

## ABSTRACT

Revival in Henan: The Work of the Holy Spirit Among Missionaries and Chinese Christians

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In spite of the great political, economic, and social upheavals in China during the first half of the twentieth century, the 1920s to 1940s were a time of great revivals in churches throughout the nation. Led by indigenous Christians and characterized by manifestations of the Holy Spirit, these revivals often caused the Chinese to separate from the various missionaries and foreign organizations with which they had previously been affiliated. Yet when the Shandong Revival spread, missionaries in the Henan province participated in this movement along with the indigenous people. Southern Baptist missionaries Maudie Fielder and Katie Murray lived through this phenomenon, and the documents that they left behind give insight into their experiences. This thesis will examine these women's papers found in the Texas Collection in order to show the unique way that this Revival in Henan simultaneously empowered Chinese Christians and strengthened their unity of spirit with the missionaries.

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REVIVAL IN HENAN: THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT AMONG MISSIONARIES  
AND CHINESE CHRISTIANS

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DEDICATION

To Maudie Ethel Albritton Fielder

and Katie Murray

*Women of God who lived life to the fullest*

To my family,

*For filling my life with love and demonstrating that living for Jesus Christ*

*is the greatest adventure of all*

## CHAPTER ONE

### The Native Fire of Revival in China

#### *Introduction*

From the time of the early church, Christianity has spread its influence to the ends of the earth. Experiencing various waves of Christian missions from the Nestorians of the Tang Dynasty to the Jesuits of the late 1500s and the Protestants of the 1800s, China has been touched by this movement for many years. From the establishment of the first Chinese mission of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1860, American men and women began coming with this organization to the ancient land to propagate Christianity. Due to strict gender separation in Chinese culture, single female missionaries and missionary wives played a significant role in introducing Christianity to Chinese families. The church was not immune from problems of imperialism, however, and by the 1920s and 1930s, indigenous revivals swept through China that drew many Chinese away from the mission churches. Some missionaries, however, were not alienated from the Chinese population during these revivals, but instead experienced revival alongside the Chinese. The papers and memoirs of Maudie Fielder (1892-1986) and Katie Murray (1897-1982), missionaries to Henan Province, serve as unique windows into the development of the indigenous Chinese Church. The degree of support female Southern Baptist missionaries in Henan Province gave to the Shandong Revival (1927-33) and the ensuing changes of church leadership depended upon their flexibility and openness to a fresh work of God.

### *Historical Background*

China during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had hit an incredibly low point politically. In 1911 the last dynasty fell, and a nationalist government took over. The new government, however, failed to fill the power vacuum left after the fall of the old order, and regional warlords rose to power in 1916 after the death of Yuan Shikai, the first President of the Republic of China. Great power struggles ensued, but from 1926-28 the Northern Expedition of Chiang Kai-shek and the army of the Guomindang reunified the country. Nevertheless, threats of violence continued to impact China as banditry became an increasing problem and the threat from Japan rose in the 1930s. Increased nationalism also characterized this period, and many Chinese became hostile toward westerners.<sup>1</sup>

The suffering of the Chinese people greatly exacerbated this problem. During the 1920s and 1930s, a cycle of famine and drought followed by massive flooding struck the area along the Yellow River in north and central China. The droughts caused farmers to lose their livestock and crops, while the floods displaced millions of people. This vicious cycle impinged upon the Chinese economy and society, for industries were injured and families, the most basic element of Chinese society, were scattered. Along with the crippled economy, problems such as the pervasive addiction to opium demoralized Chinese society.

### *Shandong Revival*

Led by a joint effort of missionaries and indigenous Chinese Christians, the Shandong Revival began in the late 1920s and was characterized by an emphasis on the

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<sup>1</sup> Xi, Lian, *Redeemed by Fire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 133. Events such as the May 13<sup>th</sup> Movement of 1925 in Shanghai demonstrated this growing mistrust of foreigners.



work of the Holy Spirit in conversion, empowerment for Christian living, and miraculous manifestations. In *Redeemed by Fire*, Lian Xi presents new scholarship on several movements of the Holy Spirit, including the Shandong Revival, among indigenous Chinese in the first half of the twentieth century. He demonstrates how the Shandong Revival spread throughout Northern China, Manchuria, and Henan through special meetings held by missionaries and leaders of the Spiritual Gifts Society, a loosely structured group inspired and led by indigenous, Pentecostal preachers.<sup>2</sup> Resources accessible in America best lend themselves to the study of the involvement of missionaries in this movement.

Marie Monsen (1878-1962), a missionary with the Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Henan, served as the catalyst for the Shandong Revival among the Southern Baptists and its spread into Henan. In 1927, warfare in the Henan region forced her to evacuate to Chefoo, now known as Yantai, on the Shandong Peninsula.<sup>3</sup> Yet several encounters with vibrant, indigenous Christianity, personal experiences of the Holy Spirit, and an important meeting with Chinese women in 1927 led Monsen to sense that the time was ripe for revival in the churches. Over the next few years, she shared her experiences and insight into the work of the Holy Spirit with the Southern Baptist missionaries that she

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<sup>2</sup> Xi, 99-103. Effectually, the broader Shandong Revival consisted of two distinct streams of revivals, one in which missionaries participated and one in which indigenous Christians separated from mission churches. The Spiritual Gifts Society claimed the larger following, as Xi notes; yet, the strand of revivalism including the missionaries in Shandong and the surrounding provinces is significant in that it represents the only large-scale revival in which missionaries and indigenous Christians both help start and help cultivate revival. Since this thesis relies on missionary sources, I will be focusing on the their involvement within the greater Shandong Revival. The term “Shandong Revival,” then, applies both to the larger movement and more specifically to the stream that includes the missionaries. Context will determine which meaning is intended.

<sup>3</sup> Xi, 95-98.

met. 1929 proved to be a pivotal year for Monsen, for she first survived being kidnapped by pirates off the coast of Shandong and then organized revival meetings with the help of the Southern Baptists. Monsen stressed the need for repentance, the born again experience, and the filling of the Holy Spirit. Revival soon spread throughout Shandong and Henan.

Centered in the mission churches, the Shandong Revival was unique in that it targeted needs of both the missionaries and the indigenous Chinese. Moreover, members of both of these groups helped spread the revival, within individual churches and then throughout the provinces. Indigenous church members, Southern Baptist missionaries, and China Inland Mission workers alike contributed to and benefitted from the movement. As shall be detailed more fully in the following chapters, the Shandong Revival allowed missionaries and their Chinese converts to reconcile with each other, while it simultaneously paved the way for Chinese Christians to take on more leadership roles in the church. This revival was not, however, the only one of its kind. In fact, multiple strains of revivalism spread throughout China during a similar time frame. In order to understand the context in which the Shandong Revival occurred, let us briefly examine the other important movements.

### *Indigenous Movements*

Numerous indigenous revival movements characterized by Pentecostalism, indigenous leadership, and a break from the mission churches swept through China in the 1920s and 1930s. The True Jesus Church (*Zhen Yesu Jiaohui*, 真耶稣教会), begun by Wei Enbo in 1917, was the first of these large-scale movements. Much like Hong Xiuquan, the leader of the Taiping Rebellion in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, Wei stressed the

importance of direct visions from God, egalitarianism, and salvation only through the TJC.<sup>4</sup> Wei began the movement in Beijing, but following his death in 1919 his followers spread the church throughout much of central and north China, including the Shandong and Henan Provinces. In 1926, Jing Dianying began another small community that became the Jesus Family (耶穌家庭), a network of communities that spread from Beijing throughout Northern China, including the Shandong and Henan Provinces.<sup>5</sup> Even more similar to the Taiping movement in structure, the Jesus Family practiced a strict order in which the community replaced the traditional family and emphasized the filling of the Holy Spirit. Although a few foreign missionaries offered some financial support for the Jesus Family, none were involved in leadership of the movement.

Native to the Shandong Province, the Spiritual Gifts Movement (*Ling'en hui*, 靈恩會) began in 1930 and spread in northern China. After having Pentecostal experiences at the revivals of an indigenous Pentecostal revivalist, Presbyterians Yang Rulin and Sun Shanyao began preaching about the movement of the Holy Spirit in mission churches, beginning in Presbyterian churches and eventually moving to other denominations.<sup>6</sup> This

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<sup>4</sup> Xi, 47-57.

<sup>5</sup> Xi, 78-83.

<sup>6</sup> Xi, 98-99. As Lian Xi details, Yang and Sun first received spiritual gifts at a meeting led by Ma Zhaorui, a Pentecostal who ran an orphanage under the Independent Assemblies of God in Nanjing. Ma had taken many orphans from Feixian, located in the southern part of Shandong Province, to his orphanage in Nanjing. In 1930 he was invited back to Feixian to speak at Presbyterian churches in the area, which he did so with great passion. After hearing him preach, Yang and Sun took his message of the work of the Holy Spirit to other mission churches. When controversy in the churches arose over Pentecostalism, the two men formed the Spiritual Gifts Society, a loosely connected network of churches formed as breakaways from the mission churches. Interestingly, as Xi notes, the movement had a connection to mainstream Pentecostalism through the

movement was less structured than the previous two mentioned; yet, here too Chinese leaders emphasized the gifts of the Holy Spirit within churches. While some missionaries accepted or tolerated the movement, the opposition of the majority of them caused many churches to split. This fragmentation allowed many Chinese to take leadership in the church apart from the oversight of western missionaries. As mentioned previously, this purely indigenous movement was part of the larger Shandong Revival. Structurally, and in practice, the Spiritual Gifts Movement is most similar to the Shandong Revival that the missionary women in this study experienced.

Although the Spiritual Gifts Movement was part of the larger Shandong Revival, records of the indigenous leaders are not readily available. In order to understand the similarities and differences between the more purely indigenous movements and the revivals led by missionaries, I will compare Monsen's work with that of John Sung, heralded as the most effective indigenous revivalist in China during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

*John Sung (宋尚節, d. August 18, 1944)*

### *Biography*

Born in Xinghua, Fujian Province, John Sung grew up as the son of a Methodist Episcopal minister.<sup>7</sup> Raised to be a preacher, as a young man Sung left to study theology in America at the expense of missionaries, only to pursue an education in the sciences instead. After graduating with his Ph.D. in chemistry from Ohio State University, Sung

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initial work of Ma Zhaorui, but the spread and formation of the movement developed independently of an official affiliation with other Pentecostal groups.

<sup>7</sup> Xi, 138.

went to Union Theological Seminary in New York to study for the ministry, a calling he felt he could no longer ignore. During the course of his education, he was exposed to modernism and the debates between fundamentalists and liberals over scientific and theological issues. While swept up in these debates, Sung began attending a series of revival meetings lead by the fourteen-year-old Uldine Utley who stressed the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the importance of the Cross.<sup>8</sup> Sung became extremely depressed as he heard her messages, but on February 10, 1927, he claimed to have experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit. He also had several visions in which he claims Jesus instructed him to proclaim and prepare the way for the swiftly approaching Second Coming of Christ. Listening to Utley seems to have been Sung's only interaction with American Pentecostalism, but the experience had a profound impact on his life and future ministry. In his excitement, Sung both praised God and denounced his liberal learning as demonic. Assuming that Sung was experiencing a mental breakdown, leaders of Union had him sent him to Bloomingdale Hospital, a psychiatric institution where Sung spent six months.

After being released, Sung returned to China in October 1927. He spent time convincing his parents of his sanity, got married, and then went to study mission education programs throughout China for the Methodist Episcopal Church.<sup>9</sup> Going as far north as Beijing, Sung became disillusioned with the social gospel mission work. Rather than relying on evangelism, missionaries with the social gospel approach built schools, hospitals, and community organizations such as the YMCA. Through these organizations,

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<sup>8</sup> Xi, 140-141.

<sup>9</sup> Xi, 141-145.

missionaries hoped to spread Christianity. Sung felt that these efforts were not effective and relied too much on foreign financial help. In 1931, he then began his first revival campaign in Nanchang, Jiangxi Province in which he rejected worldliness and westernization while calling for the repentance of sin in preparation for the return of the Lord. Sung continued preaching and in May of the same year joined the Bethel Band, becoming the fourth member of a group of young, Chinese preachers sponsored by the Bethel Mission of Shanghai.<sup>10</sup> Traveling throughout China, the Band preached largely at mission churches including Zhengzhou Baptist Church where Maudie Fielder and Katie Murray attended. In spite of the evangelists' success, conflict developed among Sung, his sponsors, and the mission church leaders that caused the Bethel Band to separate in 1933.<sup>11</sup> Sung continued to hold revivals throughout China and even into Southeast Asia, converting according to the highest estimates up to 100,000 people.

The tension in Sung's early work as a revivalist lay in his ambiguous relationship with missionaries. Although he often worked with their support and relied on invitations to mission churches for speaking opportunities, Sung still distrusted western teaching that might include any hint of liberalism or worldliness. Moreover, he opposed foreign funding for Chinese churches and mission institutions, for he sensed that this funding hindered the Chinese from taking the leadership initiative in the church and stifled church growth. Yet, he simultaneously felt called to revive the church, meaning that his audience

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<sup>10</sup> Xi, 132, 145-146. The Bethel Band was created and sponsored by the Shanghai-based Bethel Mission, an organization founded by former Methodist Episcopal missionary Jennie V. Hughes and Chinese Christian surgeon Shi Meiyu. The Band represented a fundamentalist break from the more liberal foreign mission and the collaboration of foreign and indigenous Christians.

<sup>11</sup> Xi, 150.

would be primarily the congregation of pre-existing churches, most of which missionaries founded. Throughout his career Sung preached to crowds and conducted revivals as he saw fit, with little regard to the concerns of foreigners. He never curbed his message or his preaching style, which included grand theatrics such as jumping out of a coffin on stage to prove a point.

### *Sermons*

In order to get a sense of his actual messages, I will look at a series of sermons that Sung preached while leading revivals in Xiamen, Fujian Province in 1935. While Fujian is farther south than Henan and Shandong, the sermons give a good sense of the messages that Sung preached all over China. Moreover, Sung gave these sermons at the same time that effects of the Shandong Revival were still being felt throughout north and central China.

A key theme for Sung is the necessity of being born again. In his sermon, “Be Born Again!” (Xiamen, 1935) drawn from John 3 in which Nicodemus questions Jesus, Sung claims that being born-again is “the foundation of doctrine.”<sup>12</sup> For Sung, church members must have this experience in order to consider themselves truly Christians. In order to understand what the born again experience is, he defines it by its opposites, citing what it is not. He then explains why the experience is necessary, citing problems such as spiritual blindness and deafness, and further describes how one can be born again. Shunning the traditional interpretation of water as a baptismal image, Sung claims that the birth “of water and of the spirit” involves the tears of repentance and the reception of

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<sup>12</sup> Sung, John, “Book II,” in *40 John Sung Revival Sermons*, trans. Timothy Tow, (Singapore: Far Eastern Bible College Press, n.d.), 1-11.

the Holy Spirit as Lord of the heart.<sup>13</sup> The born again man must then learn to obey the Holy Spirit, having placed his faith in the crucified and resurrected Christ. When Christ goes on to say that one must be born again to enter the kingdom of heaven, Sung infers that this experience of being born again as he has defined it serves as the true beginning point for a Christian. He then illustrates his points by relating tales of other himself and other Chinese that have been born again.

Through this sermon, Sung hopes to cause his audience to question their individual spiritual standing. Paramount to his efforts is the desire to ensure that all of the Christians in a given church had experienced this inward renewal. He uses examples of people participating in church events but being denied access to heaven in order to lead church members to a salvation that he believed they might not already possess. While some Christians of certain denominations would disagree with his notion of a specific conversion experience as being central to becoming a Christian, Sung and his indigenous contemporaries clearly see it as necessary. By highlighting this element of Christianity, they are giving the Chinese an occasion on the basis of which they could assert the genuineness of their conversion and justify their claims to church leadership.

In order for the Chinese to take this leadership role, Sung holds that they must purge themselves of sins found throughout China. Throughout his sermons, he specifically condemns opium smoking, gambling, having concubines, having a bad

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<sup>13</sup> Sung, “Book II”, 3-4. Although Sung does not interpret this passage to mean water baptism, he also does not reject water baptism completely. In his sermon, “On Being Filled with the Holy Spirit I” found in Book VII of his 40 revival sermons, he clearly says that confession and baptism are both prerequisites for the filling of the Holy Spirit. The fact that he associates this water imagery with repentance shows both how important repentance is for Sung and demonstrates how Sung approaches Scripture in unconventional ways.



temper, and attending cinemas as being sins for which people must confess in order to be born again. Some of these actions, such as keeping concubines, were a part of Chinese society for thousands of years. In the classic Chinese novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*, the promotion of Cardinal Spring, one of the daughters of the Yungkuofu family, as one of the imperial concubines is celebrated as bringing honor and joy to the family.<sup>14</sup> Not only was having concubines accepted in ancient China, but the ascendancy of Cixi from imperial concubine to the Dowager Empress of China during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century demonstrates that the morality of having concubines was unquestioned, at least at the upper class level. Sung preaches against this value, however, claiming that the Chinese must renounce part of their cultural heritage in order to follow Christ. Although his audience mostly consisted of the lower classes who could not afford concubines, Sung still felt it important to challenge the cultural assumption that such practices were moral.

