Lam Chi-fung’s Transformative Role in Shaping Hong Kong Baptist Life between 1950 and 1970

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction ........................................................................................................7
  Lam Chi-fung: Preliminary Remarks .............................................................................8
  Research Question and Motivation .............................................................................10
  Relevance ....................................................................................................................12
  Research Review: Lam Chi-fung .................................................................................15
  Research Review: History of Hong Kong Baptists ......................................................18
  Sources .........................................................................................................................19
  Definition of Terms and Chinese Transliterations .....................................................21
    Hong Kong .................................................................................................................21
    Macau ........................................................................................................................21
    Hong Kong Baptists .................................................................................................21
    Hong Kong Baptist Church .......................................................................................22
    Hong Kong Baptist Association ...............................................................................22
    Southern Baptist Convention and American Baptist Convention .......................22
    Church, Chapel, and Outstation ...............................................................................23
    Names in Chinese and Transliteration ....................................................................23
      *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly* ...............................................................................23
    Limitations ...............................................................................................................24
    Structure ....................................................................................................................26

Chapter 2: Hong Kong Baptist Story (1842-1900): From Missionaries Acting
  Alone to Chinese Taking Part ......................................................................................28
  Introduction ...............................................................................................................28
  Preparing the Way: Pioneer Efforts before Reaching Hong Kong .........................28
    Joshua Marshman in India .......................................................................................29
    William Dean in Siam .............................................................................................30
Missionary Support on All Fronts .................................................................119
  Participation in Direct Evangelism.............................................................119
  The Opening of New Churches and Chapels ..........................................120
  Assistance in Church Ministries .............................................................123
  Establishment of Baptist Institutions .....................................................125
    Baptist College ..................................................................................126
    Baptist Hospital ................................................................................130
    Baptist Theological Seminary ............................................................133
    Baptist Press .....................................................................................134
    Baptist Assembly ..............................................................................135
  Other Support .......................................................................................136
    Benevolence Ministries ......................................................................136
    Training the Locals ............................................................................138
A Different Landscape .............................................................................140
  Tensions Created by Lam’s Initiating the Return of Missionaries ..........142
    Indigenous vs. Foreign .......................................................................143
    Direct Evangelism vs. Indirect Evangelism ........................................146
    Displeasure with Lam’s Leadership ....................................................149
Conclusion ..............................................................................................151

Chapter 6: Baptist Cooperation with the Hong Kong Government (1950-1970):
Lam’s Collaboration with Governor Grantham ......................................153
  Introduction ..........................................................................................153
  Long Tradition of Baptist Cooperation with the Government (1842-1950) ..153
  Baptist Cooperation with the Hong Kong Government (1950-1970) ........156
    A New Political Situation ....................................................................156
    Social Problems Escalated as Population Increased .........................158
    Government Seeking Help ...............................................................161
    Baptists Becoming a Favorable Partner in Education .......................163
Chapter 7: Hong Kong Situation when Lam was the Leader: Church State Separation From Non-Issue to Becoming a Concern

Introduction

Baptist Understanding of Church and State Relationship

Southern Baptists’ Perplexity in the 1960s: Colleges in the U.S. Accepting Federal Aid

Baptist Schools Accepting Government Subsidies: Examples from India and Nigeria

Hong Kong Situation when Lam was the Leader: From Non-Issue to Becoming a Concern

Stance of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission in 1960s: No Government Subsidy but Definition Indeterminate

Stance of Hong Kong Baptists under Lam’s Leadership: the Pragmatic Approach Prevailed

Two Meetings

Seven Articles

Lam’s Modus operandi

Conclusion

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The Beginning of Hong Kong Baptists

Lam’s Contribution to Hong Kong Baptists between 1950 and 1970

How Was Lam Able to Lead Baptist Growth between 1950 and 1970?
Chapter 1: Introduction

Chris Pattern, the last British Governor of Hong Kong (1992-1997), arrived on July 9, 1992, and crossed the harbor from Kai Tak Airport to the Queen’s Pier for his official welcoming ceremony in a government vessel named for the wife of Sir Alexander Grantham, who had been the 22nd governor from 1947-1957. 1

Alexander and Maurine Grantham were familiar, significant names from an important chapter of the Hong Kong Baptist story when Baptists experienced their fastest growth during the 1950s. Hong Kong, once a British colony, was returned to the People’s Republic of China on July 1, 1997, as a Special Administrative Region. However, Hong Kong retained much of the heritage left behind by the British. The Baptist church, the largest Protestant group in Hong Kong, was an important part of this heritage. Its membership was composed of the largest Chinese Baptist population in the world. 2

Following the occupation of Hong Kong Island by the British in 1841, the first missionaries making a foothold in Hong Kong a year later were Baptists from the United States. They were soon followed by other major mission groups such as Methodists, Anglicans, the London Mission, the Barman Mission, and the Basel Mission. 3

Baptist missionaries built the first churches and opened a number of small church schools. However, within twenty years they left Hong Kong for the mainland of China finding it a much larger gospel field. As a result, after 1860, Hong Kong Baptists were left alone with little support from remotely located Baptist missionaries in southern China. These Hong Kong natives struggled for survival during the latter years of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century they organized their own church. 4

The early decades of the 1900s were known as the “Golden Age” for Christian missionaries in China. By 1919, there were 3,300 missionaries in China and in 1925 their numbers reached a high of 8,000, including children of missionary families. 5

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1 The government vessel, Lady Maurine, was built in 1953 and purchased by Sir Governor Alexander Grantham who named her after his wife, Maurine.
2 Hong Kong Baptists were the world’s largest Chinese-speaking Baptist group in 1997. According to the 2017 statistics, there were 88,124 Baptist church members in Hong Kong, which was 2.4 times more than Taiwan Baptists who had 37,426 members. See “Baptist World Alliance,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baptist_World_Alliance#Asia_Pacific; accessed December 12, 2017.
3 Ying Fuk-tsang, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2004), 6.
4 The Hong Kong Self-governing Church was formed in 1901 with twenty-eight members.
1,368 missionaries serving 364 stations in the 1930s. During the peak in early decades of the twentieth century, Presbyterians had 335 missionaries, Southern Baptists 287 missionaries, and American Baptists 117. When the government became Communist in 1949, all foreign missionaries were forced to leave the country. Despite the fact that Hong Kong was widely expected to be the logical place for these missionaries to continue their mission among the Chinese, only a few actually stayed there as they feared the Communists would soon takeover Hong Kong as well. However, Baptists in Hong Kong saw two decades of growth after 1950. Lam Chi-fung played a significant part in this development.

**Lam Chi-fung: Preliminary Remarks**

Lam Chi-fung was critical in facilitating the return of Baptist missionaries to Hong Kong after their expulsion from mainland China in 1949. He was also key to building a relationship with Governor Alexander Grantham, the government, and Baptists in the development of Hong Kong Baptist ministries. Known as “Mr. Baptist of Hong Kong,” he was a prominent leader in Hong Kong during the period of rapid growth of Baptists in the area. In addition to his service in Baptist churches, he had a distinguished list of accomplishments. He was the founding principal of the Hong Kong Baptist College (now Hong Kong Baptist University), the founder of the Hong Kong Baptist Hospital, principal of a number of major Baptist secondary schools, and the chair of the board of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary. He was also the longest serving president of the Baptist denominational body in Hong Kong. It is fully justified to ask: what was the nature of his upbringing and life experiences underpinning all his ministries?

Lam Chi-fung was born on November 6, 1892, in Jin-keng Village, Jie-yang County (also known as Kityang) in Chaozhou Prefecture of Guangdong Province, China. His father, Lam Siu-fen, was converted to Christianity through the missionary efforts of American Baptists in Chaozhou at the end of the nineteenth century and he became the first Baptist minister in Jin-keng village. Rev. Lam, a school teacher and Baptist pastor, was concerned that his children be good

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Christians and have good educations. As a result, Lam Chi-fung was sent to the Baptist Truth Middle school in Jie-yang for his primary education and later to Gok-Shek Secondary School in Swatow. These schools, which combined Christian values with general education, were part of the American Baptist Mission systematic action plan. Through his family and education Lam was exposed to Baptist spirituality and church life.

