

## METHODIST MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING AND DIPLOMACY: THE CALDWELL FAMILY IN FOOCHOW AND CENTRAL FUKIEN, 1912-1949<sup>1</sup>

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Christian missionary work has played a significant role in the complex Sino-American relationship. Since the late 1940s American missionaries have been either praised as messengers of the Gospel or denounced as cultural iconoclasts. In the field of diplomacy, most missionaries have stood against foreign encroachment on China's integrity from the early twentieth century to 1949. On the actual formulation of American political policy toward China, however, the missionaries generally did not make any important impact.<sup>2</sup> Without belaboring the issue of the "success" or "failure" of the overall missionary work, this article focuses narrowly on the unique activities of one American Methodist missionary family, the Caldwells, in Foochow and its environs during the period 1912-1949. While some American missionaries might still be confused like the fictional David Treadup in their efforts to serve the Chinese people,<sup>3</sup> the Caldwells succeeded "because they learned the languages and the customs, because they lived not only in the great cities but in fishing villages and mountain hamlets . . . [and] above all . . . because they had . . . *a spirit of dedication*. It was so strong and shining that it broke down the walls of hatred and superstition, so unmistakable that the cries of imperialism and exploitation fell on deaf ears."<sup>4</sup> This article, however, does not elaborate on the

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<sup>1</sup>I must thank Professor (ret.) Muriel Caldwell Pilley of Belmont College, Nashville, Tennessee for the interview conducted in March of 1991, the correspondence since then, and her editorial help. An earlier version of this article was presented at the annual meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Region of the Association for Asian Studies, held at Mahwah, New Jersey on October 29-31, 1993. I am grateful for comments from the participants, especially Kathleen Lodwick, Raoul Kulberg, Murray Rubinstein, and Lawrence Kessler. I also appreciate the written comments from Donald MacInnis, Creighton Lacy, and Britt Towery.

<sup>2</sup>See the Introduction in Patricia Neils, ed., *United States Attitudes and Policies toward China: The Impact of American Missionaries* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1990).

<sup>3</sup>See the missionary and educational role of Treadup in John Hersey, *The Call* (New York: Penguin, 1986). For a discussion of Treadup's psychology that reflected the whole missionary effort in China, see Arthur Waldron, "Christianity and China: Historical Perspectives," *China Study Journal*, 6 (April 1991): 4-9.

<sup>4</sup>John C. Caldwell, *China Coast Family* (Chicago: Henry Regnery 1953), 227.

common themes of evangelical, educational, and humanitarian work of the missionaries, but on tiger-hunting, bandit and pirate pacification, and helping China to fight the Japanese aggressors. Through these secular efforts, the Caldwells who were mainly "country missionaries," contributed to the spheres of intercultural understanding and diplomacy. Because of their special activities that benefited the local populace, the Caldwells became agents of cultural change, "image-makers," and friends to China.<sup>5</sup>

## I

Three generations of the Caldwells, originally from East Tennessee, served as Methodist ministers, diplomats, and educators in America and China. Lisle B. Caldwell was a Methodist minister and served as Vice-Chancellor of Grant University in Athens. After his retirement, Lisle carried out missionary work in China for two years. During their college days in Grant University, Ernest B. and Harry R. Caldwell heard John R. Mott speak on the Student Volunteer Movement (of the YMCA). After the address, they pledged their commitment to the service of the church. In 1899 Ernest was appointed by the Board of Missions in New York as a missionary to China. Three years later Ernest's brother Harry accepted the same challenging assignment. In 1940 Muriel Caldwell, the daughter of the Rev. and Mrs. Harry Caldwell, and her husband, John A. Pilley (an educational missionary), were appointed. Muriel's three brothers were Oliver J., John C., and Morris C. Lieutenant Morris was a volunteer fighter pilot who earned the Silver Star for wartime service and lost his life in 1942. Oliver and John worked for the United States government in China during the wartime period. The last of the children (Joyce) was the wife of a Presbyterian minister.