He also critiques the Chinese acceptance of Western influences, however, when he condemns going to cinemas. For Sung, the Christian should focus on living by the Holy Spirit apart from sin, and the movie theater served only as a corrupting influence. By denouncing what mainline Western Christians would consider acceptable, Sung distances himself and his message from the influence of modernization based on western models.

Accompanying repentance of sin, Sung connects the definite experience of being filled with the Holy Spirit as being equally necessary for the Christian life. In his sermon, “On Being Filled with the Holy Spirit I” (Xiamen, 1935) he preaches about

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<sup>14</sup> Tsao, Hseuh-Chin, *Dream of the Red Chamber*, trans. By Chi-Chen Wang, (New York: Anchor Books, 1989), 105-106.

Pentecost from the second chapter of the book of Acts in order to affirm the modern working of the Holy Spirit.<sup>15</sup> Sung makes a distinction between having only a taste of the Spirit, which he claims is the case with most churches, and having an abundance of the Spirit. The primary effects of the Spirit include purification and empowerment. Sung interprets the tongues of fire that came upon the disciples' heads as the refining of the mind of men by holy fire. Although Sung does not reject Pentecostal signs such as tongues, he claims that they are not the only proof of the filling of the Spirit. The only necessary sign of the filling of the Holy Spirit is a changed life.

The Holy Spirit will also enable believers to do powerful things. Concerning preaching, Sung again makes a distinction between working within the limits of man's mental ability and working in the power that the Spirit gives. The Spirit-filled Christian will speak powerfully and effectively with little effort. Furthermore, Sung relates that people in China have had heavenly visions and dreams as Peter preached. Sung also speaks here of healings that had happened in his ministry. Sung had learned of divine healings from Pentecostals, and healings became a central part of his revival campaigns. If the filling of the Spirit could happen for Chinese people as evidenced in changed lives, speaking with power, visions, and the experience of healings, then the Chinese could legitimately assert themselves as leaders in the church. Finally, Sung claims that all these effects of the Spirit enable members of a church to become a family. This was a critically important idea for the Chinese church at this time, for instability caused by natural disasters, war, and low morale plagued the foundational social unit: the family.

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<sup>15</sup> Sung, John, "Book VII," in *40 John Sung Revival Sermons*, trans. Timothy Tow, (Singapore: Far Eastern Bible College Press, n.d.), 7-14.

Throughout his sermons, Sung demonstrates a natural command of the Chinese language and culture that allows him to speak to his audience's point of view. While he spoke a different dialect from Mandarin that was often difficult for Chinese to understand, he shared a common understanding of the written language with all Chinese.<sup>16</sup> One of the most poignant examples of his understanding of China appears in his sermon titled "The Ten-Complete Peace of the Cross" (Xiamen, 1935)<sup>17</sup> Knowing that the Chinese character for "ten" (十) is the same shape as the cross, Sung connects the comfort and instruction Jesus gives his disciples before crucifixion with the Chinese symbol. Sung draws this out from the text both in order to help his audience remember the connection between peace and the cross of Christ, and in order to make the text distinctly Chinese. Sung does not view the gospel as a foreign, western notion but as God's revealed way to Godself that is relevant for all people of all times and places. Therefore, Sung and other indigenous preachers use distinctly Chinese ideas in order to proclaim the gospel.

Finally, one glimpses Sung's mostly negative view of missionaries in several sermons. Part of his disdain involves his adverse experiences in America, as when he claims, in "Beware of False Prophets" (Xiamen, 1935), that eighty percent of the foreigners that come to China have a low view of the Bible, are liberal, and do not truly believe in Christianity.<sup>18</sup> Including missionaries in this harsh critique, Sung shows that he

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<sup>16</sup> Xi, 137.

<sup>17</sup> Sung, John, "Book VI," in *40 John Sung Revival Sermons*, trans. Timothy Tow, (Singapore: Far Eastern Bible College Press, n.d.), 7-14.

<sup>18</sup> Sung, John, "Book VIII," in *40 John Sung Revival Sermons*, trans. Timothy Tow, (Singapore: Far Eastern Bible College Press, n.d.), 20.

considers liberals professing Christianity to be false Christians. In this statement, however, Sung does not condemn all missionaries, but the social gospel and theologically liberal version of Christianity. All Christianity in China had come through missionaries, and Sung here makes a distinction between different ideologies to which different foreigners adhere.

Sung does criticize foreign missions more broadly, however, in his sermon entitled “On Faith” (Xiamen, 1935), when he speaks of the danger of foreign funding. Citing an example from Henan Province, Sung reports that churches and hospitals were forced to close when they lost foreign funding.<sup>19</sup> Sung places the blame for this failure on the Chinese Christians, claiming that they trusted in men, foreign men, rather than in God for the continued maintenance of the church. In order for the church in China to flourish, Sung believes that Chinese Christians must stop relying on foreign missions. They must take the good of missions but then build upon it themselves; otherwise, the church will die out. Sung is not necessarily calling on all missionaries to leave China, but he is calling on Chinese Christians to trust in God rather than God’s messengers and to take hold of their responsibilities in the church.

Throughout the rest of the 1930s, Sung continued traveling across China and Southeast Asia spreading the fires of revival. When the Sino-Japanese War erupted in 1937, Sung purposefully went into war-torn areas such as Shandong and preached to refugees.<sup>20</sup> Sung’s health suffered from his exertion, however, and in his later ministry he

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<sup>19</sup> Sung, “Book II,” 13.

<sup>20</sup> Xi, 153-154.

suffered bleeding from an anal fistulae that developed as the result of a hemorrhoid surgery earlier in his life. The bleeding eventually caused the great revivalist to halt his ministry in 1940, and in late 1944 he passed away, with a song of glory on his lips.<sup>21</sup>

As mentioned earlier, Sung's ministry allegedly led to thousands of conversions, reports of healing, and an indigenous movement for leadership in churches. Yet Sung also attracted much criticism for his questionable dealings with money, his abrasiveness, and his challenging of traditional church authority. Nevertheless, he serves as an example of Chinese leadership for one of the many indigenous revival movements that swept through China.

#### *Marie Monsen*

Around the same time as John Sung's revival movement, Southern Baptist missionaries and native Chinese in Henan Province also felt the revival fire of God in what became perhaps the most collaborative revival effort between missionaries and Chinese that occurred during this time. Marie Monsen (1878-1962), a missionary with the Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Henan, would play a crucial role in the genesis and spread of the movement known as the Shandong Revival. Although I do not have access to any of Monsen's actual sermons, I do have letters and writings of contemporary missionaries, as well as scholarly works that have evaluated her involvement in the movement. I will use these to gain a greater understanding of this missionary that will help elucidate both the nature of the revival itself and the work of the missionaries in the following chapters.

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<sup>21</sup> Xi, 154.

In 1927, at the same time that John Sung returned from America, Marie Monsen was evacuating from Henan Province under the threat of the invading Nationalist army. Before evacuating, however, Monsen prayed with another missionary friend on the basis of Matthew 18:19-20.<sup>22</sup> Although Monsen had been a missionary for years, she claimed to have had a special encounter in God's presence in the time of prayer. That same year, Monsen had also discovered what she believed to be the spiritual "key" to unlocking hearts and bringing revival: conviction of sin.<sup>23</sup> With this new spiritual awakening fresh on Monsen's heart, she traveled to the coastal city of Yantai on the Shandong peninsula where she stayed with Southern Baptist missionaries and continued with mission work.

While in Yantai, Monsen shared her recent experiences of fresh encounters of God's power with other missionaries who had evacuated to the coast. The healing of the missionary Ola Culpepper serves as an excellent example of the collaboration between missionaries and the Chinese.<sup>24</sup> Culpepper suffered deeply from optic neuritis, and after hearing Monsen's testimony she asked for prayer. Foreigners and Chinese alike joined in prayer for Culpepper, but several people from both these groups reported having been deeply convicted of sin during prayer. They began to confess their sins, and Culpepper was healed allegedly. This was the first of the faith healings that would characterize Monsen's revivals. The event was significant, for it affirmed that the conviction of sin by the Holy Spirit was for all Christians, and it allowed for the healing of relationships

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<sup>22</sup> Bond, Jean Faulkner, "The Shantung Revival: Cause and Effect," *Royal Service*, July 1986: 7-10.

<sup>23</sup> Xi, 96-97.

<sup>24</sup> Sheppard, Jacquelyn, "Tracing the Fire of Revival," *Contempo*, August 1987: 14-17. 16-17.

among them all. Both Chinese and missionaries who had witnessed these works of God would then spread the movement. Moreover, the healing affirmed that such a work of the Spirit was still relevant for the modern church and not simply a sensationalist technique.

Two years later, Monsen was kidnapped by pirates at sea and held for twenty-three days; yet, she survived and spoke of having preached the Gospel to her captors.<sup>25</sup> This experience gave Monsen a platform from which she began to preach her message of revival. Focusing on confession of sin and the need to be born again, Monsen convinced many in the church that by having held onto certain sins, they had never become true Christians. Like John Sung, Monsen sought revival of pre-existing mission churches.<sup>26</sup>

Monsen worked on an individual basis before a larger audience, for she held large meetings in Yantai that drew interdenominational crowds. At these meetings she not only preached on the need to be born again, but also would spend entire sermons preaching on specific sins.<sup>27</sup> Like Sung, Monsen sensed that church members had gone through the motions of participating in church without ever truly repenting of sin and trusting in Jesus for salvation. Under the fire of Monsen's sermons, even church workers admitted to having never been "born again."

Not all Christian denominations stress the importance of a moment of being "born again," yet they still consider themselves to be orthodox Christians. This study is not concerned with whether or not the missionaries are theologically correct in their message, nor whether those who disagree with them are wrong or not. Evidence of changed

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<sup>25</sup> Xi, 97.

<sup>26</sup> Xi, 97-98.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

churches, however, does lead to the conclusion that these “born again” experiences, accompanied by miraculous healings and the filling of the Holy Spirit, broke down the dividing walls of race, culture, and class between the missionaries and Chinese, a theme that shall be explored further in the following chapters.

Later in 1929, Monsen traveled back into Henan in order to spread her message of revival. She received a great welcome as she duplicated elements of the Shandong Revival in Henan. Many Chinese stirred by the revival also spread its fire, carrying the message of revival into their homes and to the rural villages that were harder for missionaries to access. Lian Xi notes that an editorial in 1933 from *Missionary Review of the World* concerning the ongoing effects of the revival claimed that Chinese leaders within the church had taken on leadership of the movement.<sup>28</sup>

As has been shown, both Monsen and Sung heavily emphasized the movement of the Holy Spirit through conviction of sin, rebirth in the Christian sense, and the filling of the Holy Spirit as they spread revival throughout China. Although Monsen was a foreign missionary who disliked sensationalism, while Sung was a Chinese evangelist who thrived on emotionalism and was distrustful of missionaries, the similarities in their messages are striking. Moreover, the close contact that each had with Chinese people played a key role in their understanding of what would stir up the church in China. In the following chapters, I will explore further the themes of relationships and the work of the Holy Spirit as seen in the correspondence and oral histories of three Southern Baptist female missionaries.

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.



## CHAPTER TWO

Maudie E. A. Fielder

### *Introduction*

The revivals that swept through much of China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century reached the inland and ancient Henan Province. With the Yellow River running through it and the memory of ancient China hidden in its many cities, Henan was also the location of the Interior China Mission of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board's work in China. Throughout the first half of the century, American missionaries came to Henan in the hopes of sharing the gospel of Jesus Christ with the Chinese in this area that was difficult for foreigners to access. Maudie Fielder was one of the earlier missionaries to enter this region, and she would spend thirty years of her adult life living and ministering in China. The following chapter concerns her story and her involvement in the revival of the 1930s. Much of the information involves her personal history, but the sometimes-tedious details give a full picture of Fielder's sensibilities and contribution to the establishment of an indigenous church in China.

### *Young Life*

On August 2, 1892, Maudie Ethel Albritton was born in Powell, Texas, to Mr. and Mrs. W. M. Albritton.<sup>1</sup> Her parents were a widower and widow, and Maudie had two

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<sup>1</sup> Cook, Katherine L, Interview with Maudie Ethel Albritton Fielder, Texas Baptist Project, 1979; 1980, Retrieved from <<http://digitalcollections.baylor.edu/cdm/ref/collection/buioh/id/2220>>. Baylor University Institute for Oral History, Waco, Texas. 1.

older half brothers.<sup>2</sup> She spent her childhood in several towns in Navarro County, located southwest of Dallas, Texas. Mr. Albritton was an entrepreneur, and Mrs. Albritton occasionally oversaw boarders in their home. Mrs. Albritton began experiencing hemorrhages in her lungs; so, in 1904, the family followed their doctor's order and moved west to Miles, Texas, just north of San Angelo.<sup>3</sup> The Albrittons were Methodists, and Maudie mentions that her parents urged her to keep her hair long and wait until she was sixteen to date, and that they refused to let her go to the skating rink. In this manner, her parents raised Maudie in a traditional way that ignored some of the changing fashions of the day. Moreover, she was accustomed to stricter rules regarding social behavior that would later help her adjust to life in China.

Reared in a Methodist home, Maudie was significantly influenced by Christianity throughout her childhood. Her parents actively served in their church and community, for her father was a church steward and her mother was active in the Ladies Aid Society.<sup>4</sup> As a youth, Maudie had two religious experiences that formed her decision-making and spirituality as an adult. While living in Kerens, Texas, nine-year old Maudie walked the aisle during a revival held in a Baptist church and told the preacher that she wanted Jesus to enter her heart.<sup>5</sup> She considered this to be her conversion experience, in line with the evangelical tradition of understanding individual conversion. After moving to Miles,

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<sup>2</sup> Cook, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cook, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Fielder, M. E. A, *Life History*, Maudie E. A. Fielder papers, (Box 2E525, Life History), The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Cook, 10.

Maudie sensed that God was calling her to “something special,” and at fifteen years of age dedicated her life to the Lord during another Baptist meeting. Immediately following this dedication, Maudie led a friend to convert.<sup>6</sup>

These spiritual experiences shaped Maudie’s understanding of her life’s call and her ministry. On the one hand, she would stress the need for a moment of conversion as central to salvation. She would exemplify this throughout her mission work in China, especially in her support for Marie Monsen. Furthermore, she would draw on her second experience of life dedication when deciding to become a missionary’s wife. On a different note, a negative aspect of her first experience shaped her belief in the importance of the word of God and personal discipleship. Maudie lamented that after her initial conversion, she received no follow-up teaching.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the revivalists felt that as long as she was “saved” she need not worry about her spiritual state, but later in life Maudie wished that someone had taken the time to share with her on a more personal level about the promises of God for those who had trusted in Him. Maudie would have to learn these things later in life.

Maudie graduated from high school in 1910 as a self-proclaimed “normal student.”<sup>8</sup> Rather than leaving for college immediately, she remained at home for an extra year upon her mother’s request that she help her ailing grandmother. During this year, Maudie met and dated Wilson Fielder. A young Baylor graduate and ordained minister, Wilson was teaching high school in Miles in order to pay off college debts in preparation

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 11.

<sup>8</sup> Cook, 5.

for becoming a missionary.<sup>9</sup> He eventually moved to be a high school teacher and traveling preacher in Comanche, Texas, while Maudie began attending Howard Payne University in Brownwood, Texas, less than thirty miles west of Comanche. The two continued to see each other throughout Maudie's first year of college.<sup>10</sup>

Then suddenly, in 1912, Wilson unexpectedly left for China—sending a note as his only goodbye to Maudie. Before reaching Japan, however, Wilson wrote Maudie asking her to marry him.<sup>11</sup> Discussing this possibility with her parents, Maudie felt that to become Wilson's wife she would need to do three things: become a Baptist, be re-baptized by immersion, and be willing to become a missionary's wife. After praying and deliberating, Maudie assented to those three terms and agreed to Wilson's proposal. Upon graduating from Howard Payne with a Bachelor of Arts in Music in 1914, Maudie attended for one year the Women's Training School of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth.<sup>12</sup> She made this move in order to gain more Bible study and get to know Baptists and their theology. She was then appointed in July 1914 by the Foreign

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<sup>9</sup> Cook, 8.