After his graduation from Gok-Shek Secondary School, Lam furthered his education at both Tung Man College in Amoy and Peking Union Medical College. Due to a shortage of funds, Lam was not able to finish his medical training. As a result in 1917, he moved to Hong Kong where he began a career in business. With his ability in English Lam got his first job in Hong Kong as an English language clerk at Kwong Yuen Shing Hong, a large importation firm. Within a few years he was promoted to be the manager-in-charge of the entire Hong Kong operation. There he gained exposure to the commercial world soon making business friends in South East Asia. As a result he founded his own coal and rice trading business with branches in Macau, Guangzhou, Zhanjiang, Swatow, and Vietnam. His business gradually expanded to include a wide variety of businesses. Obviously, Lam used some of his business experience later in leading Hong Kong Baptist Association, building relationships, and managing large projects.

10 S.C. Leung, “Speech of Dr. S. C. Leung, former General Secretary of the YMCA in the Orient at the Farewell Party on the occasion of the Retirement of Dr. Lam Chi Fung as the Principal of Pui Ching Middle School, Hong Kong (September 18, 1965),” in K.S. Lee, ed., A collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung (Hong Kong: Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), Epilogue 8.
11 Leung Ka-lun, Christian Education of Guangdong Province (1807-1953) (Hong Kong: Chinese Alliance Press, 1993), 85-86. Mrs. Henrietta Partridge, an American Baptist missionary, first started a girl’s school named Abigail Hart Memorial School in 1874 in Gor-Shek. Two years later, she started Gok-Shek Secondary School for boys of age twelve and above. Western educational science subjects including geography and chemistry were taught there. Gor-Shek is south of Shantou and was the Mission Base of American Baptist Mission in the Chao-Shan area.
12 Leung, Christian Education of Guangdong Province, 86. In 1900, there were already 29 schools in the area.
13 Lam, Lam Family Tree, 16.
14 In order to support Lam’s education, Lam’s father had to sell property and farms left to him by his ancestors.
15 The year 1917 is based on Lam, Lam Family Tree, 16; Lam Chi-Fung’s obituary states Lam moved to Hong Kong in 1916. Tang in Social Leaders in Hong Kong and Macao says he moved to Hong Kong in 1914. See Tang Chi Ching, Social Leaders in Hong Kong and Macao (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Associated Press, 1959). There were other sources putting the year to 1917.
16 Lam, Lam Family Tree, 16.
17 Ibid.
18 Gao Shun-ching, A Memoir of David Lam (Hong Kong: Ming Pao Press, 1995); Reginald H. Roy, David Lam: A Biography (Vancouever, Canada: Douglas and McIntyre, 1996), 40.
19 Ibid., 29, 42.
21 Lam, Lam Family Tree, 16.
After moving to Hong Kong, Lam, as a Baptist, joined the Hong Kong Baptist Church and became an active member serving on the mission and finance committees. While living in Kowloon he helped found Kowloon City Baptist Church, which was to become the largest in Hong Kong. In 1939, he became the chairman of its first deacon board. In 1938, his involvement in Hong Kong Baptist life was extended to the entire denomination after he began to serve in the Hong Kong Baptist Association – the denominational body. He was the president of the Association from 1941 until his death in 1971.

During his tenure as president many new churches and chapels were started and a number of Baptist institutions were established. As a result Baptists became not only the largest denomination in Hong Kong, but a movement known for their social, educational, and mission ministries. In 1970, the last full year of Lam’s life, there were fifty-five churches and chapels in the Association with a total membership surpassing 20,000.22 In 1970, in Hong Kong, the important Baptist institutions, supporting the ministry of local churches and enhancing Baptist presence on the wider scale in Asia, were the following: the Chinese Baptist University, unique in the world; the largest private hospital in Hong Kong; Baptist Theological Seminary; Chinese Baptist publishing house; and a Christian campsite. It is difficult to overstate Lam’s role in initiating and building up these organizations which had begun to strengthen the Baptist structures in this British colony. The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between Lam Chi-fung and Hong Kong Baptist development and to explore how Lam became the catalyst for the rapid growth of the denomination.

**Research Question and Motivation**

This study focuses on Lam Chi-fung’s transformative role in shaping Hong Kong Baptist life between 1950 and 1970. A large number of refugees flooded into Hong Kong following the takeover of the Chinese government by the Communist Party. The population increased from 1.86 million to 2.24 million within a year in 1949.23 This population surge led to a wide range of social and spiritual needs. The Hong Kong government, whose colonial administration had limited resources, came to rely on churches and voluntary organizations to provide education and social

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22 Princeton Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches*, Vol. II: Hong Kong and Macau Area (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1972), 204-205. There are forty-eight churches and chapels listed by Hsu plus another seven not listed in the table but about which information is provided in the content of Hsu’s book. The number of Baptist members was 20,186 according to Hsu. This figure includes all churches and chapels who were members of the Hong Kong Baptist Association. If members under other Baptist groups in Hong Kong who were member churches of Baptist World Alliance were included, there would be 24,302 members. See *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly*, Volume 26, Issue 3 (March, 1971) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Association), 6.

23 The population continued to increase in following years. It increased to 3 million in 1960, and to 4 million in 1970.
services to meet these needs. With the aforementioned concerns about the possible takeover of Hong Kong by the Communist regime, all foreign mission agencies were reluctant at the time to put their resources into the colony. Lam Chi-fung, at that time the denominational leader of Hong Kong Baptists, took up the challenge to meet these newly emerging needs. With his help and influence he was able to acquire support from both the Southern Baptist Convention and the Hong Kong colonial government. During the years 1950 to 1970 with Lam in the leadership role, Southern Baptists allocated large amounts of mission funds and send a great number of missionaries to Hong Kong. Meanwhile, the government of Hong Kong rendered important help, in particular land grants, to Baptist work.

In essence, the main research question of this study is: What was Lam Chi-fung’s role in developing Hong Kong Baptist life and ministry from 1950 to 1970? This question leads to others: How did Hong Kong Baptists secure such substantial support from foreign mission agencies, in particular Southern Baptists from America? What did Lam do to convince the Southern Baptists to invest heavily in Hong Kong? What were the repercussions as a result of the missionary support solicited by Lam? What motivation was there for the Hong Kong government to assist in the build-up of a large Baptist ministry? Was this support a result of a church-government contractual relationship already in place or was it due to the personal friendship between Lam and Governor Alexander Grantham? How did the support of Southern Baptists and subsidies from the government change Hong Kong Baptist life? What kind of opposition did Lam face from local Baptists, especially as seeking government help is often considered by Baptists to be dubious, to say the least? How did Lam handle opposition and tensions when they arose?

The motivation for this research is two told. Firstly, it is for the Hong Kong Baptist denomination as a whole. The author hopes to learn the factors which contributed to the speedy growth of the denomination between 1950 and 1970, primarily paying attention to the leadership and activities of Lam Chi-fung. In 1950, there were only eleven churches (including chapels). By 1960, this number had increased to thirty-eight. A fivefold increase from 1950 to the year 1970 saw fifty-five. The growth rate of both churches and membership produced what was a record high for Hong Kong Baptists. However, as we will see later, this growth began to slow down afterward. In a sense, this research study, with Lam-Chi-fung’s contribution in focus, is a pursuit of church growth with lessons learned from successful developments in the past.

Secondly, for personal reasons the author hopes to find his Baptist roots through this research study. It was through a Baptist church in Hong Kong that the author first came into contact with Christianity and accepted the Christian faith in a
“Baptist Camp.” This was in the 1960s in a church-campground belonging to the denomination. At that time, Southern Baptist missionaries were working alongside locals in a number of ministries. Charles Cowherd, a Southern Baptist missionary who had formerly been in Shantung Province in China, was the consulting pastor of the Mandarin Baptist chapel where the author was a member. His daughter, Jenny Cowherd, was the author’s English Sunday School teacher. The Mandarin Baptist Chapel was able to acquire a larger church premise with an interest-free loan through the help of the Hong Kong-Macau Baptist Loan Fund. This fund had been set up by Southern Baptists in Hong Kong. It was in such a Baptist environment that the author experienced spiritual development.