## II

Among Foochow missionaries, the unique evangelical and secular career of Harry Caldwell, a well-known gun-wielding, tiger-hunting "Teddy Roosevelt" of the Methodists,<sup>6</sup> deserves attention.

Harry's parish belonged to the Foochow Conference and included four coastal districts covering an area 2,000 square miles with a population of

<sup>5</sup>Willard L. Beard, a Methodist missionary, believed that while the Christian movement had made mistakes (for example, they were too eager for a repetition of Pentecost in China), the missionary was basically an ambassador of peace, friendship or goodwill. See Beard's "A Missionary's Thoughts after Thirty-eight Years in China," in "The Chinese Recorder" (January 1933). See also the theme of friendship in Charles Tyzack, *Friends to China: The Davidson Brothers and the Friends' Mission to China, 1886-1939* (York: William Sessions, 1988).

<sup>6</sup>Walter N. Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1948), 241; *Foochow News* (Foochow, China: The Methodist Mission, Summer 1940), 51.

one million in central Fukien. From 1912–16 Futsing, a county seat of about 25,000 population, was the Caldwells' main China Coast home. Like other foreigners, the Caldwells had Chinese servants and helpers. Among them Da Da ("Little Brother"), became an important instrument in intercultural understanding. For more than forty years he was friend and helper of the Caldwells and Pilleys.

What caused Da Da and Harry Caldwell to contribute to intercultural understanding was not only Da Da's conversion to Christianity and cooperation as family companion, but also their hunting man-eating tigers together. While there were other missionaries who also hunted and occasionally killed tigers, throughout the China Coast it was the name "Caldwell" that became synonymous with "The Great Tiger Hunter."

Tiger hunting transformed Harry's evangelistic work. His brother Ernest told him that the "people [in his parish] would not have heard of Christ until this day had you [Harry] not killed that [first] tiger."<sup>7</sup> In Harry's rural parishes, villagers were attacked and their livestock were killed by marauding tigers. They often sent for Harry and Da Da to come and kill the tigers molesting the villages. Nevertheless, the important impact of tiger-hunting on intercultural understanding has not been fully appreciated by Americans.

It is understandable why the official Methodist accounts such as *A Hundred Years of China Methodism* did not elaborate on Harry's tiger-hunting. The primary task of Christian missionaries of all denominations was evangelism. However, Harry always became upset when he encountered the idea that "a missionary was a serious, doom-faced gentleman with a Bible under one arm and a black umbrella under the other, interested in nothing but preaching and saving souls."<sup>8</sup> But Harry was also troubled when he gained more and more fame as tiger hunter and pacifier of bandits. He feared that the Chinese people might misunderstand the true nature of his activities. Nonetheless, tiger-hunting (recognized by Bishop James W. Bashford as a part of a missionary's life) and bandit-pacification "opened a door into the minds and hearts of people held in the thrall of superstition."<sup>9</sup> In other words, these special secular activities of Harry's and his building of churches and schools were part of the Social Gospel. His methods were "a means of meeting the physical and intellectual needs of the Chinese to make the case for Christianity."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Quoted in Harry R. Caldwell, *Blue Tiger* (New York and Cincinnati: The Abingdon Press, 1924), 24.

<sup>8</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 161.

<sup>9</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 32, 161–62.

<sup>10</sup>See Murray A. Rubinstein's review on James Culp's film, "The China Call: The American Missionary in China" (San Francisco, California: James Culp Productions for the Film History Production, 1992), in *Journal of Asian Studies*, 51 (November 1992): 997–98.

How did the act of hunting tigers with a rifle become a powerful approach to combat superstitions and to change the Chinese way of life in Harry Caldwell's parish? Here is an example.

According to ancient legend, all true tigers have in their stomachs a blade of grass known as the 'pass-over-hunger-grass.' It is said that the gods provide the grass as magic nourishment when the tiger is too old or sick to make a kill, and that an animal without his blessing cannot be a true tiger. . . the Chinese character meaning 'Lord' or 'Emperor' must be found in the markings of the forehead of a tiger if it be a tiger of whom the devils and demons are afraid. . . .