<sup>10</sup> Cook, 8-9.

<sup>11</sup> Cook, 9-11.

<sup>12</sup> Howard Payne College (Brownwood, Tex.), *The Lasso, Yearbook of Howard Payne College, 1913*, Yearbook, 1912; digital images, (<http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth41329/> : accessed April 24, 2014), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu>; crediting Howard Payne University Library, Brownwood, Texas. 60-61.

Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention to “go out and become the wife of missionary Fielder.”<sup>13</sup>

That summer she prepared to leave, purchasing supplies and making connections with churches that would financially support her. She left for China from Seattle on September 8, 1914, joining Sallie Priest for the ocean voyage.<sup>14</sup> The women landed in Shanghai on October 6 where Maudie soon married Wilson on October 9 at the home of missionary Dr. R.T. Bryan.<sup>15</sup> The Fielders spent their honeymoon aboard a British steamer on the Yangtze River, and then boarded a train from Hankou (part of present day Wuhan) to Zhengzhou, provincial capital of Henan Province.<sup>16</sup> They continued on to Kaifeng, but would spend most of their missionary careers in Zhengzhou.

### *Kaifeng*

Maudie Fielder’s time in Kaifeng would prove to be formative for her mission career. She recalls some of her first impressions of China and experiences of “culture shock” from her honeymoon voyage and her first days in Kaifeng.<sup>17</sup> The sights along the river first introduced her to the scenery and lifestyle of inland China where she would spend the majority of her mission career. One of her first experiences of culture shock came from the journey on land, for the crowded and hectic yet efficient manner of

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<sup>13</sup> Cook, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 38.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Cook, 22-23.

<sup>17</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 45-46.

boarding the train was completely foreign to her. With more people than seats, passengers competed for legitimate spaces while some rode atop the cars. Here, Fielder began to appreciate the unique struggles and characteristics of the dense Chinese population. This continued when she arrived in Zhengzhou, where the sights of grey houses and hosts of people along with the sounds of vendors and scraping wheelbarrows filled her senses. Upon reaching her new home in Kaifeng, she was shocked to discover a cow that Wilson had purchased living in the outer courtyard. As a Texan, Fielder was accustomed to cattle, yet she was initially unsure about living in such close proximity to the farm animal. Again, she was experiencing the effects of the close quarters characteristic of the urban Chinese lifestyle. Nevertheless, she did not bemoan her closeness to the cow for long, but instead came to view the easy access to fresh dairy products as a blessing.<sup>18</sup> Fielder's adaptation to this new environment would enable her to identify with the Chinese.

Fielder's first relationships with Chinese began in her own home on the mission compound. She quickly learned that a Chinese cook would do a much better job of running the kitchen than she could.<sup>19</sup> Also in her house, Fielder learned Chinese from a personal tutor. Southern Baptist missionaries were required to spend two years in language training in order to pass a language examination. Fielder would spend at least three hours each day with her tutor who spoke no English.<sup>20</sup> Fielder recounts with joy the time when she first communicated successfully with him. Her later ability to form

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<sup>18</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 46-47.

<sup>19</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 48.

<sup>20</sup> Cook, 27-28.

meaningful relationships with Chinese would be due in part to this initial language training, through which she would eventually achieve proficiency. She would continue learning Chinese from a tutor even after passing the language examination, for later in 1917 and again in 1930 she writes in letters to home of further daily study under a tutor, calling language acquisition a “life-time study.”<sup>21</sup>

While still learning the Chinese language and customs, Fielder also became acquainted with Chinese children that attended the mission school on the compound. Her relationships with these children became mutually beneficial, for she supervised their playtime and taught piano lessons, while they helped her learn Chinese.

### *Zhengzhou*

Kaifeng served as the center of the Interior China Mission of the Southern Baptists, and after serving there for four years as a teacher and preacher, Wilson Fielder had a better understanding of the mission. In order to concentrate more on evangelism and build up the educational aspect of the mission station already established at Zhengzhou, he and Maudie moved there in 1916.<sup>22</sup> Located about fifty miles west of Kaifeng, the old part of Zhengzhou had existed for thousands of years while the more modern part of the city was developing as a railroad crossroads. In this environment of old and new combining and clashing in a swift fashion, the Fielders began their new work.

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<sup>21</sup> Fielder, M. E. A. (1917 November 26) [Letter to Grandmother]. Maudie E. A. Fielder papers (Box 2B538, Folder #1). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>22</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 55-59.

Wilson considered the development of Chinese church leaders as an essential part of his own mission. Although he would work with the Baptist church in Zhengzhou, he served mainly as an itinerant evangelist in the countryside and program coordinator for the Religious Life Center that he and Maudie would establish. Tellingly, Pastor Chang, a Chinese Baptist, would become head pastor of the church that the Fielders attended. Chang would be instrumental in the later revival.<sup>23</sup>

Within their home, Fielder was in charge of managing the help that included the cowman, the cook and his wife, and a boy assistant. Not only did she direct them in household affairs, but she also served as their spiritual leader. Throughout their years in China, Fielder led devotions for their workers and anyone else on the compound, such as the gateman, who wanted to attend. At these meetings, the group would discuss Bible passages and pray together.<sup>24</sup> Fielder also used this time to learn of any problems that the workers might have. Through these meetings Fielder developed close, healthy relationships with her workers. She lamented that she lived in the compound and not as the Chinese lived, for she felt that such a lifestyle would have given her even more access to and camaraderie with the Chinese people.<sup>25</sup> The mission board, however, had insisted that families live on the compound, largely for reasons of health and safety. In spite of being in a less than ideal situation, Fielder did what she could to establish a good rapport with those who lived with her family.

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<sup>23</sup> Chapter Two, 35; Chapter Three, 69.

<sup>24</sup> Cook, 62-63.

<sup>25</sup> Cook, 85-86.



Having passed the language examination, Fielder held her first official assignment as the supervisor of a school for girls near the west gate of the old city. She also helped Wilson establish a Religious Life Center that facilitated evangelistic meetings and included game and reading rooms, a bookstore, and tennis courts. Fielder claims in her interview that the center drew both students and business people. She helped draw crowds for the evangelist services by playing the pump organ in the streets, an instrument foreign to the Chinese. While working, she claims that she wore a Chinese dress so that she would not look as strange as she naturally would to Chinese eyes.<sup>26</sup> Fielder also taught English lessons at home, and writes of visiting the home two female pupils, whose father was a military official.<sup>27</sup>

The next decade brought excitement, tragedy, and changes for the Fielders. Their family expanded: between 1917 and 1926 Fielder gave birth to Wilson Jr. (1917), Golda Jean (1919), Richard Byron (1921), and Lennox Gerald (1926). They also returned home on furlough twice, once in 1919 and again from 1926-1927. Between these furloughs, Wilson continued itinerant evangelistic work and supervised the building of new facilities for the missionaries while Maudie taught Sunday school and Bible classes at Pao Yu Junior High School.<sup>28</sup>

Fielder expanded her sphere from the classroom to the home, for she visited families with Ms. Ma, a Chinese Bible woman who lived at the church.<sup>29</sup> At this point,

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<sup>26</sup> Cook, 74.

<sup>27</sup> Fielder, "Letter 1917 November 26."

<sup>28</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 67-68.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

Fielder had lived in China for over six years during which she had studied Chinese continually; yet, she chose to do the mission work of home visitation with a Chinese woman. Fielder may have had several reasons for this; it was standard for natives to accompany missionary evangelists for translation help, and Fielder may have needed Ms. Ma, not only to help with language issues but also to serve as a bridge of cultural sensibilities. Whatever her reasons, the language of joy that Fielder uses to describe her time with Ms. Ma shows her appreciation of Ms. Ma's help and her elevation of the woman's role in the mission. No matter how much Chinese language Fielder would learn or how many years she would spend learning about China, she would continue to rely on faithful Chinese to help her accomplish her mission goals. As Christian women working together, then, Fielder and Ma could gain the intimate access to homes that missionary men were denied due to the custom of strict gender separation.

By the winter of 1929 to 1930, Chinese women elected Fielder as the counselor for their Women's Missionary Union.<sup>30</sup> Effectively, Fielder would minister to the Bible Women who would in turn have their own ministries. In this way, she fostered the development of church work for native females. While Fielder assumed a role of mentor and guide, she worked in order that the women would be fully capable of leading their own ministries to Chinese homes. By operating together in this manner, Fielder and the Chinese women supported each other.

Along with her other ministries, Fielder also spent time visiting hospital patients. One story that she shares highlights her effectiveness in relating to the Chinese and the

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<sup>30</sup> Fielder, M. E. A. (1930 January 3) [Letter to Mrs. Elizabeth Brown]. Maudie E. A. Fielder papers (Box 2B538, Folder #3). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

long-term effects of her work.<sup>31</sup> While she was reading scripture to one woman in a hospital, another woman overheard her and asked Fielder to read to her. This second woman became a Christian and related this news to her family. Her Buddhist mother-in-law then began to treat the woman harshly, trying to keep her from church and even once physically attacking her, yet the woman still went through with her baptism. The woman's daughter eventually became a leader in the church in the 1940s who helped with evacuations under the Japanese.

The mother-in-law in this story was most likely trying to protect the ancestor veneration that her daughter-in-law, as a Christian, would have hoped to give up. Any violence or hostility towards the younger woman came from the high standard of filial piety essential to the Chinese culture. The daughter-in-law, on the other hand, did something rather unconventional by Chinese standards. Instead of keeping with the societal norm, she responded to something in Christianity that she judged was more important than keeping face with her relatives. She was then able to impart her new faith to her daughter, who eventually became a Christian leader in her own right. Fielder commends the attitudes and accomplishments of these women, celebrating their acceptance of Christianity in the face of opposition. When the missionaries would eventually be forced to leave China, such women would be capable of maintaining the faith that missionaries like Fielder had brought.

The Fielders left for their second furlough in June of 1926 soon after L. Gerald was born, but they spent more time in the States than they had planned. Fielder attributes this to the student uprisings connected with the Nationalist and Communist movements

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<sup>31</sup> Cook, 86-87.

that occurred during the latter part of the decade, as well as to financial difficulties that the Board experienced.<sup>32</sup> In 1919 the Southern Baptist Convention initiated the Seventy-Five Million Campaign in order to combine state and national giving from American churches into a cooperative fund.<sup>33</sup> The goal was to raise \$75 million by 1924, all of which would be used to promote Baptist missions and interests at home and abroad. Churches and Baptist organizations pledged \$96 million, but due to an economic downturn in the South, the Convention only received \$58 million. Although this sum of money was quite impressive, the Foreign Mission Board had been planning to receive more and found itself in financial difficulty. The Board had hoped to use the funds to expand mission efforts, but overreaching and other financial issues kept it from maintaining support for many missionaries. Missionaries were instructed to find either supporters or a new job. The Fielders moved to Dallas, Texas where Wilson served as pastor of Hillcrest Baptist Church.<sup>34</sup> In 1929, the First Baptist Church of Brownwood, Texas, offered to sponsor the Fielders as missionaries for seven years, and the family returned to China.

### *Troubles and Revival*

Upon returning to China, Fielder faced the dangers of military and student uprisings that affected her family and mission. From 1926-1927 the Northern Expedition

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<sup>32</sup> Cook, 67.

<sup>33</sup> Davis, Dorothy A. "Historical Sketch," in *Seventy-Five Million Campaign Collection, 1919-1925, AR 19*. Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives. Last modified January 2012. Accessed April 6, 2014. <<http://www.sbhla.org/downloads/129.pdf>>.

<sup>34</sup> Cook, 68.

of Chiang Kai-shek unified China. Henan, Shandong, Gansu, and Shaanxi Provinces were then put under the control of Feng Yuxiang, known as the “Christian General.”<sup>35</sup> Feng soon lost favor with Chiang Kai-shek, however, and in April 1929 he withdrew his troops from Shandong to Henan. He was dismissed from the government, and Chiang defeated him in 1930.

Fielder encountered military actions at this time through her role as both mother and missionary. She had sent her two eldest children to an American Lutheran Boarding school in southern Henan to further their education, but they were unable to return home during the Christmas of 1929 due to the dual threat of hostile military factions and banditry.<sup>36</sup> That summer Wilson and Victor Koon went by car to retrieve the Fielder children. At one point, Wilson was forced to see the bandit chief, who immediately recognized him from having been a patient at the missionary hospital. This saved Wilson’s life, and highlights the importance of relationships between the missionaries and the Chinese who were struggling to find their place in nationalist China.

The mission also felt conflict at a closer level, for several people with communist, nationalist, and anti-colonial sentiment had joined the churches, hospitals, and schools in the few years that many missionaries had been away from China. These Chinese, especially those who had become recently involved in the mission offshoots, became agitators against the missionaries. Fielder claims that at one point Wilson and another missionary were locked inside the church by some members who accused them of failing to help the Chinese. Missionaries felt that these people acted out of “anti-foreign

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<sup>35</sup> Xi, Lian, *Redeemed by Fire*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 89-94.

<sup>36</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 79-80.

sentiment”; yet, “anti-colonialism” is probably the more appropriate term to describe many people’s reaction against the missionaries.<sup>37</sup> Although the missionaries believed that they were simply bringing the Gospel to China, others perceived them as agents of a larger scheme for Western colonialism. Whether the missionaries realized this or not, their lifestyles often sent the message that they believed their culture to be superior and that they wanted to impose their lifestyle upon China while simultaneously taking economic advantage of her. Desiring Christianity without this colonialist element, several Chinese stood against the missionaries. In place of a form of Western Christianity, these dissenters desired a Christianity that supported nationalist ideals.

This anti-colonialist sentiment did not develop as a result of the indigenous *Christian* movements mentioned in the first chapter, but rather from the speedy growth of communism and nationalism. The Chinese who stood against the missionaries did not merely seek a genuine Chinese Christianity for the Chinese people, but rather a religion that would serve their new state. From their perspective, the Christianity that the missionaries brought should be made subservient to the needs and desires of the Chinese, even if that meant supporting the growing communism that the missionaries disliked. From the missionaries’ point of view, the organizations of the mission, including the hospital and school, were largely funded by foreign funds and should, therefore, be under the guidance of the missionaries. Not all the Chinese church members fought against the missionaries, proving that even the Chinese were divided over this issue. Caught in a difficult situation, the Chinese who supported the missionaries began meeting with them on a daily basis to pray, as Fielder recalls, “for wisdom, for love, for God’s Spirit to be

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<sup>37</sup> Cook, 111.

manifested in us; and for God's will to be done in this situation. We prayed definitely for revival."<sup>38</sup> Many of these Chinese were pastors of their own congregations or evangelists.

Soon, the struggling Christians heard news of the revival occurring in Shandong Province led by Marie Monsen, indigenous Chinese, and Southern Baptist missionaries. In Eloise Glass Cauthen's biography of her Southern Baptist missionary father, Dr. W. B. Glass, she writes that Wang Mingdao and John Sung were among those who also spoke at the revival meetings in Shandong.<sup>39</sup> The filling of the Holy Spirit, miraculous healing, and other elements of Pentecostalism characterized this revival. Desperate for help, the Henan missionaries invited Monsen, and she arrived in late 1931. She preached based on Christ and Nicodemus' conversation in John 3 the need for all to be born again, which she considered to be the first step in authentic Christian life.<sup>40</sup>

In 1932, Dr. Glass went from his station in Shandong to preach in Henan, first in Kaifeng and then in Zhengzhou.<sup>41</sup> In Kaifeng he spoke with missionaries about the need even for them to be filled with the Holy Spirit. His understanding of this filling was similar in some ways to the Pentecostal notion of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, for drawing from scripture, such as 1 Corinthians 3:1-3, Luke 3:3-5, and Luke 11:13, he claimed that even after having been converted, Christians needed to repent of sin and ask God for the Holy Spirit's permeating presence in their lives. Taking what he had learned

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<sup>38</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 80. Cook, 112.

<sup>39</sup> Cauthen, Eloise Glass. *Higher Ground*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1978. 154.