**Relevance**

In the early decades of the twentieth century, in Hong Kong, the Church of Christ in China (CCC) and the Anglican Church were substantially larger than the Baptists. The following table shows the number of churches and the membership of each: Baptists, Anglicans, and CCC in Hong Kong from 1910 to 1962.

Table 1.1: Comparison of Number of Churches and Membership for Baptists, Anglicans, and CCC in Hong Kong from 1910 to 1962

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Baptists</th>
<th>Anglicans</th>
<th>CCC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Churches</td>
<td>No. of Members</td>
<td>No. of Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3,288</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5,497</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10,478</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>15,585</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1) Figures for 1910, 1928 and 1940 were taken from Lau Yuet-sing.  
2) Figures for 1955 were taken from Earl Cressy and Loren Noren.  
3) Figures for 1958 and 1962 were from Loren Noren.  

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24 Lau Yuet-sing, *Xianggang Jidujiaohui Shi [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches]*, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1996), 349-352. Lau’s book only provides the membership figures for each church. The author has totalled the figures to derive the total number of churches and membership numbers.

25 Earl H. Cressy and Loren Noren, *City Church in East Asia, Study 7: Urban Church Growth in Hong Kong 1955-1958, Second Hong Kong Study* (Hong Kong: By the author, 1960), 3-23. Cressy and Noren’s study provides figures under three different regions, Hong Kong, Kowloon, and the New Territories. The figures shown in the table were totalled by the author.

26 Loren E Noren, *Urban Church Growth in Hong Kong 1958-1962, Third Hong Kong Study* (Hong Kong: By the author, 1964), 3-5.
The above table shows Baptists grew almost ten times in terms of membership from 1928 to 1940, which is statistically and substantially higher than the other two denominations. Lam Chi-fung began his contributions to Hong Kong Baptists during this period of rapid growth in the 1930s, and had his greatest impact on the denomination in the 1950s and 1960s when the church membership grew, within twenty years, about three times.

In addition, in the period from 1950 to 1970, the growth rate of Baptist membership was higher than that of Hong Kong population. In 1950, the estimated number of Baptist members in Hong Kong was about 5,500 and the Hong Kong population was about 2,200,000. The total Baptist membership was 0.25% of the Hong Kong population. In 1960, the Baptist membership was 13,623 and the Hong Kong population was 3,190,000. The number of Baptists was 0.42% of the Hong Kong population. In 1970, the number of Baptists increased to 21,906 and the Hong Kong population increased to 4,127,800. So the number of Baptists increased to 0.53% of the total Hong Kong population. Although there might be different factors leading to the speedy growth of one denomination over the others, Lam’s contribution to Hong Kong Baptists was most visible during the period between 1950 and 1970, while he was actively involved in Baptist ministries.

After Lam’s death in 1971, the growth rate of Hong Kong Baptists began to decline, even if their total numbers remained high and growth continued. The slowdown can be seen in comparison with the other denominations. The following table shows the number of Sunday worshippers of today’s three largest denominations in Hong Kong, namely Baptists, Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA), and Evangelical Free Church of China (EFCC) between 1970 and 2010.

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27 The population figures are taken from the Government Information Services Department, Hong Kong, and are referred to in Beatrice Leung and Chan Shun-hing, Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong, 1950-2000 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003). The number of Baptists is taken from Annual Report of the Hong Kong Baptist Association 1970 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Association, 1970).
Table 1.2: Comparison of Number of Sunday Worshippers between Baptists, C&MA, and EFCC in Hong Kong from 1970 to 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Baptists</th>
<th>C&amp;MA</th>
<th>EFCC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>9,424</td>
<td>4,013</td>
<td>1,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>11,150</td>
<td>5,822</td>
<td>1,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>13,104</td>
<td>5,710</td>
<td>1,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>16,151</td>
<td>6,639</td>
<td>3,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>16,349</td>
<td>9,197</td>
<td>4,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>21,825</td>
<td>13,096</td>
<td>6,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>29,995</td>
<td>18,362</td>
<td>8,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>32,609</td>
<td>26,098</td>
<td>15,724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>40,298</td>
<td>33,004</td>
<td>23,346</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1) Figures of Baptist Sunday worshippers were taken from Annual Reports of the Hong Kong Baptist Association of each respective year.
2) Figures of C&MA Sunday worshippers were provided by Wilson Mok.\(^{28}\) Since the figures for 1970, 1975, and 1980 from C&MA are unavailable, the figures in the table for 1970, 1975, and 1980 are in fact the figures from 1969, 1978, and 1982 respectively.
3) Figures of EFCC Sunday worshippers were provided by the Headquarters of the Evangelical Free Church of China.\(^{29}\)

The above table shows that Baptists lagged behind the other two denominations in terms of growth rate after 1970, after Lam passed the torch to other leaders. Both the C&MA and the EFCC were relatively small in the early decades of the 1950s.\(^{30}\) They began to build their churches in Hong Kong in the early 1950s after leaving China. Over the forty-year period between 1970 and 2010, Baptists grew 4.3 times in terms of Sunday worshippers and the C&MA increased 8.2 times whereas the EFCC increased 23.1 times. In 1970, Baptists had 2.3 times more Sunday worshippers than the C&MA and 9 times more than the EFCC. In 1990, the difference was narrowed down to Baptists being 1.8 times larger in attendance than the C&MA and 3.6 times that of EFCC attendance numbers. By 2010, the difference was further reduced to Baptists being 1.2 and 1.7 times the attendance numbers of the C&MA and the EFCC respectively.

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\(^{28}\) Wilson Mok, Associate General Secretary of the C&MA, Email to the author (October 6, 2017).
\(^{29}\) The Headquarters of the EFCC, Email to the author (November 17, 2017).
\(^{30}\) The C&MA had only two churches with no statistical records of Sunday worshippers and the EFCC had only one church with 100 worshippers in 1950.
Although Baptists are still the largest in the number of Sunday worshippers, the difference is growing slim. If this trend should continue, Baptists in terms of Sunday attendance will soon be overtaken by the C&MA and the EFCC. Though denomination growth cannot be ascribed to only one person, as there were also other factors in play, such as demographic changes and decisions made by mission organizations, it is nevertheless significant that Lam’s time of service correlates to the fast expansion of Hong Kong Baptists. Lam’s energy, organizational skills, and businessman-like orientation towards growth must have had a part in it. It should be pointed out in passing that the impressive growth of both the C&MA and the EFCC between 1970 and 2010 were achieved under charismatic ordained leaders. This will be discussed in the Conclusion of this study.

Lam’s contribution is even more prominent when we remember he was not an ordained minister of the sort expected to engineer church planting and evangelism. He was a layman without theological training. What was unique about Lam’s contribution to Hong Kong Baptist churches? This study argues that Lam, while understanding the importance of verbal evangelism, also highlighted social aspects of the gospel, strengthened Baptist educational work, and created a certain synergy by using the help of local government and foreign mission agencies. This required not only theological understanding, but also relational and networking tools, as well as a goal-oriented attitude. Lam Chi-fung met these requirements, and his story can show what a significant role lay leaders may have in relation to the churches.

Research Review: Lam Chi-fung

Not a single biography has been published on the life of Lam Chi-fung. He himself wrote no autobiography. Many prominent Baptist leaders in Hong Kong have one or more books written about them, such as David Wong Yu-kong, Rev. Lau Yuet-sing, Rev. Cheung Yau-kong, Wong Tong Chung-ling (the wife of Wong Kwok-shuen), Rev. Paul Wong Yat-keung, and David Lam (Lam Chi-fung’s

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second son). Other well-known Christian leaders in Hong Kong, such as Rev. Philip Teng of the C&MA, also have books written about their lives. So far no comprehensive biography has been written about Lam Chi-fung.