Harry's first two kills found no grass blade and markings and thus were discredited by local gentry. (This could be regarded as a case of hostility toward the foreign missionary.<sup>11</sup>) But the many tigers that Harry later killed definitely dispersed the superstitious folklore about the tiger.<sup>12</sup>

Da Da was another example of cultural change, prompted by tiger-hunting. One day, when he was rising from a blind to fire at a charging tiger, his queue became entangled in a thornbush. He dangled helplessly while the tiger came on. Father [Harry] dropped the beast only a length away. That night Da Da appeared in the living room with a pair of shears. It was not necessary for him to say a word. Father [Harry] cut, and Da Da became the first man in his village to break the rule of his forefathers [before the Republican Revolution in 1912].<sup>13</sup>

Bandits and pirates were the core of Harry's diplomatic activities in Fukien. He was unique in this kind of diplomacy not because he saved or negotiated for the release of fellow missionaries or westerners, but because he dealt with *Chinese* bandits and pirates on behalf of the *Chinese* people and authorities.

While the 1920s was a decade of troubles for the Christian enterprise in China, Harry's parish outside Foochow was not greatly disturbed. Since Chiang Kai-shek never effectively ruled over Fukien, there were many bandits among the Fukien hills and pirates along the coast. It was no big surprise that the local Chinese authorities had to employ the service of any capable and daring men, including foreigners, in dealing with these Fukienese non-conformists. Above all, since Chinese distrusted Chinese as a result of frequent treachery in their negotiations, both the government authorities and the bandits welcomed foreign mediation and negotiation.

Harry Caldwell was an excellent candidate for the important position of middle-man. The bandits admired his hunting exploits, which were the talk of the land. The government respected him for his integrity and good

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<sup>11</sup>Mrs. Pilley remembered no conflicts with the gentry or anyone else. She thought the Caldwells were considered friends. She and her brothers and sister, however, did not like being called "Foreign devils" by people who did not know them. Mrs. Pilley's letter to the author, n.d., received in September of 1993.

<sup>12</sup>See Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 36-37, 43-44, 47.

<sup>13</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 34.

works. His parish loved him as a man of God. So in the early 1920s the Governor officially asked him to become Bandit Pacification Commissioner of Fukien, mediator in negotiations to end war and bloodshed. Harry accepted and continued the difficult task until he went on furlough in June 1922. Harry believed that it was another opportunity to do the Lord's work and to stop senseless butchery in China, so he continued to be mediator in coastal Fukien until he was forced to evacuate China in June 1944.<sup>14</sup>

Although he had authority from both sides (the government and the bandits or the pirates), Harry Caldwell understood the importance of proceeding without an unfavorable reaction to his church. Should there be treachery on either side, the church would suffer. On the other hand, there might be too many converts at the church door if it became known that he was acting with such full authority. Harry knew about the charge that many Chinese became "rice Christians" for the sake of protection or better jobs. He therefore decreed that no reformed bandit could become a church member for the period of a full year. He also refused to permit either the bandit chiefs or the Chinese government to pay his traveling expenses.<sup>15</sup>

Harry's first major negotiation effort was the peaceful settlement of the Ling Ceng affair that occurred in the Yuki mountains near Nanping, which lies 120 miles above Foochow. Accompanied by a high-ranking officer, a Governor's spokesman, an interpreter, Da Da and a burden bearer, Harry met the bandits at a small but strategic village in the mountains. Before the formal negotiation process, he manifested interest in their paper-making industry and in the village life. Being fluent in the Foochow dialect, he could talk of paper-making, of tigers, and of life in America. Some young bandits turned out to have studied in a Christian day school, and it was their knowledge of the Church and of missionaries that was responsible for the attitude of confidence. The climax of the adventurous negotiation was not the final arrangement that pardoned Bandit Chief Ling and his several hundred outlaws, but Harry's tacit understanding of the unique Chinese and bandit way of etiquette.<sup>16</sup>