<sup>40</sup> Murray, Katie. (1931 December 12) [Letter to "Homefolks"]. Katie Murray Papers (Correspondence 1926-1936). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>41</sup> Cauthen, 157-158.

from Monsen, Glass justified the need for an experience of the filling of the Spirit through scriptures. The purpose of this experience was to supernaturally empower the Christian for service to God.<sup>42</sup>

Other denominations with missions in China would not stress as intensely the need for radical conversions and the filling of the Holy Spirit. In more liturgical churches especially, the sacraments played the key role in Christian identity. For Catholics, the physical and the spiritual realms interact on a more ritualistic level, as can be seen in their emphasis on the Eucharist. For Baptists, however, the key to Christian identity lies more on the assertion of inward renewal and transformation. Many of the Baptist missionaries were inheritors of the Great Awakenings in the United States, and, therefore, emphasized some form of an experience of God. Their movement within the larger Shandong Revival should not be seen as solely emotionally charged, however, for the revivalists heavily supplemented their message with an assertion of the primacy of scripture and the need for actual life transformation. Fielder's recollections of the revival are stirring, for many who were impacted by the revival exhibited changed lives years after the revival. At this point, one must note that whether or not the Baptist missionaries' theology was correct, or whether it was superior to that of differing Christian perspectives, is irrelevant. The point here is to show the nature of missionary involvement in the revival and to assess its lasting implications for the Chinese Baptists in Henan.

The double question of being born again and being filled with the Holy Spirit were central to the Shandong missionaries' messages. Monsen would question Chinese

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.



church members to discern whether or not they had been born again.<sup>43</sup> If she determined that they had been based on their affirmative testimony of previous confession of sin and faith in Christ, Monsen would then tell them more about the Holy Spirit. If she thought they had not been born again, then she would first explain that process to them and then share about the Holy Spirit. In Fielder's words, some who were "nominal Christians and church members found the Lord for the first time."<sup>44</sup>

Fielder claims that the problem among many of the Chinese church attenders was that they may have intellectually assented to Christianity and joined the church, yet, had never actually repented of sin and *trusted* Christ for their salvation. This included even some who had become involved in Church-related work, such as evangelists. Much like John Sung, Christians came to see gambling, opium smoking, idolatry, and polygamy to be sins that they had to renounce in order to experience spiritual blessings.<sup>45</sup> The missionaries did not target Chinese in a racial way, however, for Monsen acknowledged that some Chinese Christians had indeed already been born again. Therefore, her work was not one of racial profiling, but a self-correcting check on all those affiliated with the church. Monsen targeted anyone who came to her meetings with her questions, while Glass felt it necessary to question all the missionaries in particular concerning the filling of the Holy Spirit.

The revival fires were only beginning to be lit in Henan. Fielder's personal experience demonstrates how missionaries and Chinese alike were affected by and then

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<sup>43</sup> Cook, 113.

<sup>44</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 81.

<sup>45</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 81-83.

spread the revival. Fielder relates that one day during the revival a teacher at the school that she supervised, whom Katie Murray identifies as Mrs. Chiu, visited her. Chiu had originally been opposed to Monsen and the revival, but then came to believe that she had been wrong. She later responded to the revival message given by Pastor Chang, and joined the missionary women and other church members in praying for continued revival throughout Henan.<sup>46</sup> When Chiu approached Fielder, she first explained her own experience of “really accept[ing] the Holy Spirit in her life as she had never known him before,” and claimed that she could then forgive her non-Christian husband for mistreating her.<sup>47</sup> Chiu then asked Fielder if they could pray together in order for Fielder to receive the blessing of the filling of the Holy Spirit. Fielder agreed, and later said concerning the moment, “that’s when I felt that the Lord touched my heart and touched my life in a way that I’d never known before.”

This statement did not come from a new Christian, nor from one who was merely a church attender or even a more emotional Christian. This was a missionary wife, a veteran of living out the Christian commission of going into the entire world with the gospel of Christ. Yet she believed that something occurred within her that day, a special kind of communion with God, that she had not previously known. Moreover, the boldness of a Chinese Christian enabled her to experience this. Katie Murray was also

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<sup>46</sup> Murray, K. (1932 March 12) [Letter to Supporters]. Katie Murray papers (Correspondence 1926-1936). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>47</sup> Cook, 117-118. Fielder does not mention this woman’s name, but her account aligns with that of Murray; so, we can assume that the woman is Mrs. Chiu.

present at this time and was deeply impacted by Fielder's experience.<sup>48</sup> Murray notes the groundbreaking nature of this occurrence, saying that before the revival, the Chinese would not typically be as frank with a missionary as Mrs. Chiu had been in her questioning of Fielder. A cultural issue on two levels was at stake, for on the one hand the Chinese are inclined to be less forthright than Americans, and on the other hand, missionaries tended to have an elevated status among the Christians. Murray saw this encounter between Fielder and Chiu as evidence of the Holy Spirit's work, for the Spirit "broke down barriers between the missionaries and any other Christians."<sup>49</sup> Rather than restrain herself out of respect for Fielder's status, Chiu boldly *questioned* her spirituality in order to *help* her. In her account, Fielder does not make this distinction, but only mentions that she and Chiu were good friends who had many common interests.<sup>50</sup> This close friendship probably accounts, at least in part, for Chiu's willingness to confront Fielder.

On a slightly different note, Fielder's use of language when describing her experience of the filling of the Holy Spirit helps enlighten the way in which she and the other missionaries understood the Shandong Revival. While the revival included Pentecostal elements such as miraculous healing, casting out demons, and speaking in tongues, the missionaries did not adopt the Pentecostal doctrine of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Fielder uses the terms baptism and filling interchangeably, but she

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<sup>48</sup> Fielder, Gerald. Interview with Katie Murray. Texas Baptist Project, 1981. Retrieved from <<http://digitalcollections.baylor.edu/cdm/ref/collection/buioh/id/1641>>. Baylor University Institute for Oral History, Waco, Texas. 48.

<sup>49</sup> Fielder, "Murray Interview," 48.

<sup>50</sup> Cook, 117-118.

specifically states, “I feel that every person, born again person, has the Holy Spirit but I don’t see too many people recognizing that fact in our churches today.”<sup>51</sup> Traditional Pentecostalism holds that the baptism of the Holy Spirit is a post-conversion experience that is evidenced by speaking in tongues. Before this baptism, the believer does not have the Holy Spirit in his or her life. Fielder, however, believes that the Spirit lives within all Christians, but that all may not be filled with the Spirit until some time after conversion. While their emphasis on the present-day power of the Holy Spirit may have set them apart from their Baptist friends in the States, it did not indicate a complete acceptance of Pentecostal theology and practice.

Fielder shares several stories concerning others touched by the revival that illustrate further the movement’s central themes. In one case, the Christians had been praying for Chen Teh Seng, a beggar and opium smoker who was the son of one of the church’s female members, for several years.<sup>52</sup> He had also asked for their help in the past, but no one could save him from the opium addiction that consumed his life. During the revival, this man in the same day became a Christian and renounced smoking. Quickly he went to his wife and then others asking for forgiveness for stealing, and offering recompense. He later became a preacher and helped others who were addicted to opium. The man’s conversion experience follows the typical pattern of publicly confessing both an acceptance of Christ and compensating for past sins. Following the revival, Fielder notes that this man became a preacher.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Cook, 120.

<sup>52</sup> Fielder, *Life History* 81. Cook, 113-115.

<sup>53</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 81.

In an event that occurred closer to her own home, Fielder shares about the conviction of sin under which one of her household staff members came. One day during the revival, the cook's wife Han Sao approached Fielder in a mournful state, and eventually confessed to having stolen Fielder's watch two years earlier.<sup>54</sup> Disliking the cowman, Chuen Niu, she had hoped that Fielder would have blamed him for the watch's disappearance, but Fielder had never blamed any of the workers. Following Fielder's instructions, Han Sao then told Wilson what she had done, apologized to Chuen Niu for her secret sin of hatred, and returned the buried watch to Fielder.

Although this theft may seem rather trivial and the confessions unnecessary, Fielder saw Han's complete repentance as evidence of the Holy Spirit's power among the believers. Since the stealing of the watch had been born out of spite for another person as well as a willingness to steal, more was at stake in the Fielder household than the watch. The very unity and love in the mission compound had been jeopardized. From their perspective, the Holy Spirit urged Han to bring her secret thoughts and action into the open so that full reconciliation among household members could be achieved. The Fielders did not send her away because of her theft, but instead forgave her. This shows that the Fielders did not just see their staff as employees, for if that had been their attitude, then they likely would have fired Han. Instead, they saw their role as missionaries extending towards their staff, and they hoped to help empower their staff in living fully the Christian life of love and forgiveness.

Simultaneously with the entrance of revival into Henan came the last edition to the Fielder family. Pregnant, Fielder had to travel to the Lutheran Mission hospital forty

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<sup>54</sup> Cook, 115-117.

miles west of Zhengzhou. She lived with missionaries there, and on July 15, 1932, Florence Ann Fielder was born.<sup>55</sup> She would become her mother's companion in the difficult years ahead.

#### *Final Years in China, 1937-1948*

The revival in Henan continued through the mid-1930s. Following its far-reaching fires, the Fielders left on furlough in 1936, and when they returned to East Asia in 1937 the Second Sino Japanese War had just begun. Their ship had landed in Japan, and they remained there for a while where it was safer.<sup>56</sup> Drawn to his work in China, Wilson soon slipped back into Henan, leaving Maudie alone with her two youngest children in a country with an unfamiliar language and customs. The older children had remained in the States. In the spring of 1938, Fielder and her children left for Shanghai to meet Wilson. Wilson bought supplies while in Shanghai but then left for the interior again, leaving his family in Shanghai. Fielder and the youngest children spent the school year of 1938-1939 on Cheung Chau Island, near Hong Kong, where the American Lutheran School had facilities. In the summer Fielder enrolled Gerald in the Korean Mission School in Pyongyang and then returned with Florence Ann to Zhengzhou. They had to evade Japanese troops and bombs on this hazardous journey.<sup>57</sup> Although it was being bombed daily, Zhengzhou was still part of free China and Fielder arrived safely.

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<sup>55</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 85-86.

<sup>56</sup> Cook, 103-128.

<sup>57</sup> Cook, 108.

In the midst of this chaos, Fielder tried to settle back down into her routine work of teaching Sunday School and helping with various ministries. The U. S. government, however, ordered American women and children to leave China. The Fielders left China in November of 1940 and lived in Dallas. Wilson returned to China in November 1941, right before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.<sup>58</sup> Wilson was in Shanghai working on getting permission from the Japanese to return to Henan when Pearl Harbor occurred. He was incarcerated and remained so until November 1943. Fielder eventually received letters from her husband through Katie Murray, who remained in Zhengzhou, part of Free China until 1944. Wilson was finally released in a prisoner exchange and landed in New York City in December 1943. The Fielders lived in Dallas, with their two eldest sons serving in the Marines at the time.<sup>59</sup> In 1945 they moved to Waco, Texas, where their youngest son Gerald was attending Baylor University.

With the coming of peace, however, the Foreign Mission Board asked Wilson to return to China, and he left in 1946.<sup>60</sup> He returned to Henan and spent time in both Kaifeng and Zhengzhou where he supervised Chinese evangelists.<sup>61</sup> The role of these evangelists gives evidence concerning the changing nature of the Chinese Baptist church. When the Fielders had first arrived in China, Wilson had done much evangelistic work himself, but came to work with Chinese evangelists even before the revival. During the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese had to take complete responsibility. By the time the

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<sup>58</sup> Cook, 129-136.

<sup>59</sup> Cook, 152.

<sup>60</sup> Cook, 157.

<sup>61</sup> Cook, 158-159.

westerners returned, the Chinese alone were involved in the actual work of evangelism. This shift of responsibility in the work of evangelism was indicative of the shift in church authority and control as a whole. The Chinese Christians were becoming more independent from their missionary leaders. A conflict over leadership did not wrench the two groups of people apart, but war and danger had allowed the Chinese to grow into the role of leading the church on the ground level.

Fielder and Florence followed Wilson in 1947 and returned to Zhengzhou, along with other missionaries set on continuing work in China. Florence Ann enrolled in the Lutheran boarding school, and Fielder returned to her old work of church visitations, English teaching, and the Religious Life Center.<sup>62</sup> Life in China resumed, but only for a short time. The missionaries had returned to China in the midst of a great struggle between Nationalists and Communists. They began to hear rumors of the Communist march, and by the end of the year, the Communists had approached Zhengzhou. The Lutherans evacuated their mission, and most of the Baptists soon followed. Due to closures of the train system, the Fielders boarded a private plane on December 31 and arrived in Shanghai.<sup>63</sup> This time, Wilson accompanied his family. They returned by boat to the United States and settled in Waco.

Concerning the Communist takeover, Fielder writes that the missionaries had begun to realize that their continued presence in China jeopardized the Chinese Christians.<sup>64</sup> She felt that their brief time back was helpful and reassuring for the

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<sup>62</sup> Cook, 165-166.

<sup>63</sup> Cook, 168, 171, 184.

<sup>64</sup> Cook, 187-188.



Christians, but having remained any longer would have been too dangerous. By 1950, all of the missionaries had left Mainland China. The missionaries must have felt a deep sense of loss, for they had given their lives both to spreading their faith in China and to becoming accustomed to living there. By the time that they left China for good, they had spent the vast majority of their adult lives in the Middle Kingdom. Seeing themselves as servants of God to China, the Fielders had consistently returned to China, even in the face of danger, in order to do what they felt they had been called to do. Nevertheless, Fielder does not give any indication that she felt that the church would fail without the missionaries.

After returning to America, the Fielders continued to minister to others as they lived in Waco and then moved to Houston in 1959. Wilson passed away on November 30, 1961.<sup>65</sup> Maudie continued to live in Houston and to travel throughout America, speaking in churches and sharing her experiences in China. In 1984 she returned to visit China with her youngest daughter, Florence Ann McKinney. While there, they met with members of the underground church in Zhengzhou, some of whom Maudie knew from her days as a missionary. They discovered that many Christians had remained faithful and vibrant witnesses to Christ in spite of persecution, imprisonment, and relocation. Fielder returned to Houston, where she passed away on November 27, 1986, at ninety-four years of age.<sup>66</sup> She was survived by her sons Gerald and Richard, the former of which served as a missionary in Japan and a professor at Baylor University, and by her daughter Florence Ann McKinney, who served with her husband as missionaries in Hong Kong.

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<sup>65</sup> “Fielder Obituary.” *Commission*, February 1962. 60.

<sup>66</sup> “Maudie Fielder Obituary.” *Commission*, January 1987. 62.

For more than thirty years of great joy and great uncertainty, Maudie Fielder served as a missionary in China. Although she saw herself as a missionary wife, she held a great deal of power and influence in the home, of which she was often the functioning spiritual leader, and in the various ministries in which she participated. With Wilson imprisoned during the war years, she served as the head of the family. Becoming proficient in Chinese, she was able to build deep, life-changing relationships with the indigenous Christians of Zhengzhou. Her openness to the fresh work of God in her own life during the revival enabled her to support the movement of the Spirit among the Chinese. By the time she was forced to leave China for good, she had given much of her life to supporting and building up the Chinese Church in a positive manner.

At the time that her memoirs were written, Fielder did not know that the underground church in China was actually thriving under Communist pressure. Still, she showed confidence in the Chinese Christians who had risen to leadership positions in the church, such as the daughter of the hospital convert and the preacher who had given up opium. Through the revival, especially, the Chinese had also developed their own personal and collective experiences that validated their Christian identity as equal to that of the missionaries, even though the direct transfer of church control came gradually through the necessities imposed by wars and upheavals. Since the missionaries fostered this development, their departure during the Communist takeover did not greatly damage the church. Moreover, they had intimately known for years the people with whom they were entrusting the church, and believing that the Holy Spirit had validated the Chinese during the revival, they were able to hand over future of the church to their Chinese brethren.

## CHAPTER THREE

Katie Murray

### *Background*

Margaret Catherine Murray was born on February 8, 1897, in Kenansville, North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> In 1905 she moved to Rose Hill, North Carolina, to live with relatives after the death of her mother.<sup>2</sup> After graduating from Meredith College, she returned to her alma mater Dell High School where she taught Latin and mathematics. Sensing the call to missions, she eventually left as a missionary for China in 1922 where she would spend much of her adult life working as an evangelist. Alongside the Chinese, Murray experienced wars, famines, floods, and other difficulties until the Communist regime brought an end to mission work in Mainland China.

What brought this young, single woman into the heart of inland China during the middle of the 1920s? Unlike Maudie Fielder, she had no potential husband encouraging and eagerly anticipating her voyage to the Middle Kingdom. Instead, she went alone with the sole desire of spreading the gospel. She and Fielder had both sensed a deep, personal call to missions, but Murray would pursue this calling as a single woman. While her ministry would have the same spirit as that of Fielder's, her actual work and lifestyle

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<sup>1</sup> Joyner Library of East Carolina University Collection Guides. "Biographical/Historical Note." Katie Murray Papers. Accessed February 1, 2014. <<http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/special/ead/findingaids/0216/>>.