There was in fact a plan to publish a biography of Lam Chi-fung in 1965. A compilation committee was about to form and Franklin Liu was named to lead the work in September 1965. However, the project did not materialize. Either for cultural or personal reasons, Lam declined the idea of a book being written about him. In a similar way, he refused an offer of being thanked publicly by Chaozhou villagers who wanted to erect a monument for Lam’s help in building a canal of over ten miles to improve the irrigation system of the village, which was his childhood home.

However, in recent years the study of Lam Chi-fung has begun to receive attention in academic circles. Princeton Hsu wrote a four-page article called “A Short Biography of Dr. Lam Chi-fung.” Tsang Heung-wing wrote his bachelor’s degree thesis on Lam as being an outstanding Chinese Christian leader in Hong Kong. Yau Wai-ip produced a master’s degree thesis on Lam’s life and contributions within Hong Kong Christian circles. Most recently in 2014, Michael Kam wrote a biographical article on Lam Chi-fung. These works are descriptive in nature and are intended to provide a biographical sketch of the life of Lam Chi-fung and his contributions to the Hong Kong Christian community as well as to Hong Kong society as a whole. In additional to these, there are two articles related to Lam and his activities in the field of education. One was written by Vincent Lau on Lam Chi-fung’s role as molder of the education ministry of

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36 Gao, A Memoir of David Lam.
37 Philip Teng, All is Grace: Memoir of Philip Teng (Hong Kong: China Alliance Press, 2009); Hui Chiu-ying, Wong Kwok-oi, ed., Sparking Years of Rev. Philip Teng (Hong Kong: China Alliance Press, 2002).
38 “Yige Zhongyao de Bianyin Jihua – Linzifeng Boshi Chuan [An Important Compiling Project – Biography of Dr. Lam Chi-fung] (~1965),” in Daniel Tse Collection Inventory in the Archive and Special Collection of Hong Kong Baptist University (DTCI of HKBU), Box 1, Folder 9.
39 “Draft Manuscript of Lam Chi-fung’s 50th Wedding Anniversary (~1970),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 6. One Chinese mile is equivalent to one half of a kilometer.
41 Tsang, “[A Study of an Outstanding Hong Kong Chinese Christian Leader: Lam Chi-fung (1892-1971)].”
Hong Kong Baptists. Another is by Michael Kam concerning Lam’s life and career from a businessman to an educator.

Besides these works, Michael Kam has written a doctoral dissertation concerning Lam. Kam’s thesis is that “Lin Zifeng’s [the Hanyu Pinyin of Lam Chi-fung] Christian identity contributed to the success of his public career.” Kam believes Lam’s Christian identity had a significant influence on his public career in “his engagement in social organizations, philanthropy, education, and business ventures.” To Kam, “Lin’s contribution to Christian philanthropy and education brought much prestige and recognition to him in Christian and educational circles.” “Such prestige and social recognition can be identified as Lin’s symbolic capital, (…), the accumulation of symbolic capital did contribute to his banking business.” Kam argues that Lam’s Christian identity contributed to his business success through a series of cause and effect. The author of the present research has reservations about Kam’s argument, as Lam had begun his business career in Hong Kong in the year 1917 and became successful long before he started to be involved with Hong Kong Baptists in the 1930s. Kam also argues that “the main reason why the Hong Kong government provided such substantial support for Lin’s projects” was “the existence of a government-church partnership in colonial governance.” The author cannot agree fully with Kam’s conclusion. This study shows that the personal friendship between Lam Chi-fung and Hong Kong Governor Sir Alexander Grantham certainly played an important part in the government’s support of Lam’s Baptist projects.

It is clear that no serious academic study either in Chinese or in English has been done to understand how Lam as a layman contributed to the growth of Hong Kong Baptists between 1950 and 1970, and how he helped strengthen Baptist

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44 Vincent Lau, “Linzifeng Boshi: Xianggang Jinxinhui Jiaoyu Shiye de Suzaozhe – qi Jidujiao Linian Chutan [Dr. Lam Chi-fung: The Moulder of Hong Kong Baptist Education Ministry – A Preliminary Study],” in Baptist Heritage Week, Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, Hong Kong (March 8, 2007).
46 Michael Kam, “Christian Identity and Business Success: Lin Zifeng (1892-1971) and his Public Career in Hong Kong” (PhD dissertation, the University of Queensland, 2011), 1. Lin Zifeng is the same as Lam Chi-fung. With regard to names in Chinese, see the section “Definition of Terms and Chinese Transliteration” of chapter 1 of this dissertation.
47 Ibid., 1, 251.
48 Ibid., 1.
49 Ibid., 250.
50 Ibid.
51 See the section “Lam Chi-fung” in chapter 3 of this dissertation.
53 See the argument in Section “Genuine Friendship or Contractual Partners” in chapter 7 of this dissertation.
educational structures as well as networking with local government and foreign missionaries. This study is aimed at seeking to fill this void.

**Research Review: History of Hong Kong Baptists**

The first comprehensive study of the history of Hong Kong Baptists is Princeton Hsu’s book, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Volume II: Hong Kong and Macao Area*, published in 1971. Hsu is a well-known Baptist writer in Chinese Christian circles. He has written many Christian books, including five volumes on the history of Chinese Baptist churches. Although a lot of information with regard to the beginning of Baptists in Hong Kong was found to be taken from Lau Yuet-sing’s two books, *Xianggang Jidujiahuishi [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches]* and *Liangguang Jinxinhui Shilue [A Brief History of Guangdong and Guangxi Baptist Churches]*, Hsu’s book, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Volume II*, in addition provides valuable information on the history of individual Baptist churches and Baptist institutions in Hong Kong from their beginning to 1970.

Vincent Lau, in his PhD dissertation on the church-state practices of Hong Kong Baptists from 1949 to 1984, attempts “to narrate and explicate the formation of the church-state practice of Baptists in Hong Kong, from 1949-1984, by applying the ethics of John Howard Yoder.” Lau uses Yoder’s paradigm of church-state relations to show that the role of the church is “to embody the salvation and love of Jesus Christ” and “not to reform the world.” Yoder states that the church’s central issues are “Christian faithfulness and patience.” Based on Yoder’s concept of faithfulness, Lau sees that “Hong Kong’s Baptist lay-leaders [accepting government subsidies for Baptist schools] could hardly be considered as a practice of faithfulness.” Lau argues that “Baptist schools should not accept any governmental direct or indirect subsidy.” Lau observes that there were two distinct camps – pastors who considered accepting government subsidies for the operation of schools as a breach of church-state separation and lay persons who found it acceptable due to practical reasons of expanding the Baptist education

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56 Lau Yuet-sing, *Xianggang Jidujiaohui Shi [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches]*, 2nd ed., (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1996); Lau Yuet-sing, *Liangguang Jinxinhui Shilue [A Brief History of Guangdong and Guangxi Baptist Churches]*, reprint (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1997).
58 Ibid., 321.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid., 316.
ministry. The present author is doubtful about Lau’s observation. Was the division clearly and simply between pastors and the laity, or were there other considerations such as the divergence between practical and idealistic approaches to the issue? Lau sees that Southern Baptists have always been very firm on the principle of church-state separation. In Chapter 7 of this study, the author will discuss whether Southern Baptists have continued to be so decisive on this issue in areas such as accepting federal aid for their colleges, and what kind of subsidy would be allowed if they decided to accept state or federal funds. Some of these discussions were held also in Hong Kong context in the 1950s and 1960s. As this research argues, there was more flexibility than meets the eye.

Sources

This project is a historical study and in particular is a study of church history which involves extensive archive material research. The study is mainly a qualitative one utilizing primary source material. Given that the research material for this study consists of archive material related to Lam Chi-fung, Hong Kong Baptists, Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong government, the most important archives relevant to this research are the Special Collections and Archives of Hong Kong Baptist University (HKBU), the Archive of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, the Archive of the International Mission Board (IMB) of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), and the Hong Kong Public Record Office (HKPRO).