Before Chief Ling appeared for the negotiation, he honored Harry with a sumptuous feast at a round table. "The twelfth course was a large rooster, swimming in delicious gravy and covered with mushrooms." The platter of fowl was put in the center of the table. The man acting as Harry's host made the first move by standing up, and with great deliberation removing the enormous comb from the rooster's head. With an unused pair of chopsticks he placed the comb on a silver tray. Taking the tray in both hands, he solemnly walked twice around the table. He stopped the second time around at Harry's left, made a low bow, and respectfully

<sup>14</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 93, 98.

<sup>15</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 98-99.

<sup>16</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 99-102.

placed the tray before him. Sensing the seriousness of the situation Harry arose and made an equally low bow. At the time he did not understand the full significance of the ceremony. The man sitting at his right leaned over and softly told Harry that he was crowned. This was the greatest token of confidence known among their people. With the "crowning" they had committed their lives into Harry's hands. The bandit chief's private secretary (the host) and others high in authority then became free to expose their identities and to tell Harry the whole bandit situation despite the presence of the military officers.<sup>17</sup>

After the feast table had been cleared, Chief Ling and ten accompanying officers walked into the large room and seated themselves. Harry indicated that the military officers acted with the authority of those whom they represented. He then offered himself to be representative of the bandits, responsible to them for all that he did or agreed upon.

The spectacle of an American asking for the privilege of representing the bandits was something new to these people who had been driven into banditry because they had never before had a man to stand up for their rights and be heard. No further words were needed for *their* pledge of sincerity. And the military too became bound for they would lose great face if they double-crossed an American missionary.<sup>18</sup>

After the successful deliberations the bandits thanked Harry. They were well-armed but they wanted to quit the business. After a breakfast the following morning Harry's party left. The mountains echoed to the banging of fire crackers and the firing of small field pieces. Harry heard one man say to another, "Our cause is perfectly safe in the hands of that missionary, for he is an American."<sup>19</sup>

Another notable bandit pacification mission was the Ding Cu Geng affair. In order to gain the trust of the bandit chief, Harry Caldwell offered his first son, Oliver, as the guarantee that there would be no treachery on the government side. Because of this unique diplomacy—offering one's first born son (one's very heir) as hostage—Chief Ding abandoned his suspicions and continued negotiations with Caldwell and the government. Although Chief Ding later rebelled again under Japanese patronage, Harry's prestige as Bandit Pacification Commissioner remained intact.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 102–104.

<sup>18</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 104–105.

<sup>19</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 105–107. Mrs. Pilley recalled that in those days an American flag flying from the mast of a river boat on which the Caldwells were traveling was protection from bandits. In later years during the Japanese occupation, when bandits were active, Harry Caldwell's Chinese name (the characters) on the Caldwells' messenger's basket carried through mountains of "no-man's land," insured against robbery. "That's Mr. Caldwell's; let it pass." Mrs. Pilley's letter to the author, n.d., received in August of 1993.

<sup>20</sup>See Harry Caldwell's unpublished memoirs, *The Troubleshooter* (1959), chap. 10; Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 110–15. Harry "failed" to save a major bandit chief, Lau Chung Ciu, in the Futsing area during his years of negotiations. In 1934 he got involved with Chung