<sup>2</sup> Fielder, Gerald. Interview with Katie Murray. Texas Baptist Project, 1981. Retrieved from <<http://digitalcollections.baylor.edu/cdm/ref/collection/buioh/id/1641>>. Baylor University Institute for Oral History, Waco, Texas. 2.

would be quite different from that of her older contemporary. Yet, both would come to love China as their home, both would experience the devastation of wars and natural disasters, and both would be involved in the spread of the Shandong Revival.

*Young Life: Salvation and Calling to Missions*

Known to friends as Katie, Murray had a unique childhood. The eldest of three children born to William B. Murray and Janie Murray, Katie moved with her siblings to live with extended family following the death of their mother. When Katie was sixteen her father remarried her elementary teacher, but Katie did not live with them. Whether or not Katie had a good relationship with her father is unclear, but in her memoirs she makes no mention of him or his role in her developing years. She claims that her maternal grandfather, aunt, and uncle raised her and, “did all that was usual,” but she does not say whether or not she was happy living with them.<sup>3</sup> Knowing that she would have to provide for herself as an adult, Murray took a job immediately after graduating from Meredith College. This action shows that Murray was a determined, independent woman, but it also signifies her peculiar situation. Having been a beneficiary of the generosity of her extended family for many years, she needed to be able to support herself financially.

Murray had been interested in spiritual matters from a young age. In the tradition of American evangelicalism, Murray first remembers having been moved by the gospel at eleven years of age. While sitting in a service at Rose Hill Baptist Church, she suddenly

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<sup>3</sup> Fielder, “Murray Interview,” 2.

felt that she was a sinner and “on the way to eternal destruction.”<sup>4</sup> She did nothing, however, for she was too embarrassed to admit her newly discerned predicament in front of others. At another church meeting several months later, Murray listened to a hymn with the words, “Except a Man be Born Again, He Cannot See the Kingdom of God.” Again sensing her sin and need for salvation, Murray responded to the pastor’s invitation. She says of this experience, “I came to the Lord as a sinner and he took me as his own child, and I was born in the kingdom of God.”<sup>5</sup>

Unlike Maudie Fielder who felt the calling for missions several years after her conversion experience, Murray immediately felt a desire to tell others in foreign countries about Christ. As she became a young woman, however, her zeal lessened and she became concerned with other things. She does not mention what these things might have been, but one can assume that at the very least she was concerned with becoming employed as a teacher so that she could support herself. After having purposefully avoided attending talks by missionaries during her first year of teaching, Murray finally prayed about missions, saying that she would go anywhere if God wanted. “The decision,” she claimed, “brought peace and joy.”<sup>6</sup> Finishing her first year of teaching, Murray left school in 1920 for Louisville, Kentucky, to attend the Woman’s Missionary Union Training School there affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention.

Several human factors may have also contributed to Murray’s willingness and commitment to venture into the mission field. As mentioned before, Murray had an

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<sup>4</sup> Fielder, “Murray Interview,” 2.

<sup>5</sup> Fielder, “Murray Interview,” 3.

<sup>6</sup> Fielder, “Murray Interview,” 3-4.

obscure past and may not have had the happiest childhood. Becoming a missionary would give her the opportunity to create a new life for herself in which her biological background would not be an issue. Moreover, since she had never lived outside her home state of North Carolina, going into missions would give her a unique opportunity to explore the world. A good student and teacher, Murray was an intelligent woman, and the thought of living in a foreign country and learning its culture undoubtedly stirred her interest. Finally, Murray never mentions in her letters or in her memoir any desire to be married. In some part this is due to the lack of information concerning Murray's life before entering the mission field. Given her silence on this issue, is difficult to tell what Murray desired at different points in her life. In any case, the missionary calling afforded the promise of a fulfilled life for the single woman, and single female missionaries were highly respected. Becoming a missionary could give Murray a new start at life, the opportunity for learning and adventure, and fulfillment. Murray had for some time avoided considering missions, but one can see that various underlying factors influenced her realization of her missionary calling and contributed to her steadfast dedication to her later work.

#### *Appointment to China*

After completing two years of training, Murray applied for service with the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1922. When the Board suggested that she go to China as a teacher, she accepted the appointment.<sup>7</sup> At the time, Wilson Fielder, who was in charge of the Zhengzhou mission in Henan, wanted single

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<sup>7</sup> Fielder, "Murray Interview," 4-5.

women to help open a girls' school. Responding to this need, Murray boarded a boat for China in September 1922. She spent the next year at the Peking Language School in what is now Beijing, China, and then left for Zhengzhou where she studied Chinese for another year with a personal teacher.<sup>8</sup> Having passed the language exam, she began work as an educator.

### *Beginning Ministry in Zhengzhou*

In spite of her best efforts, Murray did not last long as a teacher in the process of opening the school. In April 1924, Murray wrote to Dr. Bronson Ray, Executive Secretary of the Mission Board, concerning the school's finances.<sup>9</sup> In the letter, she lamented the fact that almost all the educational work depended upon finances from the States. Sometime after sending this letter, Murray sensed that she should devote herself to the work of fulltime evangelism rather than to teaching. On August 5 she wrote to Dr. Ray requesting a reassignment, explaining that, "almost [ever] since I have been in China the call for evangelistic work has been in my heart."<sup>10</sup> Dr. Ray responded in a letter dated October 2, encouraging Murray to continue the school work for the remainder of her term

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<sup>8</sup> Lennon, Donald R. Interview with Katie Murray. Call number OH0008, transcript, East Carolina University Digital Collections, May 23, 1973. Retrieved from <<http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/10922#details>>. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Murray, Katie. (1924 April 15) [Letter to Dr. Bronson Ray]. Katie Murray Papers (Box 2B 1587, Folder 1922-1939). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>10</sup> Murray, Katie. (1924 August 5) [Letter to Dr. Bronson Ray]. Katie Murray Papers (Box 2B 1587, Folder 1922-1939). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

and reiterating the mission's belief that schools facilitated evangelistic work and the training of the Chinese for their own evangelism.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of Ray's instructions, Murray changed vocations. In her later oral interview, Murray claims that Wilson Fielder and the rest of the station members in Zhengzhou were in agreement with her decision. Maudie Fielder took her position at the school, and Murray began home visits with Bible women. No reply letter to Dr. Ray exists among her papers in the Texas Collection, indicating that Murray either informed him in a lost letter or simply resolved the matter on location and did not report to the Mission Board. In either case, her decision to do what she and the missionaries on the field thought best, rather than as the Mission Board directed, indicates the development of Murray's sensitivity to her calling, her ability to make independent decisions confidently, and the importance of making decisions on the mission field. Although the secretary's justification of school work as a means for evangelism has been realized throughout mission work in various times and places, the missionaries on the field were better able to determine who should carry out the work. Moreover, the Fielders' flexibility shines through, for Wilson Fielder did not hinder Murray from leaving the position for which he had originally requested her, and Maudie Fielder willingly replaced her in the schoolwork.

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<sup>11</sup> Ray, T. Bronson. (1924 October 2) [Letter to Katie Murray]. Katie Murray Papers (Box 2B 1587, Folder 1922-1939). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.



### *Evangelistic Work*

As an evangelist, Murray traveled to homes with a Chinese Bible woman, looking for opportunities to share the gospel. Murray had several obstacles to overcome in this work. First, although she had studied several years at language school, she had to learn the local dialect. She claims that she did not know what she was doing when she started evangelism.<sup>12</sup> Being immersed in the Chinese culture through her home visits, Murray had to rely on her Bible woman to learn not only the dialect but also the customs of her new home. She refers to her first Bible woman as a “chaperone,” implying that this woman helped protect and care for her as well as teaching her to share the gospel door-to-door.<sup>13</sup> This image of Murray relying on her Bible woman turns the traditional conception of the missionary/indigenous worker relation on its head. Rather than Murray acting as the superior Westerner, she relied on the cultural and religious expertise of a Chinese Christian woman. By choosing evangelistic work, Murray had placed herself in an excellent position to gain continual, hands-on training from a Chinese woman. Moreover, Murray acknowledged her need of and appreciation for her various Bible women in her memoirs and letters, showing that she understood her own limitations and saw herself as a co-worker of the Bible women.

Each missionary in China also had to decide to what extent he or she would take on Chinese customs. Certain mission organizations, such as the China Inland Mission founded by British missionary Hudson Taylor in 1865, were known for adopting Chinese diet, dress, and manners as much as possible. Others, such as some of Murray’s

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<sup>12</sup> Lennon, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Lennon, 4.

colleagues, chose only some customs to adopt. In her early years, Murray made several important decisions concerning how she would live in China. Soon after she began working with the Bible women, she went with the Fielders to visit Xue Dian, a walled city in the country about fifty kilometers southeast of Zhengzhou.<sup>14</sup> While there, she decided to wear “Chinese clothing.”<sup>15</sup> Murray made this decision in light of her work, for she found that curiosity concerning her western clothing and its cost distracted people from listening to the gospel. Already feeling very distinctly like an outsider, Murray hoped to lessen the gap between herself and her audience. Later, while on a trip to Mixian with Dr. and Mrs. W. D. Herring, Murray decided to adopt whatever Chinese cuisine was native to the area in which she was located.<sup>16</sup> This was a practical decision, for Murray found eating what locals ate to be more convenient.

In a letter home, Murray gives a good description of her daily work of home visitations.<sup>17</sup> She writes of how she and Mrs. Hsiung, the Bible woman with whom she worked, visited three different villages.<sup>18</sup> In the first village, they visited the wife of the

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<sup>14</sup> Fielder, “Murray Interview,” 7, 8, 11.

<sup>15</sup> Murray uses this broad, general term to describe the type of dress that she adopted. China is a vast land and did not have a monolithic type of dress in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, so it is difficult to say exactly what this clothing might have looked like. Murray would have taken on the style of clothing worn by women in Henan, a province located inland in the north of China. This should not be confused with the modern *qipao*, a tightfitting, one-piece dress popularized in Shanghai in the 1920s, that many envision when they think of Chinese outfits for women.

<sup>16</sup> Fielder, “Murray Interview,” 11-13.

<sup>17</sup> Murray, Katie. (1926 March 18) [Letter to “Homefolks”]. Katie Murray Papers (Correspondence 1926-1936). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>18</sup> Gerald Fielder uses “Hsiung” as the spelling of this woman’s surname, while Murray refers to her as “Hsing” in this letter home. In a later letter dated March 25, 1927,

local church secretary. This woman was a Buddhist who had been hostile to Christianity, but after talking with Murray and Hsiung, she came to accept Christ. In the second village, the women initially got lost but were able to find people willing to listen to their stories. After finding their way, the women proceeded to the third village where they visited the Lu home. Murray describes how the grandmother embraced her and addressed her as her “third daughter.”<sup>19</sup> Enjoying such hospitality, the women had the opportunity to share the way of Christianity.

This letter gives great insight both into the attitude of the Chinese toward the missionaries and into the early work in which Murray was engaged. For one, she encountered no other caucasians in her village visits, as can be expected. Although Murray lived at the mission compound, her work often took her outside the security of the foreign residence, and she had to trust the Chinese with whom she was interacting. Another interesting factor is that at least some of the Chinese in each of these villages were receptive to listening to the Christians. Murray says later that her first years of working in China occurred between two periods of hostility against foreigners.<sup>20</sup> General distrust of foreigners and occasional violence characterized the first of these periods, which reached its height at the turn of the twentieth century. The derogatory names such as “foreign devils” as well as the Boxer Rebellion of 1899 to 1901 were among the

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however, she uses “Hsiung,” suggesting that this is the proper spelling. This spelling is in accordance with the Wade-Giles version of writing Chinese names in English. In the Pinyin style used more commonly today, her surname would probably be spelled, “Xiong”. While I use the Pinyin transliterations of geographic locations, I will maintain the Wade-Giles spelling of names of those whom the missionaries knew that are not prominent historical figures.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Lennon, 7-8.

difficulties with which the first and second generations of Protestant missionaries dealt. By the time that Murray was working in Henan, such sentiment had died down. This did not last long, however, for the late 1920s ushered in the rise of nationalist feeling and the revival of anti-colonial sentiment.

### *First Evacuation*

In late 1926, only three years after she had begun mission work, Murray had to be evacuated along with other missionaries to Shandong Province due to fear of violence against foreigners in Henan Province. Earlier that year Chiang Kai-shek began the Northern Expedition in which he led the military forces of the Guomindang in a concerted effort to unify China. He and his forces moved north to Nanjing, defeating various regional warlords that had ruled in the Warlord Era from 1911 to that time. In the midst of warfare, foreign governments feared for the lives of their citizens and ordered evacuations. Murray spent several months in Yantai and Qingdao where she attended conferences held for evacuated missionaries. A bit later, other missionaries would include some who evacuated after the Nanjing Incident of March 1927. When Chiang and his army had reached and taken Nanjing, many soldiers rioted and vandalized the property of foreigners. Chiang Kai-shek would rein in his army, and in 1928 anti-colonialism was checked in the second military drive to the north that ended at Beijing. In this second phase, Chiang shifted to opposing communism rather than Westerners. Overall, the Northern Expedition had the positive effect of unifying China after years of factionalism that characterized the Warlord Era, which followed the fall of the last dynasty in 1911. Murray and other foreigners evacuated from the interior during the first stage of the

Expedition, when anti-colonialism in the Nationalist army was at its height as soldiers sought to assert Chinese ascendancy.<sup>21</sup>

In spite of these difficulties, Murray remembers her months in Shandong as the time in which the groundwork for spiritual revival was laid. Murray especially remembers in her memoirs a conference she attended led by Jane Lide entitled, “Christ our Life,” after which she said, “the indwelling Christ came to mean more to me than it ever had before.”<sup>22</sup> Moreover, she and the missionaries began praying together more seriously for themselves and the Chinese Christians, sensing that, “we really needed to know the Lord better.” By using the first person plural pronoun, Murray includes herself, other missionaries, and the Chinese. The evacuation and various conferences stirred up the missionaries’ personal feelings of inadequacy concerning their knowledge of God. This attitude, rather than just their desire for the Chinese to become better Christians, prepared them for the coming revival. Murray’s statement, if it indeed characterizes the general sentiment of the missionaries at this time and place, shows evidence of a new-found humility among them. Rather than destroy the coming revival by either trying to control it with an iron fist or extinguishing its fire, the recently humbled missionaries would experience the movement alongside the Chinese.

Some time in the early spring of 1927, Murray returned alone to Zhengzhou to find the troops of warlord Feng Yuxiang occupying the mission compound.<sup>23</sup> Feng was a Christian warlord who had befriended several Baptist missionaries. During the 1920s he

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<sup>21</sup> Fielder, “Murray Interview,” 15.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Fielder, “Murray Interview,” 17-18.

often took his troops to services held by the missionaries in Zhengzhou, but he slowly became more nationalistic and skeptical concerning the extent to which Christianity could help China.<sup>24</sup> Since he was already in the process of this transition when Murray returned to the compound, his troops did not disturb her but were also not overtly friendly. As a safety precaution, Murray wrote that the Bible woman Mrs. Hsiung stayed with her at night. By the end of March, the troops were moving out but the mission hospital would continue as a center for wounded soldiers.<sup>25</sup> This was Murray's first of many encounters with military movements, but strengthened by the assurance that she was living within the will of God, she claims that she was surprisingly unafraid.

Murray did not remain in Zhengzhou for long, for some time later in 1927 she returned to the United States on furlough. She was initially without funding to go back to China due to the same financial difficulty of the Foreign Mission Board that had kept the Fielders out of China.<sup>26</sup> The following year, however, the Women's Missionary Union agreed to sponsor her return.<sup>27</sup> During her next term of service, Murray would live through years of famine, revival, flooding, and war.

### *Second Term: Relief Work and Revival*

Upon her return in 1928, Murray became involved in relief work. Famine devastated the region, and churches had risen up to provide aid that the unstable

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<sup>24</sup> Xi, Lian, *Redeemed by Fire*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 90-94.

<sup>25</sup> Murray, Katie. (1927 March 27) [Letter to "Homefolks"]. Katie Murray Papers (Correspondence 1926-1936). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>26</sup> Chapter Two, 30.