The main sources for the study of Lam Chi-fung and his involvement with Hong Kong Baptists are the materials kept in the Daniel Tse Collection Inventory (DTCI) of Special Collections and Archives of HKBU. When Lam Chi-fung died in early 1971, Daniel Tse who succeeded Lam as the president of the Hong Kong Baptist College took over all documents left behind by Lam and kept them untouched. In 2001, when Tse retired from the school he transferred the material to the newly established center of Special Collections and Archives of HKBU. There are over one hundred boxes of folders of documents in the collection related to Lam. This collection includes Lam’s personal and family information, incoming and outgoing correspondence, memoranda, memorabilia, speeches, minutes of meetings, reports, interview records, photos, and manuscripts. Besides the information in the DTCI, the Special Collections and Archives of HKBU has other material useful to this research study, in particular the study of the history of Hong Kong Baptists. The material in the Archives of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary includes all the volumes of the Association magazine, Hong Kong

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61 Lau, “From Periphery to Partnership,” 118.
Baptist Monthly, the Association’s annual reports, and special commemorations of Baptist churches, Baptist schools and Baptist institutions.

With regard to source material related to Southern Baptist missions in Hong Kong, the Archive in the IMB of the SBC has all the minutes of meetings of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission (HKMM, the mission agency of IMB of SBC in Hong Kong and Macau), correspondence between Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong and the mission office of the IMB, missionary journals, missionary reports, mission newsletters, annual reports of the SBC, reports of Oriental Mission Conferences, and reports of the Baptist Education Study Task. Material in the Hong Kong Public Record Office related to this study includes correspondence between Hong Kong governors and government officials in the United Kingdom, governors’ reports, and correspondence between British officials related to Hong Kong affairs. There are also declassified files with material concerning situations in Hong Kong shortly after the Communist takeover of China.

In addition to the archival material, there are a number of periodicals and annual reports which were also useful for this study. They include: the American Baptist Magazine by the Baptist General Convention; the Southern Baptist Missionary Journal (SBMJ), Foreign Mission Journal, and Annuals of the Southern Baptist Convention by the Southern Baptist Convention; Missions: An International Baptist Magazine of the American Baptist Convention, American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer, and Baptist Missionary Magazine by the American Baptist Convention. Henrietta Shuck’s letters to her friends and family collected in Jeter’s book, A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, provided important information on early missionaries to Hong Kong Baptists. 62 An unpublished book, entitled Lam’s Family Tree, which was given to the author by Tim Lam, Lam’s youngest son, contains valuable information on Lam Chi-fung and his family.

To supplement archival material concerning the research topic, the author interviewed three people with different backgrounds and relationships with Lam. 63 The three people are: Tim Lam, Lam’s youngest and only surviving son at the time when the email interview was conducted; George Wilson, Lam’s close co-worker and a veteran Southern Baptist missionary who spent sixty years serving Hong Kong Baptists since the 1950s; and Cecil Chan, a native Baptist layman who

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62 Henrietta Shuck was Jehu Shuck’s wife. The Shucks were the first Baptist missionaries to China (in Macau), and Henrietta was the first female missionary to China (in Hong Kong).

63 Lam died almost half a century ago. Only a few people, who had close relationships with Lam, are still alive who the author could possibly interview. The author managed to contact some of them. However, most native pastors, who were closely related to Lam, were reluctant to accept interviews by the author with regard to Lam Chi-fung and his relationship with Hong Kong Baptists. It is likely due to the fact that Chinese in general are hesitant to comment openly on people of prominent positions.
worked closely with Lam in both the Hong Kong Baptist Association and the Chinese YMCA in Hong Kong.

**Definition of Terms and Chinese Transliterations**

There are certain terms and geographical names frequently used in this dissertation. A brief explanation of their usage is needed.

**Hong Kong**

Hong Kong has not always been the same fixed geographic territory or physical size of land. Before 1842, Hong Kong was referred to as an island with a physical size of 75 square kilometers as part of Canton Province located at the southeast coast of China. Since the Treaty of Nanking was signed in 1842, Hong Kong was ceded to the United Kingdom (UK) as a British colony. In 1860, Kowloon peninsula which is situated at the north side of Hong Kong across Victoria harbor with a size of 47 square kilometers was ceded to the UK under the First Convention of Peking and Hong Kong was expanded to include the Kowloon peninsula. Under the Second Convention of Peking in 1898, the New Territories with a physical size of 952 square kilometers, which is at the north of the border of Kowloon peninsula, was leased to the UK for 99 years. Since 1898, Hong Kong has been meant to include Hong Kong Island, Kowloon peninsula, and the New Territories with a total area of 2,754 square kilometers (including surrounding waters). Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997, at the expiration of the 1898 lease.

**Macau**

Macau is situated about 60 kilometers west of Hong Kong. It was under Portuguese administration from the mid-sixteenth century until 1999, and was returned to China on December 20, 1999, as a Special Administrative Region. Macau and Hong Kong were treated by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention as part of the South China mission district before 1950, and as a single mission district afterward. The name Macau is often spelled as Macao. Both spellings are common and considered official. The name Macau is used throughout this dissertation unless the document quoted spells it otherwise.

**Hong Kong Baptists**

“Hong Kong Baptists” refers to Baptists in Hong Kong since Baptist missionaries from the U.S. appeared in the British colony in 1842. The Hong Kong Baptist Association, the denominational body, was formed in 1938. Since then, “Hong Kong Baptists” in this dissertation refers to members of churches and chapels
within the Association as well as missionaries from the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) and American Baptist Convention (ABC) stations in Hong Kong. There were other Baptist groups in Hong Kong after 1950, besides the SBC and ABC. Since they were relatively small and had no relationship with Lam, these other groups are not included in this research. In this volume, “Hong Kong Baptists” does not apply to these other Baptist groups.

**Hong Kong Baptist Church**

The name “Hong Kong Baptist Church” referred to in the dissertation is meant for the Hong Kong Baptist Self-Governing Church formally established in 1901. Since the church moved to its present location on Cain Road in 1920, it is also commonly known to the locals as Cain Road Baptist Church. The official name of the church was changed to Hong Kong Baptist Church in the early 1960s.64

**Hong Kong Baptist Association**

The Hong Kong Baptist Association was formed on March 27, 1938, as the denominational body of Baptists in Hong Kong. There were three churches and three chapels at the time of the formation of the Association. When the Association was formally registered with the government in 1951, the name was United Hong Kong Christian Baptist Churches Association. In 1973, the name was changed to the Baptist Convention of Hong Kong. For the sake of simplicity, the name Hong Kong Baptist Association, or the Association, is used in this dissertation, unless it is specified otherwise.

**Southern Baptist Convention and American Baptist Convention**

Baptist missionaries were sent to Hong Kong by the American General Missionary Convention of the Baptists (AGMCB) in 1842. Baptists in the U.S. were split into Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) and Northern Baptist Convention (which was later called American Baptist Convention (ABC), in 1845. Hong Kong was under the care of the ABC following the split. Due to the lack of resources, the ABC passed the Hong Kong mission to the SBC in 1881. However, after the ABC withdrew their personnel from Hong Kong in 1860, there was no Baptist missionary station in Hong Kong until 1950. A large number of missionaries, mainly from the SBC and some from the ABC, came to Hong Kong after 1950.

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64 The exact year when Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church changed the name to Hong Kong Baptist Church is uncertain. Lee Kam-keung argues that it should be between 1960 and 1963. See Lee Kam-keung, *Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns]: A Hundred Year History of Hong Kong Baptist Church 1901-2001* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2001), 130, and endnote 11 on page 155.
Church, Chapel, and Outstation

In accordance to the traditional understanding of Hong Kong Baptists, a congregation is considered a church when she has her own deacon board, is financially independent, and is able to appoint her own ministerial staff. A chapel is a congregation which does not have its own deacons, and depends on either a foreign mission agency or another church (its mother church) for financial support, assistance in performing ceremonial services, and advice in administration. An outstation is a preaching point temporarily set up by either a church or a mission body for reaching out to the neighborhood of the outstation. The sending body is responsible for all finances and administration of the outstation.