Harry Caldwell also dealt with revolutionaries and pirates. In late 1937 a communist rebellion broke out at Gosang. Its ringleaders, Ung Ding Buong and Lo Sie, proclaimed an independent "people's government," and prepared to march inland to Futsing. In order to avoid bloodshed, the city elders of Futsing asked Harry and another missionary, Pearce Hayes, to mediate. While Ung was willing to compromise, Lo Sie wanted to kidnap the missionaries and hold them for ransom. Because of Ung's objection, Lo Sie did not capture Harry and Pearce but abandoned the area with the best troops of the "people's republic." The disarmed Ung had to surrender to the superior Nationalist army. Because of Harry's plea, Ung escaped execution and served only a short term in a concentration camp. Later in 1943 Ung became a "puppet-pirate" commanding a large number of armed junks. He requested Harry and his son John to help him surrender to the Nationalists or the American government. This time it was an international affair and Harry and John Caldwell did not have the authority to accept surrenders. Distrusting the Chinese authorities, Ung finally did not surrender. However, he "was a pirate with a conscience;" he did not capture Harry and John in "No-man's land" and deliver them to the Japanese. When other occupying troops, Japanese and "puppet," looted up and down the China Coast, Ung guarded the Caldwells' property in Futsing after they had left the city in late 1944. Ung did not forget that Harry Caldwell had saved his life once.<sup>21</sup>

Probably influenced by their father's exemplary behavior and personal experiences, John and Oliver Caldwell became interested in formal and intriguing diplomacy. During the Second World War, John was an official of the United States Office of War Information. In September 1943, John returned to work in Fukien after a twelve-year absence.

As discussed before, John Caldwell was involved in the unsuccessful surrender scheme of Ung Ding Buong. In addition, John's assignment "was to . . . give hope to the war-ravaged Coast . . . to talk of . . . the certainty of Allied Victory . . . to talk to the people and their leaders . . . to fill the newspapers with stories of America's might and America's good intentions." He was trusted by the local population because of the earlier

Ciu at the request of Admiral (ret.) Sah Ding Bing, a Fukienese who served as the Minister of Navy in Beijing in the 1910s and the governor of Fukien from 1922-27. Because of government (not Sah's) treachery, Chung Ciu died tragically. When Harry returned home from a trip, he and Da Da had Chung Ciu's body exhumed from a pit, placed in a coffin and carried to his ancestral home. Mrs. Pilley's letter to the author in September 1993.

<sup>21</sup>See Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 115-21; Caldwell, *Blue Tiger*, chap. 15 and *The Troubleshooter*, chaps. 9 and 13. For other cases of bandit and pirate pacification missions, see the other chapters in Harry Caldwell's book and memoirs. See also the sections concerning Harry Caldwell, "an evangelist who carried a rifle," and his bandit and pirate pacification missions (such as those related to "The Dark War" and the "South Seas Smuggling") in Mark Gayn and John C. Caldwell, *American Agent* (New York: Henry Holt, 1947).

evangelical, educational, and humanitarian work done by the Caldwells. John's understanding of the Foochow dialect and his former connections also facilitated his diplomatic activity.<sup>22</sup>

In the wake of the Japanese Ichigo operation in the summer of 1944, coastal Fukien was in danger of another Japanese attack. Being the only civilian American official on the coast, John Caldwell was in charge of the evacuation of Americans to the west. On June 18, 1944, the Caldwells and many others left Nanping. The Chinese offered presents, but they could not be accepted. It was in Foochow that Harry Caldwell finally agreed to accept a gift of money from Futsing Christians. It was to be used to create an educational scholarship fund in the memory of Lieutenant Morris C. Caldwell.<sup>23</sup>

John Caldwell escaped to West China in November 1944. A Chinese general gave him a proclain figure as a gift. Inscribed on it was "a little legend applying," John thought, "to the whole Caldwell family: Our sacred *friendship* [emphasis added] glows freely from one to the other. Together we are fighting the wicked power of aggression in the world. Toiling for reconstruction of an ever-lasting peace and forging ahead."<sup>24</sup>

Shortly after the end of the Pacific War, John Caldwell traveled through China establishing the postwar Voice of America program. In late 1945 he returned again, to become Director of the China Branch of the United States Information Service, and to be a member of the American Embassy and the Marshall Mission.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, the triumph of Communism in 1949 cut short John's career in China.<sup>26</sup>

In 1943 Oliver Caldwell was a Captain in the Office of Strategic Services and was assigned to Chiang Kai-shek's Secret Military Police. Oliver was openly a double agent, working both for the American and Chinese armies. But later he became secretly a triple agent, when he agreed to represent the three great Chinese secret societies (Triad) in their effort to secure American support to oust Chiang Kai-shek and to establish a new moderate democratic government.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>See Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 212.