<sup>27</sup> Fielder, "Murray Interview," 19-21.

government could not deliver. The organization of this church work shows the overarching disparities in the environment in which Murray worked. The Chinese churches had committees in charge of raising money and distributing goods, but Murray recalls that the missionaries (presumably male) led and supervised the committees.<sup>28</sup> Specific details concerning this effort are obscure, but if Murray's recollection is accurate, then this structure demonstrates the unwillingness of the missionaries to grant the Chinese full leadership in caring for their own people. While they allowed Chinese to be on the committee, they did not trust them to lead in the effort of helping their own people. This shows evidence of an underlying imperialist attitude. In spite of such questionable organization, however, Murray claims that the Christians were able to meet the needs of many throughout the 1930s. While membership fluctuated, the churches continued to provide aid for members and refugees. The steady flow of refugees allowed for increased evangelism among those who had never heard the gospel.<sup>29</sup> Yet, the organization and enactment of relief work remained problematic.

With famines and military conflicts ravishing the land, missionaries in Henan sensed both the great potential of the church as well as their own precarious situations. While the church had a great opportunity to witness and minister to others during times of violence and scarcity, the missionaries also found themselves as the object of attack by the growing anti-colonial sentiment. Moreover, they sensed that the churches as a whole lacked something in terms of Chinese leadership and fervor. In the late 1920s they began to meet with some Chinese church members to pray. Like Fielder, Murray claims that

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<sup>28</sup> Fielder, "Murray Interview," 25.

<sup>29</sup> Fielder, "Murray Interview," 41.

they did not know for what they were praying, but sensed that they all lacked, “fire for the Lord.”<sup>30</sup> Finally, in late 1931, the Christians’ prayers were answered with the arrival of Marie Monsen and the spread of the Shandong Revival into Henan.

### *Revival Begins*

In a letter written home on December 12, 1931, Murray relates the coming of Marie Monsen and the introduction of the Shandong Revival into Zhengzhou. The full force of the revival would not be felt until late summer, but Monsen laid the groundwork. As she taught about the new birth described by Jesus in his encounter with Nicodemus in John 3, many Chinese felt convicted that they had never experienced this.<sup>31</sup> One Chinese man, Murray claims, voiced while praying that, “he had believed in the church, but had never felt sin until that meeting when the new birth was stressed.” While he and some other Chinese may have attended church for the benefits they derived from the organization, they had somehow misunderstood the Christian concept of sin and what that meant for them.

In her ministry, one can see that Monsen had developed a keen understanding of Chinese culture and sensitivities. As a single woman who had served as a missionary in the region since 1901, she had spent many years among the Chinese. By the time of the revival Monsen claimed that she had learned of her need to be completely dependent on

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<sup>30</sup> Fielder, “Murray Interview,” 43.

<sup>31</sup> Murray, Katie. (1931 December 12) [Letter to “Homefolks”]. Katie Murray Papers (Correspondence 1926-1936). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. Murray mentions in this letter that one of the Chinese who experienced conversion at a meeting led by Monsen was a member of the Lutheran church. This indicates that the Shandong Revival reached beyond the Baptists. Monsen herself was a Norwegian Lutheran, and although many of the other primary revival participants were Baptists, the movement spread in some measure to multiple denominations.



the Holy Spirit for guidance in her ministry; yet, her intimate knowledge of the Chinese people also enabled her to effectively share the Gospel.

While some consider Monsen's evangelical emphasis on rebirth to be primarily emotional, further examination shows that Monsen actually appeals to logic and memory as well as emotion. By challenging her audience to consider whether or not they had ever acknowledged their own sinfulness and transferred their trust to Christ, she gives them a chance for self-reflection. Through such examination, which includes the use of logical faculties in observing past acts and present states, listeners could either find assurance in their salvation or discover their lack of any foundational spiritual experience. Again, the saving experience for Monsen and the Baptist missionaries primarily depended not on the memory of a feeling, but on the conviction of sin and confession of faith.

Missionaries attributed the new understanding of many Chinese concerning sin to the work of the Holy Spirit. With the introduction of Monsen's message and the surprising response of the Chinese, Murray and other missionaries felt that they had somehow failed to convey certain truths of Christianity. She wrote that she and the missionaries, "have confessed our blindness and inability to diagnose the disease before us, and grieved because we have failed to proclaim sin as we should."<sup>32</sup> In spite of years of evangelism, Bible teaching, church administration, and other mission work, the Henan missionaries felt ashamed at their own inadequacy to relate the gospel clearly. Knowing that their own tireless efforts had not been enough to translate for the Chinese sensibility the direness of sin, they attributed the beginnings of breakthrough brought about by the

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<sup>32</sup> Murray, "Letter 1931 December 12."

coming revival to the work of the Holy Spirit among the people as they heard the Word of God in a fresh way.

In another letter written four months after her first record of the coming revival, Murray narrates an important example of the types of conversions that were taking place in Zhengzhou. Mrs. Chiu, who Murray identifies as, “the most influential woman in the church,” had initially been hostile to the revival message.<sup>33</sup> When Monsen had first arrived in Zhengzhou, Chiu led others in disapproval of the missionary and her message. After Monsen left, however, Chiu sensed conviction of sin and felt unease about her antagonism. Influenced by nationalism and anti-colonialism, Chiu had resented missionary leadership, perhaps not unjustly; yet, she came to sense that the Monsen’s message transcended cultural clashes. She wrote a letter to Monsen and made a public declaration before the church in which she admitted, “hatred for foreigners and many of her definite sins.” She still felt little peace, however, and after a sermon by Pastor Chang at the Zhengzhou Baptist Church, she informed others that she felt she had been trying to work for her salvation rather than trust Christ. Murray writes that having finally understood the gospel, Chiu was, “brought into the joy of salvation.”<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Murray, Katie. (1932 March 12) [Letter to supporters]. Katie Murray Papers (Correspondence 1926-1936). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. Such language leaves one wondering whether Chiu understood herself as being born again for the first time or receiving the filling of the Holy Spirit. Murray’s ambiguous word choice leaves the door open for either or both possibilities. The notion of being “brought into . . . salvation” concerns rebirth, but the word “joy” indicates that Chiu and the missionaries might have interpreted this as the filling of the Holy Spirit. In their understanding of the latter, the Christian has a supernatural experience in which he or she gains a renewed sense of their position as forgiven children of God as well as special power to be witnesses for Christ. Charismatics often connect an abundance of joy with this experience. While the new birth is considered joyous, in that the person

Since the Shandong Revival focused on the universal problem of sin and the need for new life in Christ, it broke through racial divides. Several characteristics of Chiu's transformation give evidence to this fact. On the one hand, Monsen brought the message of the new birth for salvation and the filling of the Spirit, in which the Christian allows the Holy Spirit to fill and empower his or her life for Christian service. On the other hand, Pastor Chang preached the sermon that helped Chiu finally experience what Monsen had taught. Chang had been in a position of church leadership for many years, and the revival merely confirmed his abilities to faithfully guide other Chinese Christians. Chinese sources to confirm these occurrences or the assertion that the revival significantly altered the missionary-indigenous relationships are not accessible to this author, but missionary testimonies, including those of Fielder, Murray, and others that shall be dealt with in the following chapters, corroborate that these changes became reality.

Furthermore, as described in the previous chapter, Mrs. Chiu is the same woman who would question Maudie Fielder about her spiritual experience and pray with her to receive the filling of the Holy Spirit.<sup>35</sup> Murray especially noted the interesting reversal of this occurrence in which a Chinese woman led a veteran missionary into a fresh encounter with God.<sup>36</sup> Murray describes the meeting of the two women as being a tender one. Rather than reject the missionaries in order to embrace revival as many had done in

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becomes a child of God, the filling of the Holy Spirit following conversion is so in that the Christian's spirit or inner being is satiated with this knowledge.

<sup>35</sup> Chapter Two, 14-15.

<sup>36</sup> Fielder, "Murray Interview," 48.

other revival movements throughout China, Chiu instead found her place in this revival through reconciliation with the missionaries. Chiu could have looked down on Fielder for not having experienced the filling of the Spirit, but instead she showed herself transformed by the love of God through her willingness to lead Fielder.

Further letters from Murray and other missionaries relate numerous stories involving prayer and attested encounters with the Holy Spirit among the missionaries and the Chinese. In a letter home in April, Southern Baptist missionary Olive Lawton wrote how she had joined Murray, Katie Fielder, Mrs. Chiu, and the wife of another church member in a time of prayer after a revival meeting led by Dr. Glass in Xinzheng, just south of Zhengzhou.<sup>37</sup> They prayed mainly for others, and Lawton writes that they prayed specifically for each church member. She recounts having been overwhelmed with love and joy at this time, claiming the women had enjoyed, “such a feast with the Lord.” The language that Lawton employs here gives insight into several aspects of the revival. For one, these women were all praying together, demonstrating that they were able to communicate well and have a sense of unity beyond cultural or class distinction. They mutually fostered in each other a sense of spiritual fervor. Another interesting feature of Lawton’s description is that this experience was meaningful to the women because of the atmosphere in which it occurred. They spent several hours praying, but their prayer was marked by a special stamina to pray for many others rather than by fantastical events. They were seeking God not for the sake of personal experience, but on behalf of other church members. In doing so, however, they too were remarkably blessed.

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<sup>37</sup> Lawton, Olive. (1932 March 27) [Letter to supporters]. Katie Murray Papers. (Correspondence 1926-1936). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

*“Pentecost in Chengchow”*

From the end of 1931 through the fall of 1932, the revival in Zhengzhou gained speed and reached its full force at the end of the summer of 1932. From June 28 to August 6, the Christians in Zhengzhou held a Summer Conference with Bible classes. Murray marks this as a pivotal event, writing of one of the nights in August: “Monday night some of the evangelists call Pentecost in the Chengchow [Zhengzhou] Baptist Church.”<sup>38</sup> From the casting out of demons to various expressions of intense emotions as many fell under the conviction of sin, the conference brought out into the wider church the full force of the revival that had been brewing in Henan.

At the event, Murray mentions several notable speakers including Chinese evangelist Wang Ming Dao, Free Methodist missionary James Taylor, and Chinese revivalist Ding Limei. These three men represent distinctive, important movements in Chinese Christianity. James Taylor, the non-Chinese, was the grandson of Hudson Taylor and represented the China Inland Mission. This group had always maintained a policy of adapting Chinese customs in its missionary efforts, and like the Southern Baptists it emphasized the simple Gospel message over the more liberal theological stances that many other mission organizations had adopted. When the indigenous revivals occurred, then, CIM missionaries accepted and fostered the growth of the movements because they identified with the revivals’ core values.

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<sup>38</sup> Murray, Katie. (1932 August 16) [Letter to supporters]. Katie Murray Papers. (Correspondence 1926-1936). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. “Chengchow” is the Wade-Giles rendering of Zhengzhou. Murray and other missionaries always spell the city using this earlier system, but for the sake of consistency with modern maps the Pinyin spelling accepted today has been used throughout this thesis. Because I am directly quoting Murray here, I chose to preserve her spelling.

The two Chinese leaders that Murray mentioned represent a crossover between the missionary and indigenous movements. A second generation Christian, Wang Mingdao would become one of the most prominent independent Chinese itinerant preachers, traveling to twenty-four of China's twenty-eight provinces during his twenty-five years of ministry beginning in 1925.<sup>39</sup> Although he received his early Christian formation through the London Missionary Society and the YMCA, his brief encounter with Pentecostalism and his growing dislike for the Social Gospel ostracized him from the more established missionary organizations. He resisted the liberal Christian movements for social reform, claiming that since sin lay at the root of all social evils the Gospel itself must be emphasized. He even claimed at one point that true Christians needed to come out of churches that had become like the world.<sup>40</sup> Like the Shandong Revivalists, he emphasized the message of repentance, holiness, the Holy Spirit, and the coming of the end times.

The other Chinese leader, Ding Limei, also had a complicated history with established churches. A second generation Christian and survivor of hostilities during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, Ding had led a revival at Shandong Union College in 1909 and helped organize the Chinese Student Volunteer Movement for the Ministry the following year.<sup>41</sup> This organization hoped to raise up indigenous Christian leaders to evangelize China, and from 1913 to 1914 it worked with the YMCA to help American evangelists John R. Mott and Sherwood Eddy conduct rallies in major Chinese cities. Ding

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<sup>39</sup> Xi, 111-116.

<sup>40</sup> Xi, 121.

<sup>41</sup> Xi, 36-38.

eventually became a professor at the North China Theological Seminary in Tengxian, Shandong, but he resigned from this position some time in the early 1930s when the school rejected the Spiritual Gifts Movement with which the Shandong Revival was loosely connected.<sup>42</sup> Even more than Wang Mingdao, Ding had begun his Christian ministry under the authority of more established foreign missions, but as time went on he came to embrace the manifestations of the Spirit found in the indigenous revivals. While this turn ostracized him from his former mission connections, it led him to more collaboration with the Southern Baptist missionaries who supported the indigenous movements.

Lastly, this conference cemented among the Southern Baptist missionaries a sense of profound humility. Many of them had been working in China for years, and in the mid-1930s they celebrated one-hundred years of Protestant mission efforts in China. Nevertheless, they felt that they had in some way failed the Chinese by not having communicated the gospel clearly and not relying enough on the power of the Holy Spirit. Through the revival, the Chinese church attenders as a whole were finally able to relate to the Gospel message and sense the working of God in their own lives. They would then be able to take ownership of their faith as never before. The particular manifestations of the Spirit among them as well as the cultural reasons for the many years of misunderstanding will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. For the missionaries, these occurrences symbolized the beginning of a new era of church work in which they could put more trust in God to work powerfully through their Chinese brethren. Such an

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<sup>42</sup> Xi, 105.

attitude would be greatly needed in the years ahead, for the 1930s heralded terrible natural disasters, as well as resurgence in warfare as the Japanese invaded China.

### *Disasters and Warfare*

The effects of the Shandong Revival in Henan continued through the next several years and set the stage for the transfer of powers within the churches that would occur during the natural disasters and warfare. Murray recounts that she and other missionaries continued to provide famine relief as they had done before the revival, as well as lead Bible studies and evangelize in the mission outstations surrounding Zhengzhou.<sup>43</sup>

Tensions with Japan escalated, and in 1937 the growing threat of invasion was realized in the aftermath of the exchange of fire between Japanese and Chinese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge in Beijing. The Second Sino-Japanese War had begun. The Japanese quickly moved inland, and conducted the first aerial bombing of Zhengzhou on February 14, 1938. The mission compound sustained damage as several bombs hit the mission hospital, but Murray and other missionaries were unharmed.<sup>44</sup>

To keep the Japanese from crossing the Yellow River and moving farther inland, the Chinese government made the controversial decision to breach the southern dyke of the Yellow River at Huayuankou, just north of Zhengzhou, causing a massive flood and rerouting of the river.<sup>45</sup> The flood kept the Japanese from using the railroad hub at

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<sup>43</sup> Fielder, "Murray Interview," 52.

<sup>44</sup> Fielder, "Murray Interview," 52-55.

<sup>45</sup> Lary, Diana. "Drowned Earth: The Strategic Breaching of the Yellow River Dyke, 1938." *War In History* 8, no. 2 (April 2001): 191-207. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed March 10, 2014). 191-192.



Zhengzhou to move south into Hubei Province and take the temporary Nationalist capital set up at Wuhan, but it also caused massive devastation throughout central China. Henan, Anhui, and Jiangsu Provinces saw the most damage: the flood destroyed the ripe harvest, caused at least half-a-million casualties, and forced millions to evacuate the region as refugees, joining the ranks of other Chinese fleeing from the Japanese troops.<sup>46</sup> This flood did keep the Japanese from invading Zhengzhou for several years, but it neither damaged their forces nor kept them from advancing on Wuhan. The greatest impact of the flood would be the long-term devastation to Chinese lives and property, the increased refugee problem, and the discontent with the Nationalist government that increased following the war.

For Murray and the mission at Zhengzhou, the flooding and the war intensified the already-difficult refugee problem. The Japanese left the city alone for a while, but they crossed the Yellow River in October 1941 to invade and occupy the railway hub of Zhengzhou. About thirty Chinese women and more older men took refuge in the mission compound, where in a humorous turn of events Murray and her co-worker Grace Stribbling protected them from the Japanese soldiers. Since the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor had not yet occurred, the missionaries discovered that the Japanese had a fear of and respect for them as American foreigners. Several Japanese soldiers scaled the compound fence during the initial invasion, but when they saw the two American women, they treated them with respect, followed their orders, and peacefully left the

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<sup>46</sup> Lary, 203-204.

compound.<sup>47</sup> For the duration of the short occupation, the missionaries served as bodyguards for their Chinese friends. The Japanese retreated from Zhengzhou only one month after entering; Murray believed that they did not consider the city important or dangerous enough to occupy. The troops remained just north of the Yellow River until 1944.