Names in Chinese and Transliteration

Names in Chinese are shown in accordance with the Chinese traditional way of calling, which begins with family name and is then followed by the first name or the “unique name.” For example, Lam is the family name and Chi-fung is his unique name. For those who have a Christian name or western name, such as David Lam, the Christian name or western name goes first and is then followed by the family name. When both the Christian or western name and the traditional Chinese name are used at the same time, such as David Wong Yu-kong, the Christian or western name, David, goes first, followed by the family name, Wong, and then the “unique name.”

For the English transliteration of Chinese names, the more widely and commonly known translation is used instead of the Hanyu Pinyin which has become a standard system since the 1980s. For example, the name Lam Chi-fung is used instead of Lin Zifeng and Hong Kong instead of Xianggang. In some cases, both the commonly known translation and the Hanyu Pinyin are provided, such as Wong Tong Chung-ling (Wang Tang Chongling), and Tam Hay-tin (Tan Xitian). For Chinese publications, Hanyu Pinyin is always used when no English title is provided.

Hong Kong Baptist Monthly

The Hong Kong Baptist Monthly is the denominational magazine of Hong Kong Baptists. It was called Xianggang Jinhui Yuekan (meaning Hong Kong Baptist Church Monthly Magazine) before the Baptist denominational body was founded in April 1938. Since April 1938, the magazine has been called Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Yuekan (meaning Hong Kong Baptist Association Monthly Magazine). For reasons of simplicity, the name Hong Kong Baptist Monthly is used throughout this research.
Limitations
This dissertation is limited to the study of Hong Kong Baptists and Lam Chi-fung’s role within the Hong Kong Baptist Association. Lam Chi-fung was directly involved in the Association and contributed to the strengthening of it by building up the social and educational structures and cooperating both with foreign missionary agencies and local colonial government. At the same time, Lam was navigating a “Hong Kong way” within this context. In addition to Baptist personnel from the ABC and SBC and native Baptists within the Association, there were “other Baptists” in Hong Kong between 1950 and 1970, who were relatively small and do not fall into the study of this project.

The Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society (CBFMS), an agency of the Conservative Baptist Association of America, is the largest among the “other Baptists.” They began their ministries in Hong Kong in 1963. By 1968, CBFMS had five churches and chapels, five schools, and two clinics.  

The Association of Baptists for World Evangelism (ABWE), which was affiliated with the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches, started a mission point in Hong Kong in 1953, in the home of their missionary who had come to Hong Kong a year before. The ABWE was formally organized in Hong Kong in 1962. Their membership in 1980 was 240. ABWE’s mission was to provide opportunities and facilities for the physical, psychological, spiritual, social, cultural, and educational development of people in Hong Kong by operating social service centers and schools. However, their modest numbers did not allow a wider impact.

Baptist Mid-Missions, another missionary agency approved by the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches, began work in Hong Kong in 1952, after Rev. Earnest Loong of Baptist Mid-Missions from mainland China moved to Hong Kong. Mid-Missions started the Witness Baptist Church in 1961, and operated three clinics in the beginning of the 1970s. Since 1982, they have started more churches. There are four churches affiliated with Baptist Mid-Missions in total in Hong Kong today.

There were also independent Baptist churches in Hong Kong. The Beautiful Gate Baptist Church was started by a former ABWE worker, Rev. Paul Chan, in

66 Paul Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong” (PhD dissertation, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1974), 190-192.
1963. Chan began a mobile medical ministry with seven mobile vans in 1963, and started a drug addict rehab center called “Operation Dawn” in 1967.\(^69\) By 1968, the church’s membership was 50. It later joined the Baptist Convention of Hong Kong as a member church.\(^70\) Another independent Baptist church, called Hong Kong Baptist Mission Limited, was incorporated in Hong Kong in 1964, by several Chinese with some relationship to a female Baptist missionary from the U.S. who had been in China. This organization never grew big with only two small clinics in operation and fewer than ten people who attended Sunday services.\(^71\)

Although there are not precise membership numbers of the Baptist groups that functioned outside the Association, the author believes they have not constituted more than three to four percent of the total number of Baptists in Hong Kong at any time. They are excluded in this study as their number in proportion and their role in the wider society was relatively insignificant compared to Baptists within the Association.

This dissertation is also limited to Lam Chi-fung’s contributions in the period from 1950 to 1970; although early Baptist missions to the Chinese and the history of Hong Kong Baptists prior to 1950 are touched on to provide the necessary background information for the study. Despite what one might think, which is that the year 1949 would be a watershed year for the history of Hong Kong churches as it is the year in which the Communists took over China, the author has chosen the year 1950 as the beginning of the study for several reasons: firstly, the impact upon Hong Kong Baptists because of the takeover of mainland China was felt only in and after 1950; secondly, the Hong Kong-China border control was set up in 1950, as a result of the large number of refugees flooding into Hong Kong; thirdly, foreign missionaries were forced to leave China and Baptist missionaries began to reappear in Hong Kong upon Lam’s invitations after 1950; and fourthly, Lam’s collaboration with the government became most visible beginning in 1950.

The year of this study ends in 1970, since Lam’s active contribution to Hong Kong Baptist life ended after his death on April 17, 1971. It is important to note that his influence could still be felt afterward. The year 1970 was the year the number of Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong reached its peak and that number began to reduce afterward. The year 1970 also was the last year the Hong Kong government relied mainly and mostly on churches to provide education for

\(^{69}\) Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 193-195.

\(^{70}\) "The Beautiful Gate Baptist Church,” http://search.hkchurch.org/search/Org.asp?ID=000722; accessed October 25, 2017. The Beautiful Gate Baptist Church became a member church of the Hong Kong Baptist Association in the 2010s.

\(^{71}\) Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 196-198.
its citizens; the compulsory and free primary education scheme was launched by the government the following year.\textsuperscript{72}

\textbf{Structure}

This dissertation is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction which sets out the research question, the importance of the study, a literature review of studies related to the research subject, the sources of this research and a number of observations. Chapter 2 unfolds the beginning of the Hong Kong Baptist story, how the early missionaries started mission work, and how the locals carried on the mission after the missionaries left Hong Kong for mainland China. Despite difficulties encountered by early Baptists, they laid a foundation for Hong Kong Baptists who grew into the largest denomination in Hong Kong in 1950-1970, the years when Lam Chi-fung held key positions in the Association.

Chapter 3 examines the beginning of the Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church, and how Lam emerged as a lay leader under such a context. Lay leaders played an important role in the Hong Kong Baptist tradition. Following the same tradition, Lam’s leadership and significance in Hong Kong Baptist life became more prominent and visible. Chapter 4 investigates how Lam responded to the needs of Hong Kong Baptists under the changing context following the Communist takeover of China by inviting the return of Southern Baptist missionaries. Lam used every means to solicit assistance from foreign missionaries, built friendships with them and alleviated their concerns that the colony would soon be taken over by the Communists. Chapter 5 asserts how the landscape of Hong Kong Baptists after 1950 was different from before once Lam was instrumental in securing the return of Southern Baptist missionaries. Hong Kong Baptists under Lam’s leadership expanded rapidly and built many important institutions. This chapter also discusses the tensions which Lam faced as a result of the return of foreign missionaries.