<sup>23</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 216-17.

<sup>24</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 217-18.

<sup>25</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 220.

<sup>26</sup>Ironically, although John Caldwell had served well in China, he was an early victim in the growing systematic persecution of China experts who had been brave enough to criticize American policies towards China. In December 1944, John was invited to address the naval military government school at Columbia University. He used the occasion to describe the activities of the Milton Miles naval group in China. Soon the FBI descended on him and he had a very unpleasant time. Five times the FBI "grilled" him. Since there was no case against him, John was left alone after suffering hardship. See Oliver J. Caldwell, *A Secret War: Americans in China, 1944-1945* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), 121-22.

<sup>27</sup>See Caldwell, *A Secret War*, IX-XX; Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 181, 208.

Oliver Caldwell's "secret war" was interesting not only because of his unique triple agent's role but because the "war" demonstrated the dilemma of American policy toward Chiang Kai-shek and China. Oliver believed that,

American policies toward China during this century have been influenced by sentimentality rather than reason—dominated by certain Old China Hands, of which there are three main varieties. Most numerous are the missionaries and the children of missionaries who admire the Chiangs because they are members of the Methodist church. Another powerful group consists of businessmen and military and naval personnel who supported Chiang and his Nationalist party because he was a strong man who had almost succeeded in unifying the country; under his authority business flourished and considerable material progress was achieved. . . . The third group is much smaller. It consists of Sinologists and some missionaries and their children who have been increasingly alienated by the absolutism of Chiang's dictatorship. This group is considered dangerous by a majority of Old China Hands. It never has had much influence in our China policies.<sup>28</sup>

In 1944 Oliver Caldwell was psychologically a member of the China Lobby. By the end of the Sino-Japanese war, however, he became disillusioned with the American support of Chiang Kai-shek. Oliver's knowledge of China and his personal experiences convinced him that,

. . . the ousting of [Joseph] Stilwell and the victory of the [Milton] Miles-[Albert] Wedemeyer faction would end in disaster both for China and for the United States. My brief exposure to the highly disciplined, purposeful, confident, and ruthless Communists in North China made me skeptical of the ability of the crumbling Chiang government to survive. The hundreds of millions of rural people who were the backbone of the power of the secret societies felt increasingly alienated from the Kuomintang [Nationalist Party]. Our failure to back the formation of a moderate liberal government, in my estimation, gave them no real alternative but Mao Tse-tung.<sup>29</sup>

Oliver believed that the American policies toward Chiang Kai-shek and China were wrong.

Different from his brother John, Oliver Caldwell did not operate in Fukien during the wartime period. But his diplomatic career showed us one important, albeit rather obscure, aspect of the chaotic Chinese politics. The American entanglement in China was a good lesson in democracy and Oliver's experiences thus were the contributions of a Methodist missionary's son in Sino-American diplomacy.

Without the adventurous tiger-hunting and intriguing diplomatic careers of her father and brothers, Muriel Caldwell Pilley and her husband nonetheless also contributed to intercultural understanding. The Pilleys had taught at the Shanghai American School (1929–34) and the Foochow Anglo-Chinese College (1935–39) as "contract teachers."<sup>30</sup> In September

<sup>28</sup>Caldwell, *A Secret War*, XI–XII.

<sup>29</sup>Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 192–93.

<sup>30</sup>"Contract teachers" were like present-day Peace Corps workers, not "missionaries" but hired by the school on a minimal salary. The relationship was "intercultural." Mrs. Pilley's letter to the author in August 1993.