Only one month later, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and went to war with America. The missionaries were now their enemies as well. Several missionaries from Kaifeng, the other main mission station in Henan located about fifty miles east of Zhengzhou, were placed under house arrest for six months and then sent back to the states.<sup>48</sup> Many other missionaries either left China or did not return from furlough in the States due to safety concerns. Only a handful, including Murray and two of her Baptist colleagues, remained for most of World War II.

The Japanese would again attack Zhengzhou in 1944, but prior to their return, the city served as a refugee center. Murray recalls in her interviews the various efforts made by Chinese Christians and the missionaries who remained. The Red Cross and International Relief Committee funded both government and collaborative Christian mission efforts to build refugee camps and bring food into the city.<sup>49</sup> According to Murray, the Christian denominations in the area, including Catholics and Protestants, all served together in this effort. Specific missionary efforts include that of Murray's

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<sup>47</sup> Lennon, "Katie Murray Oral History," 15-17. The soldiers greeted Murray and Stribbling with the customary bow.

<sup>48</sup> Sallee, Annie Jenkins. (Newspaper clippings 1942). Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers. (Box 2B556, Folder #7). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>49</sup> Lennon, 18.

colleague Dr. Thomas W. Ayers, a Southern Baptist medical missionary who ran the Baptist mission hospital and provided medical care at the camps.<sup>50</sup> Chinese Christians, however, performed a majority of the relief work, providing for both spiritual and physical needs. Murray mentions one man in particular, John Ping Ahn, who evangelized, preached, and led Bible studies among the refugees.<sup>51</sup> Another Chinese, Mr. Wu, she commends for guiding a large, collaboratively sponsored school for refugees through the war. People were anxious for hope, and the years of war provided an opportunity for the Christians who remained in Zhengzhou to share their hope in Christ with those passing through who may have never heard the Gospel. Although the war caused church membership in Zhengzhou to fluctuate drastically and forced many missionaries to evacuate, the unique situation of the city as a refugee center allowed the Chinese Christians who remained to lead in the efforts of sharing the Gospel. Desperate people on the run did not want English lessons, but they were willing to listen to stories about a loving God, told by their fellow Chinese, who helped provide for their basic needs. This consequence does not negate the horror and brutality of the war, but it does demonstrate how the Chinese Christians were fully capable of meeting needs and filling the gaps left by the missionaries.

When the Japanese again invaded Zhengzhou in April 1944, Murray and others quickly evacuated the city. For part of her journey, she traveled with the school mentioned above. In this remarkable evacuation, the Chinese leaders directed six hundred children and staff from the school. The leader had been trained in the Chinese Army

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<sup>50</sup> Lennon, 19-20.

<sup>51</sup> Fielder, "Murray Interview," 57-58, 67.

earlier in life, and used his military skills to move the large group of people from town to town until they were safe from the Japanese threat.<sup>52</sup> Murray recalls walking west with the mission school for two weeks along the ruined railway tracks until they were able to board a train for Xi'an, from which she took a bus to Chongqing, capital of the Chinese government. After communicating with the Foreign Mission Board, she returned to the States.<sup>53</sup>

#### *Final Years and Concluding Notes*

Murray would return to Zhengzhou in 1947, but only for a brief period of time. Although the war had ended, unrest continued as the Communists gained power and contended with the Nationalist government. Murray notes the various attitudes present through the church: some of the Chinese she felt had grown “cold” in their faith due to years of hardship, yet others had become incredibly strong.<sup>54</sup> Before the war, some of the Chinese ministers had received foreign funding, but during and after the war the money no longer came in from abroad. Internal conflict in the church and mission also existed in the post-war years, as when some of the Chinese doctors working at the hospital wanted ownership of the hospital that belonged to the mission board. The reasons for this specific conflict are unclear. Nevertheless, Murray was impressed by the vibrancy of the faithful

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<sup>52</sup> In her oral interview with Gerald Fielder, Murray refers to the principal of the school as “Mr. Wu.” Several years earlier in her interview with Donald Lennon, she names the principal “Mr. Lee.” The discrepancy in names indicates either that Fielder made a mistake by using different names to refer to the same man or that there were two men who directed the school and the evacuation. In either case, the story shows the remarkable ability of the Chinese to use their unique skills for the purpose of saving lives.

<sup>53</sup> Lennon, 21-22.

<sup>54</sup> Fielder, “Murray Interview,” 71-72; Lennon, 25-27.

few, including Pastor Chang who had been instrumental during the revival, who had grown resilient in faith in spite of difficulties. The Chinese Christians would have to fend for themselves, and they showed promising signs of their ability to survive.

Murray left Zhengzhou for the last time in 1948, just before the Communists officially took over the city. She relocated south to Guilin, Guangxi Province, until the spread of communism made her work too dangerous.<sup>55</sup> The missionaries had Nationalist party leanings, and although Murray was relatively unharmed by Communists, Chinese Christians who associated with her were placed in danger. In 1950, she and all other remaining missionaries left Mainland China for good. She traveled to serve in Taiwan from 1954 to 1962, and then returned to America. Murray retired from the Foreign Mission Board but continued supporting missions from home by serving as a prayer partner for many missionaries in the field.<sup>56</sup> She continued this ministry until her death in Winston-Salem, North Carolina on October 22, 1982 at eighty-five years of age. She is buried at Rose Hill Cemetery in the city of her birth.

Murray had served as a missionary in China for over thirty years, working and living among both missionaries and Chinese. As a single woman who embraced many aspects of the Chinese daily life, Murray had the opportunity to experience alongside the Chinese many joys and hardships that other missionaries missed. She enjoyed great freedom in ministry, serving as an itinerant evangelist and refugee worker. Throughout her years of mission work she also experienced deep personal fulfillment and satisfaction

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<sup>55</sup> Lennon, 1, 30.

<sup>56</sup> Steely, John E. "Katie Murray," in *Annual Report: of the 152<sup>nd</sup> Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina*. Baptist State Convention of North Carolina. 13-14. 2001. Accessed April 13, 2014. <<https://archive.org/details/annualreportseri18bapt>>.

that she would never have gained from remaining as a teacher in North Carolina. The incredibly calm and resilient spirit that she demonstrated defined her life and work. She was occasionally naïve in her understanding and interpretation of different issues; yet, the openness of her personality allowed her to maintain good relationships with both missionaries and the Chinese with whom she worked. She herself undertook the difficult task of learning the Chinese language and customs so that she could help meet needs around her; yet, her greatest contribution was her service as a stable supporter of the Chinese during their hardest times. She relied on Chinese workers during her first years of evangelism, she encouraged indigenous manifestations of the Holy Spirit during the revival, and she helped smooth the transition from missionary to indigenous leadership during the wartime years. By developing meaningful relationships with the Chinese and remaining committed to these through years of joy and years of pain, Murray helped enable the development of a Chinese Church that would survive underground for years without any outside help.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Work of the Holy Spirit in Confession and Supernatural Events

#### *Introduction*

The study of the lives of Maudie Fielder and Katie Murray elucidates much about the difficult yet rewarding nature of the missionary endeavor and the growth of the indigenous Chinese Church. Many provocative questions from their times, however, remain. First, why did so many of the Chinese Christians feel that they did not understand sin until the Shandong Revival? The missionaries blamed themselves for this phenomenon, judging that they had not adequately stressed the weight of sin and the work of the Holy Spirit. Information from the primary documents, however, suggests that disparities lying beneath the surface based on cultural differences kept many Chinese from connecting with the full Gospel message until the revival. Second, although the manifestations of the Spirit in the Shandong Revival are similar to those of other revivals throughout China, the missionaries' involvement in and response to these occurrences are unique to this revival and, as noted in previous chapters, allowed the missionaries to experience the revival alongside the Chinese. Miraculous healings, speaking in tongues, and the rebuking of demons were part of the powerful demonstrations that participants in the revival experienced firsthand. Moreover, the missionaries' willingness that their years of work among the Chinese be questioned and examined enabled new breakthroughs in the churches. In the midst of difficult times, the Holy Spirit used supernatural elements

native to the Chinese culture to transform the Chinese understanding of sin, confession, and the ultimate power of God to save and change lives.

### *Guilt and Shame*

Wolfram Eberhard's study of the way in which Chinese throughout the years instilled moral concepts shows the complexities of the Chinese understanding of sin, guilt, and shame. The distinctions he makes in *Guilt and Shame in Traditional China* shed light on Chinese sentiments, that the Henan Christians most likely held, which hindered their understanding of the Christian doctrines of sin and redemption. Through looking at various types of literature and images that were created to teach about sin and hell, Eberhard determines that guilt played just as important a role as shame in shaping moral development in China. His research elucidates the problems that the Chinese had with confession in light of their predisposed understanding of guilt and shame.

As one of the earliest, and perhaps the most important of the philosophies native to China, Confucianism did not originally have a rite of confession. Confucian thinkers concentrated on social ethics involving man's relation to the state, his family, and other people, in the hopes that setting up certain measures of societal behavior would solve the problems of evil and chaos.<sup>1</sup> This social ethic involved maintaining appropriate behavior in relationships, in which shame served to control behavior, but afforded little space for the exposure and healing of transgressions.

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<sup>1</sup> Eberhard, Wolfram., *Guilt and Shame in Traditional China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 16-17.



The concepts of sin and hell for the Chinese, then, developed following the introduction of Buddhism into China.<sup>2</sup> A 2nd century A.D. Buddhist text serves as the earliest record of a Chinese book depicting hell and the crimes that send one there.<sup>3</sup>

Concerning the folk-Buddhist concept of sin that developed in China, Eberhard writes that it involved,

the violation of a moral code which was somehow set, and was applicable to and valid for the world of the gods as well as the world of man. Even if human justice had dealt with the criminal according to the law of the society, his offense still remained to be punished.<sup>4</sup>

By emphasizing punishments in different levels of hell and in the next life as determined by a higher justice, or karma, Buddhism filled a spiritual vacuum and elevated the notion of guilt. Eberhard details how literature and images served to instill these concepts throughout Chinese history. Buddhist morality books called *Shan-shu* (善書) that included a main text, commentaries, and case illustrations of different hells and their specific punishments became popular by the 1400s.<sup>5</sup> For the illiterate, illustrations were the primary methods of presenting punishments in hell. These texts illuminate how sins are punished on earth by human judges and in hell by the gods who act as judges. They also display the belief that the human and supernatural worlds are intertwined, meaning that people have responsibilities towards both people and deities.

Whether through the *Shan-shu* or paintings and murals in temples that also detailed the different hells and their punishments, many Chinese would have become

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<sup>2</sup> Eberhard, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Eberhard, 25.

<sup>4</sup> Eberhard, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Eberhard, 25-30.

sensitive to feelings of guilt. Since transgressions could not be hidden from the divine as they could be from other humans, guilt would play a role in curbing human behavior. Nevertheless, shame also acted as a powerful socializing agent.<sup>6</sup> Over the years as Confucianism came to impose its ideals of social ethics upon the more spiritual Buddhism, disregarding Confucian values and social behavior in relationships became punishable within Buddhist texts.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, little benefit existed for exposing sins since this could only bring shame upon an individual. The typical Buddhist hope to counter fear of punishment in the next life, then, was the performance of enough good works to outweigh the bad, as if balancing a ledger.<sup>8</sup> Little room existed for confession in hope of salvation. While the missionaries in Henan may have been faithful to include confession of sin in their presentation of the Gospel, it is highly probable that many in their audience struggled to understand the benefits of confession within the Christian context.

Some forms of Chinese Buddhism, in contrast, based hope for the next life on grace alone. Folk Buddhism, beginning in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, promoted belief in Maitreya, or the Savior, who would gather the elect who believed in him for salvation while destroying everyone else.<sup>9</sup> During the Ming dynasty several secret sects also looked to a Savior figure. A member of the Pure Land sect, which became popular in the Tang dynasty, needed simply to believe in order to be saved and sent to the Western Paradise, a heavenly realm. While these various beliefs emphasized grace and the lack of

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<sup>6</sup> Eberhard, 108-110.

<sup>7</sup> Eberhard, 61.

<sup>8</sup> Eberhard, 19.

<sup>9</sup> Eberhard, 19-20.

judgment for the elect, Eberhard notes that confession of sins played no role in achieving salvation. Therefore, guilt and shame did not play any positive role in salvation, for one needed only to believe. This view contrasts with the Christian understanding of grace that the Henan missionaries articulated. For them, guilt played a healthy role in leading people to confession, yet shame kept people from acknowledging sin.

A form of confession did exist in China, however, in connection with Daoist healing practices, as Pei-Yi Wu demonstrates in his article, “Self-Examination and Confession of Sins in Traditional China.” Wu claims that traditional Confucianism emphasized “self-examination and mending of errors,” but that it lacked a specific ritual of confession.<sup>10</sup> He found the earliest example of confession to have been practiced by the self-styled Daoist secret societies that led the peasant uprisings of the Yellow Turban Rebellion during the later Han dynasty around the turn of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Confession of sin played an important role in the faith healings that were reported to have occurred in these communities. In these instances, Daoist disciples would perform incantations, cast spells, and use holy water for an ill person who was then instructed to confess in detail the sins they had committed in order to receive healing. Confession in the Daoist sense served as a means of both publicly shaming a person and appealing to a deity. Cults that emphasize healing reappear occasionally throughout Chinese history.

Examples of these healings are similar to those that took place in the Shandong Revival. Both healings required public confession of sin and involved a deep, spiritual connection between humans and the divine. In the Shandong Revival, however,

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<sup>10</sup> Wu, Pei-Yi. “Self-Examination and Confession of Sins in Traditional China.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 39, no. 1. (June 1979): 5-38. Accessed March 23, 2014, doi: 10.2307/2718811. 6.

confession served to heal not only physical but also spiritual sicknesses of individuals. Salvation and abundant life through Jesus were the foci of the revival; healing occurred occasionally and often involved confession as led by the Holy Spirit, but a ritual of confession was not developed for the primary purpose of healing. The texts on Daoist healing, on the other hand, suggest that the healed person has a second chance for a better life but make no direct connection between confession and the guarantee of ultimate salvation.

### *Confession for the Chinese Church*

Overall, these secondary sources greatly aid in understanding the complexities of the Chinese understanding of sin and hell and the implications of guilt and shame. Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism all played into the development of the Chinese moral system and spiritual sympathies in various ways. In the early 20th century, the Chinese already had a concept of sin and hell in their minds, whether they actually believed in such things or not. To a lesser extent, the Chinese also had a history of healings, other supernatural occurrences, and confession. When missionaries in Henan preached the teachings of Christianity, then, some Chinese assented to Christianity but many of these probably subjected Christian concepts to the Chinese concepts they already had in mind. Putting Christ in the place of other deities and retaining a concept of salvation by works, they would fail to understand the message of Christian grace. The Henan missionaries most likely preached confession of sin as part of the Gospel message, but the many of the Chinese may not have understood the weight of the practice as part of salvation since it did not appear in the same way in Chinese precedents. Confession had been useful for healing and ritual cleansing, but it was never a means of effecting

salvation. Furthermore, specific sins that the Christians condemned, such as opium and infanticide, were at least to some extent accepted in China, and when converting one could confess his or her sin in general without acknowledging the sinfulness of certain practices.

Stories from the revival in Henan demonstrate the complex yet essential place that confession had to gain in the Chinese Church. An example of confession that leads to salvation is seen specifically in the life of Mrs. Chiu, as described in chapters two and three. As Chiu sensed guilt by the conviction of the Holy Spirit, she publicly confessed her sin, exposing herself to shame, and later came to a new faith and assurance in Christ. Her experience was not an isolated event but characterized the experiences of many others as attested to throughout the revival. Chiu then became a close partner with other Christians and the missionaries in praying for the spread of the revival.

The following story from Marie Monsen's work in Henan several years before the revival further demonstrates the propensity of confession to set Christians free to live the Christian life with newly discovered honesty and dignity. While holding Bible classes with a group of Chinese women at an outstation in the spring of 1927, Monsen witnessed a breakthrough in the lives of the women. After discussing infanticide, fourteen of the sixteen women present confessed having killed at least one of their babies.<sup>11</sup> Monsen claimed that in her more than twenty years of working in the mission field, this was the first time that women openly confessed to having committed infanticide. The women were quite upset, and Monsen spoke with each woman individually as they confessed everything to her. After confessing, one of the women said that she felt as if she had been

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<sup>11</sup> Xi, Lian, *Redeemed by Fire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 96-97.

chased down and dragged before a Mandarin. Instead of hiding her sin she confessed all, but to her surprise the Mandarin had wiped her account clean and sent her home in peace rather than having her executed.<sup>12</sup>

The fresh, widespread confession among the women and the metaphor of meeting with the Mandarin exhibit the revolutionary nature of Christian confession as well as the power of the Spirit to make Christian concepts relevant to the Chinese. What these women had once viewed as a sure way of being shamed, they now saw as the only way of experiencing true peace and release. In her story about the Mandarin, the woman identified Christ with the Chinese judge but realized for the first time the unique nature of Christ's judgment. Since He gave His life for the sins of the world, Christ possesses the authority to grant total clemency and a new life of peace to repentant sinners. The woman who had this vision now possessed a new understanding of Christianity through the reversal of concepts with which she was already familiar. Although Monsen had brought the message of repentance, she did not prompt this vision, and in accordance with Christian tradition it can be understood as the revealing work of the Holy Spirit.