Chapter 6 analyses how Hong Kong Baptists followed a century-long tradition of collaboration with the government in the field of education before 1950 and how, following 1950, Baptists became the government’s favorable partner in providing education for Hong Kong residents. What motivated the government to work with Hong Kong Baptists? It goes on to argue that Lam’s personal friendship with Governor Alexander Grantham was a vital factor in facilitating Baptist growth in education, especially as government aid, in particular free land grants, were vital for developing a number of Baptist institutions. Chapter 7 addresses the issue of

\textsuperscript{72} The Hong Kong government launched the compulsory and free primary education policy in 1971. Six-years of primary school education funded by the government started in September 1971.
separation of church-state and a series of questions that involved: how the principle was understood by Southern Baptists; what problem was encountered when applying the principle in Baptist colleges in the U.S.; how the principle was practiced in different British colonies; the stance of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission (the Southern Baptist mission agency in Hong Kong); how Hong Kong Baptists interpreted the principle; and how Lam handled the issue and the tension arising from his effort to rely on the state to render help to the church.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion of the dissertation, summarizing the thesis that Lam as a layman played a transformative and decisive role in shaping Hong Kong Baptist life during the period between 1950 and 1970. Under Lam’s leadership, Hong Kong Baptists were transformed from a local church of a nominal size without external assistance before 1950, to a large denomination that, partnering with overseas Baptists and aided by the government, planted numerous churches and important institutions, by 1970. Though Lam-Chi-fung had no theological education and no formal pastoral ordination he was able to contribute significantly to the Hong Kong Baptist growth.
Chapter 2: Hong Kong Baptist Story (1842-1900): From Missionaries Acting Alone to Chinese Taking Part

Introduction

The Hong Kong Baptist story began when Issachar Roberts, Jehu and Henrietta Shuck, and William Dean arrived in 1842, one year after the island was occupied by the British. Prior to their presence, Baptist missionaries labored in different parts of Asia to prepare the way: learning the Chinese language, reaching out to overseas Chinese, and translating the Bible into Chinese. After reaching Hong Kong, they immediately devoted themselves to missionary work and started a number of churches.

The early missionaries mainly acted alone without much support from each other or the locals. Support from their sending agents was also found to be inadequate. Despite all the difficulties encountered, the early missionaries managed to gain converts and start churches and schools in the colony within a short time of their arrival. However, the pioneers left Hong Kong for mainland China after opportunities were opened to them to move forward in this larger field. As a result, local Chinese Baptists had to become more involved in the mission even though they were still in their “infancy.” This chapter will look at how the Hong Kong Baptist story unfolded, how Baptist missionaries prepared themselves before reaching Hong Kong, what they achieved while working alone in the colony, and how the local Baptists took part in the mission after the departure of these early missionaries.

Preparing the Way: Pioneer Efforts before Reaching Hong Kong

Before Baptist missionaries began in Hong Kong, they had worked among overseas Chinese while waiting for opportunities to enter China. Joshua Marshman, a British Baptist working in today’s Calcutta, India, translated the first complete Chinese Bible. William Dean, an American Baptist, started the first Chinese Baptist church while in Siam (today’s Thailand). Jehu and Henrietta Shuck and Issachar Roberts, also American Baptists, spent about five years in Macau learning the Chinese language before moving to Hong Kong. During their time in the Portuguese enclave, they endeavored to reach out to the poor and neglected as they had restricted freedom to spread the Protestant faith in a Catholic environment.
Joshua Marshman in India

Despite the fact that Robert Morrison of the London Mission is often seen as the first Protestant missionary to the Chinese, it was Joshua Marshman of the British Baptists who should claim the honor. The first Protestant missionary effort in reaching Chinese took place in a totally unexpected place – Serampore, India, although most people would think China should have been the logical place for reaching out to the Chinese. Joshua Marshman, a Baptist missionary and co-worker of William Carey, arrived in India on October 17, 1799. Both Carey and Marshman had been sent by the British Baptist Missionary Society. With the help of Johannes Lasser (also known as Hovhannes Ghazarian), an Armenian who was born in Macau, Marshman started to learn the Chinese language with the hope of one day evangelizing the Chinese. Lasser had translated only the book of Matthew. Marshman took up the work and began to translate the entire Bible into Chinese in 1806, one year earlier than Morrison’s arrival in China. The New Testament was finished in 1811 and the Old Testament in 1822; the whole Bible was finished in 1823, one year earlier than the Morrison translation.

Although the Marshman Chinese Bible was a rather crude translation since it was translated outside China without the help of experts in the Chinese language, it was the first complete Bible in Chinese in the history of Christianity and was widely used by early Baptist missionaries. While working on the translation of

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73 Dr. Macgowan, Letter to the Secretary of the English Baptist Missionary Society (April 1843), in Baptist Missionary Magazine (BMM), Vol. 24, No.2 (February 1844): 36. Macgowan wrote: “Marshman was the first Protestant missionary who labored especially for the Chinese.” There was also a saying that Marshman had preached in the northern part of China in 1799, eight years before Morrison’s arrival in China. See Wong Yuen-shum, Shengdao Donglai Kao [A Study of Christianity Coming to the East] (Hong Kong: publisher unknown, 1899), 9.


76 “Serampore,” in American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer (ABMMI), Vol. 4, No. 6 (November 1823): 223.

77 It was believed that there were at least two Chinese assistants who helped to proof-read Marshman’s translations. However, they were probably not Chinese linguists. See Daniel Choi Kam-to, Book of Thousand Years: Story of Bible Translation (Hong Kong: Logos Publishers, 2011), 247.

78 Kenneth S Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1929), 211. Although Marshman’s translation was considered crude by some people, Richard Glover finds “the excellence of his [Marshman’s] translation is remarkable,” and quotes Mr. Wherry’s saying that “much of the actual contents of the book is good current Chinese,” and “a large proportion of it appears in subsequent translations.” See Richard Glover, “Our Mission in China,” in The Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1802, ed. John B. Myers (UK: The Baptist Missionary Society, 1892), 112. However, Dean preferred the Morrison translation over Marshman’s as he found the Morrison’s rendered “the meaning more obvious to the natives.” See “Journal of Mr. Dean: Chinese Version of the Bible,” in BMM, Vol. 17, No. 1 (January 1837): 201. Concerning the history of the translation of the first Chinese Bible, see Clement Tong Tsz-
the Bible, Marshman produced another piece of work, *Clavis Sinica* (Key to the Chinese Language), the first Chinese-English dictionary, in 1814. Meanwhile, Carey converted a Chinese from Java who was living in India. Lila Watson believed the convert was probably the first Chinese Protestant Christian recorded in history. Baptists indeed pioneered the evangelism of Chinese with the Protestant faith in a number of areas. More importantly, Marshman paved the way for future missionaries in China. His effort of translating the first Chinese Bible and producing the first Chinese dictionary made preparations for the long term evangelism of the Chinese people.

**William Dean in Siam**

The first Baptist missionary sent to work among the Chinese was William Dean. The designated field was still not China but Siam (today’s Thailand). After being commissioned by the triennial American General Missionary Convention of Baptists in 1832, Dean left for Asia two years later and arrived in Siam on July 18, 1835. Within months of his arrival, Dean quickly learned to speak Swatow, the Chaozhou dialect, and baptized three Chinese in the same year. In November 1835, a small Chinese church was established. It was the first Chinese Baptist church and also the first Baptist church in the Far East. Dean was the first pastor of the church. These overseas Chinese were mainly Swatow speaking originally from the Chaozhou area of Southern China. The later Baptist ministry among the Swatow speaking Chinese in China had its origin in Siam.
The work among the Chinese had already experienced its small beginnings when Dean arrived in Siam. John Taylor Jones, the first American Baptist missionary sent to work among the Siamese (Thai people), arrived in Siam from Burma in 1833, two years before Dean. It was recorded that he baptized four Chinese. With this small congregation to start with and small church meetings in his house, Dean baptized about five hundred Chinese and organized five Chinese churches during his ministry in Siam. Montgomery is right in saying that many of these Chinese emigrants would become “sowers of the seed of the gospel” when they returned to their mother country. Hok Heng was an example. He was converted in Siam and followed Dean to Hong Kong in 1842, to help start the first Swatow Baptist church on Chinese soil.