1939, they returned to America. Mr. Pilley was soon accepted by the Methodist Board of Missions for teaching at the Anglo-Chinese College at Yangkow in the mountains of Fukien. Together with the Rev. and Mrs. Harry Caldwell, the Pilleys "ran the Japanese blockade" and returned to coastal Fukien in late 1940.<sup>31</sup>

The Pilleys then started the study of Mandarin in Foochow. Muriel could speak the Foochow dialect and John had grown up speaking "Shanghai." Knowing Chinese languages broke down cultural barriers. Of course, having grown up in China, they also felt closer to the Chinese people.<sup>32</sup>

The Japanese occupied Foochow for five months and interrupted the Pilleys' language study. After the former withdrew, the Pilleys were able to rejoin the Anglo-Chinese College at Yangkow in late 1941. Until they left Fukien in 1944, the Pilleys shared hardships and lived in close contact with colleagues and students. It was a wonderful experience, which broke down cultural barriers. John worked with other teachers to persuade the mayor to deal in a scientific way with the ravaging bubonic plague. The villagers knew only to parade their idols.<sup>33</sup>

In late 1944 John Pilley volunteered to serve in the Office of Strategic Services. Later he worked as a Captain for fourteen months in Southwest China. He traveled with Chinese coolies carrying essential war materials such as generators over the mountains. Muriel Pilley and the children stayed in Nashville. In December 1946, the Pilleys returned to Foochow and the Anglo-Chinese College. They fled Foochow in 1949. The Communists planned to arrest them, and John Pilley was regarded as "Public Enemy No. 1."<sup>34</sup>

### III

The Caldwell family from 1912–1949 did not play roles in intercultural understanding and diplomacy that were decisive in the shaping of the history of modern China, but a study of the "success" stories like that of the Methodist Caldwells in coastal Fukien sheds light on a microscopic picture of Christian influence at the regional level.

The Caldwells were determined to spread the Gospel and to win souls, but they (particularly Harry Caldwell) did not adhere to the doctrine of separation of church and state. They perceived social and cultural problems, and carried out the strategy of Social Gospel. Besides educational and humanitarian efforts, the Caldwells worked closely with Chinese officials in diplomatic missions that benefited the Chinese people.

<sup>31</sup>This information came from Mrs. Pilley's memoirs, *The Hills of T'ang*.

<sup>32</sup>See Pilley, *The Hills of T'ang*.

<sup>33</sup>See Pilley, *The Hills of T'ang*.

<sup>34</sup>See Pilley, *The Hills of T'ang*.

The socio-cultural impact of the Caldwells on the coastal Fukien communities was important. Tiger-hunting saved human lives; bandit and pirate pacification restored local law and order and avoided further butchery; diplomacy helped consolidate the local Chinese determination in fighting the Japanese invaders and friendship created cultural understanding.

The secular and evangelistic activities of the Caldwells created a positive image of Americans. When the Caldwells and other Americans retreated from Fukien in 1944, various Chinese (officials, gentry, generals, soldiers, reformed and unrepentant pirates and bandits, teachers, smugglers, fishermen, men and women from the villages, and non-Christians) sent them off and offered gifts.<sup>35</sup> The legacy of the Caldwells was that they were trusted missionaries and they were welcome as Americans and friends.

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<sup>35</sup>Caldwell, *China Coast Family*, 216–17; see also n. 23. The trusted and respected status of the Caldwells had earlier been demonstrated in Harry Caldwell's "making sixty" grand birthday party in Futsing in March 1936. Attendees included common folks and local dignitaries. Church members, men, women and children, students and teachers were served in the school dining hall. Preachers, the mayor, the Commissioner of Education, the local GMD secretary, the Police Chief, the head of the Chamber of Commerce, the local leading banker, the Postmaster, and Da Da's family were served in the Caldwells' own dining room. These honored and special guests had to be summoned personally by a servant when the feast was ready. It was a long feast, with 16 courses—the most suggested by the "New Life Movement" of the Chiang Kai-shek government. Toward the end Muriel and John Pilley, representing the family, went from table to table, bowing thanks to everyone for coming to honor Harry. Mrs. Pilley's letter to the author in September 1993.