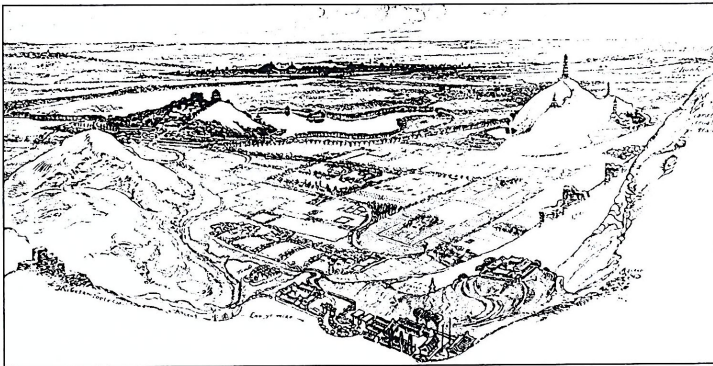
understood? ...It is difficult for the Chinese people to accept Christianity. At the time, Jesus and Paul were telling their contemporaries about the next world, redemption, precious blood, etc. But these concepts are absent in the minds of the contemporary Chinese people [1982/7/16]. I have built walls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



Cover of the book *My Companion, Cai Yongchun*



Ts'ai Yung-ch'un



The Great walled city of Peking, 1919

ABSTRACT

Ts'ai Yung-ch'un (1904-1983) is a model for the history of Christianity in China. This essay may regard as a biography of Ts'ai.

Ts'ai was born in Fujian with Christian parents. He joined the May Fourth Movement and the Presbyterian Church in his youth. By 1922, he entered Yenching University in Beijing, studying Sociology and Religion. Ts'ai started working with Professor Dorothy Barbour in 1925 on writing a series of books for Chinese mothers about early family education. Ts'ai was suffering from tuberculosis for quite many years. He was being kidnapped for once. Though these were harsh days, his faith was restored. Later on, he completed a degree with high honors in Sociology in Yenching.

Ts'ai married Hsiu-ying in 1933.

When the Japanese invaded China, Ts'ai was a lecturer of Minnan University in Xiamen. Ts'ai was imprisoned for three weeks as a traitor as he spoke for hating Japan's sins without losing love for the sinners. Afterwards, he was driven to Hong Kong where he felt God commanded him "share the lot with your people". Ts'ai went to teach at Lingnan University in Guang-zhou and in Yunnan respectively. After some time, he moved to Kunming and was regarded as an itinerant preacher at the Church of Christ in China congregation. He also accepted the suggestion of Bishop Ronald Hall and became chaplain at the Huei-Tien hospital. He was then ordained an Episcopal priest.

After the war, Ts'ai enrolled in Columbia University in New York with scholarship. His doctoral thesis was on the works of Cheng I and Cheng Hao's Neoconfucianism in Sung dynasty. He also put effort in combining unselfish Christian love with social responsibility as the basis for rebuilding China.

By 1950, Ts'ai was back to China when the People's Republic reigned over the country. Ts'ai was being suspected to have American friends during the Korean War and was put under house arrest. He was cleared in 1952 and continued his teaching in Jinlin in 1956. Ten years later in the Cultural Revolution, Ts'ai suffered severely through and was exiled to remote village. He was on sickleave after his formal retirement and rehabilitation in 1975 and 1979, lived with his daughters and worked on a book of New Testament readings and introductions for university students, which was published after his death.

撮 要

蔡詠春 (1904-1983) 是中國基督教歷史的典範。本文記述他的一生。

蔡詠春生於福建，父母均是基督徒。年少時曾參與五四運動，也加入過長老會。1922年入讀北京燕京大學，主修社會學和宗教。1925年，他跟巴狄德女士合作，為中國已為人母者著寫叢書，論早期家庭教育。蔡詠春被肺結核折磨多年，也曾一度遭綁架；那段日子雖難捱，卻恢復了他對上帝的信心。後來，他在燕京大學繼續攻讀，取得社會學榮譽學位。蔡詠春與黃秀英於1933年結婚。

日本侵華年間，蔡詠春正在廈門閩南大學任教。由於他力主和平，自言恨日本的罪，卻無減其對罪人的愛，於是他被視為叛徒，被囚三星期。隨後，他一家被迫遷到香港，他感到上帝吩咐他說：「把你所有的與人共享」。接著，他分別於廣州嶺南大學和雲南任教。一段日子以後，他舉家遷往昆明，在中華基督教會的會眾眼內，蔡詠春是位巡迴牧師，及後，他應何明華主教之請，出任惠田醫院（音譯）的院牧，後來他更被立為聖公會牧師。

戰後，蔡詠春取得獎學金，赴紐約哥倫比亞大學進修，他的博士論文研究宋代新儒學者二程之說。他又嘗試融合基督教無私的愛和社會責任，以作為重整中國的基礎。

1950年，共產黨執政，蔡詠春返抵老家中國。韓戰期間，他涉嫌跟美國人互通消息而遭囚禁，到1952年才證實無辜得釋。1956年，他開始於吉林教學。十年後文化大革命爆發，蔡詠春在此期間吃了不少苦頭，並且被下放至偏僻村落。他在病癒並正式退休後，分別於1975年和1979年取得假期，跟女兒同住，為大學生撰寫一本新約閱讀和介紹的書，惟該書於他逝世後才得以出版。