Monsen does not specify whether or not these women were already church members, but she does recognize this as the first time the women sensed the peace of Christ in a certain area of their lives. She and the other missionaries came to view such incidents of overwhelming conviction of sin and feelings of peace as the specific, promised work of the Holy Spirit. By helping the Chinese find joy in confession in this instance, and in the later wider revival, the power of the Holy Spirit broke down barriers

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

that missionaries had struggled against for years, allowing the Chinese Christians to live in the promised peace and joy of Christ.

Monsen used this same pattern of stressing the need for specific confession as part of the way towards freedom and peace in Christ during the Shandong Revival that soon followed her encounter with these women. As the former chapters dedicated to Fielder and Murray relate, the Holy Spirit's conviction of sin and people's response in confession changed the character of the Church. No one was exempt from being humbled in this respect: missionaries and Chinese alike felt the weight of their sins. Yet, they also experienced a new joy in confession that bound them closely to each other, bringing about the unity in Christ by the work of the Spirit as foretold in Scripture.

### *Supernatural Manifestations of the Spirit*

Another aspect of the revival that was not touched on nearly enough in the previous chapters is the supernatural manifestations of the Holy Spirit that accompanied it as it spread throughout Shandong and Henan. This is largely due to the fact that the missionary women did not focus on these in their letters and memoirs, although they do mention them. Displays of healing, casting out demons, and speaking in tongues played a definitive role in the foundation and spread of the revival, and the missionaries' positive response to such manifestations helped maintain church unity throughout the revival.

### *Healings*

Healings similar to those described in the Daoist secret societies indeed took place among the Christians in northeast China. Bertha Smith, a Southern Baptist missionary serving in Shandong and later in Taiwan following the Communist rise to power,

describes in her autobiography several examples of healings that took place in Shandong. The first instance that she and many other missionaries experienced was the healing of one of their own, Ola Culpepper. A Southern Baptist missionary, Culpepper suffered from a degenerative eye disease that had progressed to a point at which doctors could no longer help.<sup>13</sup> When the missionaries were evacuated to the coast during the Northern Expedition in 1927, they were forced to cease their work and take time together to pray and devote themselves to Scripture. Smith and Katie Murray were among those who took refuge in Yantai, Shandong. Among the evacuees was Marie Monsen who related accounts of miraculous healings in Jesus' name that she had witnessed in Henan right before being evacuated to the coast.

Smith writes that the Southern Baptist missionaries were initially skeptical of such occurrences, but after some time they asked Monsen about Culpepper's condition. For a week the missionaries asked God to search their hearts and convict them of sin as they prepared to pray that Ola might be miraculously healed. Culpepper confessed specific sin to her husband and the other missionaries before being prayed over. When the time for prayer over Culpepper came, Smith had to confess sin to another missionary before she could join the others in prayer. Marie Monsen reports that in the adjacent room, two Chinese cooks also reconciled with one another while the missionaries were praying.<sup>14</sup> Having prayed, the missionaries immediately sensed that Culpepper was

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<sup>13</sup> Smith, Bertha, *Go Home and Tell* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1995), 36-41.

<sup>14</sup> Monsen, Marie, *The Awakening: Revival in China 1927-1937*, trans. by Joy Guinness (London: China Inland Mission, 1961), 55.



healed. Indeed, her vision was greatly restored and the disease never occurred again.<sup>15</sup>

Yet after the healing, the missionaries experienced further conviction of sin, for they realized that they had not spent as much concentrated effort to prepare themselves to minister to the Chinese as they had to prepare for Culpepper's healing. Once the missionaries could return to their positions throughout Shandong and Henan, they were able to pray for and witness physical and spiritual healings among the Chinese.

This initial encounter with the healing power of God broke down preconceptions of God's work that the missionaries had and enabled them to participate in the indigenous revival that would occur. As conservative Southern Baptists, the missionaries believed in the legitimacy of miracles in biblical times, but they were not inheritors of the modern, 20th century Pentecostal revivals that included miraculous healing. During the Shandong Revival, however, they now experienced it in their own time and saw how the process of healing could bring about great spiritual fruit in the form of reconciliation and strengthened faith. Experiencing this amongst themselves, they learned the way in which confession of sin was connected to healing, as indicated in James 5:13-16. Had the missionaries not witnessed the healing of one of their own, they would not have been willing to hope for or accept as valid the miraculous healing of the Chinese Christians that would soon take place. Their bias against healings was initially stronger than that of the Chinese, for the Chinese were more accepting of such phenomena, since miraculous healings in some form were woven throughout Chinese history.

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<sup>15</sup> Smith, 39.

### *Casting Out Demons*

Another manifestation of the Holy Spirit that characterized the revival in Henan and Shandong was the casting out of demons. The missionaries do not dwell on these occurrences as length, but they do mention them in their memoirs. Maudie Fielder recalls that when the revival first came to Henan, the Christians cast out demons of some who “violently opposed the preaching of God’s Word.”<sup>16</sup> She does not go into this in detail, but in the nearly twenty years that she had spent in China, she had never before recorded an instance of demon possession. Katie Murray also writes of demonic possession, claiming that Christians dealt with two cases right when the revival had become strongest in Zhengzhou.<sup>17</sup> Murray does not mention this, but in Bertha Smith’s autobiography she writes that Murray herself had cast out demons in Jesus’ name.<sup>18</sup> Like Fielder, Murray had never before mentioned demon possession in relation to her ministry.

This new element of spiritual warfare was familiar to the missionaries from biblical paradigms, but they only engaged in it when the revival came. Rather than view this issue with skepticism, they recognized the need for the rebuking of demons among those whom they believed were possessed by relating these instances to their biblical framework. Moreover, they were acknowledging Chinese precedents for spirit possession as can be seen in previous secret societies and Buddho-Daoist sects through Chinese

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<sup>16</sup> Fielder, M. E. A. *Life History*. Maudie E. A. Fielder papers. (Box 2E525, Life History). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. 81.

<sup>17</sup> Murray, Katie. (1932 August 16) [Letter to supporters]. Katie Murray Papers. (Correspondence 1926-1936). The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>18</sup> Smith, 60.

history. Yet, they fought against such possession, holding that people needed to be saved and then filled and controlled by the Spirit of Christ.

### *Speaking in Tongues*

Although the missionaries in Henan do not mention speaking in tongues in their correspondence or memoirs, this manifestation was an attested element of the revival. In their letters home and the interviews that they gave looking back on the revival, Murray and Fielder most likely would not have mentioned this manifestation of the Spirit due to its controversial nature and the wariness that Southern Baptists had towards its use in modern times. Nevertheless, speaking in tongues must be acknowledged as an aspect of this revival. From the biography of Wiley B. Glass, one gains the impression that indigenous Christians mainly used the gift. Glass held that the tongues were indeed a gift sanctioned by the Holy Spirit as evidenced by the new joy that characterized the lives of those who received this gift.<sup>19</sup> Rather than tell the Chinese in Shandong to stop this practice, Glass sought to curb excesses in practice.

The Southern Baptists in America, on the other hand, were quite skeptical of certain manifestations of the Holy Spirit. While they believed in the inerrancy of the Bible, they held that some aspects of the work of the Spirit were confined to biblical times. They were also wary of their missionaries supporting a form of the Pentecostalism that had recently developed in the States. The missionaries on the field, however, responded that they had prayed for the Spirit of God to take control of their ministries, and that they could not stifle the work of the Spirit when the Spirit came. They had seen

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<sup>19</sup> Cauthen, Eloise Glass, *Higher Ground* (Nashville: Broadman Press), 1978. 153-154.

definite change in people's lives, as many gave up addictions and hidden sins to embrace a life lived for Christ. Dr. Charles E. Maddry, the new secretary for the Foreign Mission Board, visited Shandong in 1935 to confirm their reports.<sup>20</sup> The missionaries had shown independence and boldness in their willingness to sanction the revival that they knew included elements controversial to the sensibilities of their Southern Baptist supporters, but they also demonstrated humility by accepting the oversight of the Board. Although Maddry was initially skeptical, after visiting with many Christians he came to the conclusion that the revival and the work of the Holy Spirit among the Chinese were indeed Biblically sanctioned. By being open in such a way to the work of God among the Chinese, the missionaries and Mission Board maintained good relationships with the Chinese while allowing the latter to develop their own indigenized church.

*Out from the Ashes: Opium to Christ*

Before concluding, I would like to move from the specific manifestations of the Spirit to share one final story of how the revived people moved beyond themselves and brought another into their fold a desperate man. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Maudie Fielder tells of a woman in the Zhengzhou Church whose son was an opium addict.<sup>21</sup> This man, Chen Teh Seng, had wasted the family business and deserted his family to live with the city beggars. Previously the church had tried to help him recover from his addiction, but to no avail. During the revival, he came to the church with his mother and

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<sup>20</sup> Cauthen, 167.

<sup>21</sup> Cook, Katherine L. Interview with Maudie Ethel Albritton Fielder. Texas Baptist Project, 1979; 1980. Retrieved from <<http://digitalcollections.baylor.edu/cdm/ref/collection/buioh/id/2220>>. Baylor University Institute for Oral History, Waco, Texas. 113-115.

late one night he became convicted of his sins and stood before those remaining in the church, saying, “Well, I’ve taken Jesus into my heart; I’ll never smoke opium again.” He then stayed with the Christians for a time, but never again smoked. The day following his conversion he went to ask his wife for forgiveness and then visited neighbors from whom he had stolen to buy opium and promised that he would pay them back. He eventually became a preacher himself and ministered mainly to opium addicts.<sup>22</sup>

This story of Chen’s transformation shows both the base effects of the difficult times in China as well as the revival’s propensity to stir up Christian leaders. Opium smoking was incredibly damaging to Chinese society and the economy. Many people, especially men, became so addicted to the drug that they became like Chen, trading in their family and integrity for the chance to smoke. The drug made them lethargic and unable to be gainfully employed, and the destructive cycle spun on. As noted in previous chapters, China faced many difficulties in these times, such as seemingly constant warfare, political unrest, and natural disasters. On the one hand, opium addiction was a response to the difficulties of everyday life, while on the other hand it fueled the continued downward spiral of China’s condition. Other books from this period, including *Daughter of Han* by Ida Pruitt, also testify to the low morale and addiction to opium that were prominent in this period.

Yet, when Chen encountered the message of salvation in Jesus, he became completely convinced that his addiction had been wrong and that by ending his old life he could have a new beginning. His life had been what the Chinese considered absolutely shameful, for he had been disloyal and impious towards his family and had committed

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<sup>22</sup> Fielder, *Life History*, 81.

crimes to serve his addiction. Through Christ and by the power of the Holy Spirit, however, Chen found a way to break through his shame by Christian confession and repentance. His determination to make right his wrongs was not prompted by the missionaries but rather came as an overflow of his new, inner confidence in Christ. The Spirit manifested itself in his life by freeing him from his addiction and enabling him to make right the wrongs he had done to others. His personal struggles and triumphs later gave him a platform from which he could lead others out of their addictions in a way that the missionaries could not have accomplished. In this way, the Holy Spirit through the Shandong Revival empowered the Chinese to minister effectively to their own people who suffered from specific ills native to China, overcoming cultural aspects such as shame and the lack of a basis for confession that had kept many from authentic Christianity.

### *Conclusion*

The stories of the missionaries and the Shandong Revival leave several questions to be considered. The revival certainly bears aspects comparable to other indigenous revivals throughout China at this time; yet, it is unique in the extent of missionary involvement. Some may argue that the latter group's participation and leadership in the revival disqualifies it from being a truly indigenous movement. However, this view discounts the apparent mutual life transformations and cooperation of the missionaries with the indigenous Christians throughout the revival. Missionaries like Marie Monsen initially led much of the revival, but only after claiming to have experienced the movement of the Spirit alongside Chinese believers. She did not use the Gospel to bring Chinese Christians under her control, but rather joined with other indigenous pastors,

such as Wang Ming Dao, John Sung, and Pastor Chang of Zhengzhou to ignite a flame in the indigenous Christians. Those impacted by the Shandong Revival became fervent, persevering ministers of the Gospel in their own right.

This dedication carried on past the missionaries' leadership in the churches, for through World War II and into the rise of the Communist Party the missionary presence in Mainland China was gradually reduced to naught. Missionaries such as Fielder returned to the States, while others such as Murray and Smith went to do mission work in other Asian countries. Only following the relaxation of communist policies in the 1980s were they able to break the silence of thirty years and resume minimal contact with their Chinese friends in Henan and Shandong.<sup>23</sup> What they found amazed them. In the face of persecution, prison, and relocation to labor camps, many of the Chinese impacted by the revival had remained firm in the faith as they continued to share the Gospel wherever they went.

Therefore, while the Shandong Revival cannot be considered an exclusively indigenous movement, it certainly became indigenized in its consequent development. Indigenous manifestations of the Spirit as listed above played a key role in the movement, while indigenous pastors and lay leaders worked alongside the missionaries in prayer, preaching, and evangelism to call their brothers and sisters to forsake their former

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<sup>23</sup> Florence Ann McKinney, telephone interview with author, January 4, 2014. Mrs. McKinney accompanied her mother, Maudie Fielder, on her return visit to China in 1984. They reconnected with some of their former church members and heard incredibly sad yet hopeful stories of the persecution of the church under Mao Zedong. McKinney recounts several tales of Bible women and ministers who continued to win converts to Christianity even after being relocated to labor camps and prisons. She also recalls the joy of her mother as she conversed in Chinese with old friends and those who had known her former Chinese colleagues. McKinney is a now retired missionary who lives in San Angelo, Texas.

lives and dwell in the fullness of the Spirit of Christ. As in other indigenous movements, leaders emphasized the key message of the Gospel in a way that engendered a fundamental transformation in individual and communal identity. The Chinese who claimed to have been touched by the Spirit came to view themselves as forgiven and accepted by God, and the community of Christians rejoiced in and spread their reception of God's power. Aspects of Chinese culture that had hindered the understanding of the Gospel were somehow reversed. The Missionaries saw this change as evidence of the Spirit's movement, for by supernatural means guilt became a positive instrument towards salvation and shame lost its power as all revealed their hidden sins and found grace.

As for Maudie Fielder and Katie Murray, their flexibility allowed them to undergo a deep re-examination of their ministries and to support ensuing changes. Fielder with over fifteen and years of missionary experience and Murray with nearly ten years of experience could have rejected many aspects of the revival, claiming their years of service, depth of cultural understanding, and past success in teaching and evangelism as evidence of the legitimacy of their work. They had been serving tirelessly among the Chinese without straying from the preaching and teaching of the Gospel. Yet, when confronted with the fact that their work might be lacking something, they seriously considered the possibility that many of the Chinese church members had missed the Gospel message and that they as missionaries had not been serving in the power of the Holy Spirit. Through their openness to this thoughtful reexamination, they could accept what they considered to be the fresh work of the Holy Spirit among themselves and the Chinese that would make them ever more faithful to Jesus Christ's life and mission on earth. In the context of this acceptance, they were able to endorse elements of the revival



that were previously foreign to their sensibilities and to support the burgeoning leadership among the transformed Chinese. They could then remain among the Chinese using their unique gifts and providing guidance as needed. Ultimately, Murray and Fielder would see themselves as becoming part of the healing and empowerment of the Church body that occurred in the spreading of the Shandong Revival to Henan.

Moreover, the revival represented a fulfillment of Fielder's and Murray's personal and professional goals and desires. In becoming missionaries both women had desired to spread the Gospel in China, and their work multiplied beyond their own efforts as the revival stirred up the Chinese to be vital witnesses to their own people. Their differing marital statuses and unique work on the mission field meant that they led different lives, but by immersing themselves in the Chinese culture they both faced the challenges of cross-cultural ministry yet developed meaningful relationships with the Chinese. They then reaped the benefits of participating in the revival by being open to the work of the Holy Spirit among the Chinese. Affirming the strengthened leadership in the Chinese whom they served, Fielder and Murray effectively worked themselves out of their jobs. This peaceful transition would enable the churches to survive through the difficult years to come.

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