In 1836, Alanson Reed, another American Baptist missionary, arrived to join Dean. Reed lived on a boat and devoted himself to distributing gospel tracts among overseas Chinese in Siam, but died after working there for only one year. In July 1836, R.D. Davenport, a missionary and printer, was sent to start a Baptist printing company in Bangkok to produce Thai Bibles as well as Chinese gospel tracts. In 1839, two more missionaries were sent to Thailand by the American Baptist Mission, Josiah Goddard and his wife. In the following years, there were other Baptist missionaries sent to Bangkok to work among the Chinese. This early effort of Baptist missionaries laid an important foundation for future ministry to the Chinese in the mainland, particularly the Swatow speaking Chinese. Through these missionaries, Lam Chi-fung’s father, who spoke the Swatow dialect, was able to come into contact with Christianity and became the first Chinese Baptist pastor in his home village in Chaozhou, China. In this way, the wider Baptist mission story is reflected in the Lam family history.

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89 Montgomery, *Following the Sunrise*, 149. “Fallen leaves end up to their roots” is a famous saying among the Chinese. It is very common for overseas Chinese to return to their motherland when they get old or retire. Even if someone died, the remains would be shipped back to his homeland to be buried.
92 According to Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches*, Vol. IV, 85, Alanson Reed and J. L. Shuck were also sent to Bangkok and arrived there in July 1837, working there for two months. However, Hsu’s record here that Shuck was in Bangkok contradicts what he wrote in his other book that Shuck was in Singapore from April 31 to August 29, 1836. See Princeton Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches*, Vol. V: *Bibliographies, of Former Leaders* (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1972), 2. It is believed the date recorded by Mrs. Shuck, that the Shucks were in Singapore between March 31 and August 29, 1836, is more accurate. See J. B. Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck: The First American Female Missionary to China* (Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1850), 66-72.
Jehu Shuck and Issachar Roberts in Macau

The first Baptist missionaries who laid their feet on Chinese soil were Jehu Lewis Shuck and his wife Henrietta Shuck. They were sent by the Triennial Convention in 1835. Like most of the other missionaries sent to work among the Chinese, the Shucks first went to Singapore to learn the Chinese language. The Chinese dialect they learned was Cantonese which was a common dialect for people in Hong Kong and Canton. They reached Singapore on March 31, 1836. After spending five months there, without waiting for instructions from the mission board they set sail for Macau on August 29, 1836, and reached Macau nineteen days later. About a year later, Issachar J. Roberts, an independent American Baptist missionary, also arrived there joining the Shucks.

While in Macau, they had restricted freedom to reach out to Chinese under the hostile rule of Portugal and its Roman Catholic Church who were seen as rivals, and were “strictly prohibited by the civil authority from making any public efforts for the diffusion of the gospel.” Apart from learning the language, they could only distribute gospel tracts and gather informal groups such as orphans and children in local streets, beggars and lepers in the neighborhood villages. Their desire was to reach mainland China, not to stay in Macau for a long period of time. This could be seen from Mrs. Shuck’s letter dated November 24, 1836, saying that after arriving at Macau for several days her husband “became exceedingly anxious

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93 Shuck studied “with the teacher five hours a day without intermission” to learn the Chinese language while in Singapore. Henrietta Shuck, Letter to Mrs. Keeling (July 27, 1936), in Jeter, A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, 71-72. Before missionaries were allowed to enter and preach in China, they went to different Asian cities, such as India, Rangoon, Singapore, Malacca, and Bangkok, where they could learn the Chinese language as well as reaching to overseas Chinese in order to prepare for their future entry into China and hoping these Chinese converts would one day take the gospel to their motherland.

94 Jehu Shuck, A postscript appended to Henrietta Shuck’s letter to Mrs. Keeling (September 27, 1843), in Jeter, A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, 197.

95 Jeter, Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, 63. Watson also has a record of Shuck’s arrival at Singapore, but the date she uses is April 1836.

96 “Journal of Mr. Shuck,” in BMM, Vol. 17, No. 9 (September 1837): 226. Hsu mistakenly recorded that Shuck arrived in Macau on August 29, 1836. See Princeton Hsu, A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Vol. II: Hong Kong and Macao Area (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1971), 1. August 29, 1836 was the date on which Shuck left Singapore.

97 Issachar Roberts was a self-supported missionary from the U.S. He later joined the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions of the Baptist Triennial Convention. For a background story about Roberts, see Margaret M. Coughlin, “Strangers in the House: J. Lewis Shuck and Issachar Roberts” (Unpublished PhD. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1972), 37-44.

98 Jeter, A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, 221. Wong Yuen-shum also records that Shuck and Roberts were forbidden by the Portuguese to preach in Macau hence moved to China immediately when circumstances allowed. See Wong, Shengdao Donglai Kao [A Study of Christianity Coming to the East], 10. Montgomery believes Roberts was the first missionary in China working among the lepers, “as he was the first to pay with his own life the price of such ministry.” Roberts died as a leper in the U.S. in 1866. See Montgomery, Following the Sunrise, 153.

to visit the mighty city, Canton.” Within two months after arriving in Macau, Shuck visited Canton for ten days, and was “much pleased” with it. To the Shucks, Canton was a much larger gospel field as its population was “exceedingly numerous” and “its inhabitants number about nineteen millions one hundred and seventy-four thousand,” whereas Macau had only thirty five thousand. Seeing Hong Kong as an important spring board to mainland China, they quickly moved there in the beginning of 1842, after the British took control of the island and even before the Treaty of Nanking was formally signed. The Shucks, Roberts and Dean together with other Baptist missionaries began the Hong Kong Baptist story.

**Hong Kong Baptist Story: Missionaries Acting Alone (1842-1860)**

The Hong Kong Baptist story began after American Baptist missionaries moved to the island in 1842. Issachar Roberts was the first missionary who arrived in Hong Kong in February 1842, after it was occupied by the British. The Shucks moved there a month later on March 19. William Dean, formerly a member of the Chinese department of the Siam Mission in Bangkok, also joined them and arrived on June 21, 1842. Shortly after their arrival, the first Chinese Baptist church in Hong Kong was established. Within a year following the establishment of the first church in June 1842, the church had visible growth and “large congregations of both Chinese and English assembled to hear the preached gospel.” These first missionaries worked with distinct dialect groups depending on their language skills or in different locations. With rare cooperation among fellow workers, sometimes ineffective financial support from their mission agency, and often little help from native assistants, the early missionaries were mainly acting alone in Hong Kong.

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100 Henrietta Shuck, Letter to Her Father (November 24, 1836), in Jeter, A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, 95. Shuck went to Canton on September 26, 1837, in the company of Rev. Dr. Peter Parker and Mr. J.R. Morrison (son of the Late Dr. Robert Morrison). See also “Journal of Mr. Shuck,” in BMM, Vol. 17, No. 9 (September 1837): 226, 228. Canton is known as Guangzhou today.


102 The British took control of Hong Kong in 1841. The Treaty of Nanking was formally signed on September 15, 1842, and ratified by both governments on June 26, 1843. See H.R. Williamson, British Baptists in China, 1845-1952 (London: The Carey Kingsgate Press Limited, 1957), 14.


104 William Dean, Letter to the Mission Board (June 22, 1842), in BMM, Vol. 23, No. 1 (January 1843): 21. According to Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese: Giving A List of Their Publications, and Obituary Notices of the Deceased (Shanghai, China: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867), 85, the Dean family moved to Hong Kong in “the latter part of October” of 1842. So Dean was in Hong Kong first and his family joined him four months later. The exact date of the arrival of Dean’s family in Hong Kong was October 24, 1842. See “Mission to China,” in BMM, Vol. 23, No. 6 (June 1843): 158.

The Shucks and Cantonese Churches

At the time of the arrival of the early Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong, there were about seven thousand people living on the island.\textsuperscript{106} The Shucks who settled on the north side of Hong Kong started three chapels; one on Queen’s Road, one at the Bazaar, and one in How Wan. The Queen’s Road chapel, which was the first Protestant church ever formed in China was constituted on May 15, 1842, with five members.\textsuperscript{107} The church building had a capacity of over 200 people. When it was dedicated on July 19, 1842, one hundred Chinese attended.\textsuperscript{108} The Bazaar chapel, which could accommodate sixty to eighty people, began to hold services on June 26, 1842. The How Wan chapel was also established in 1842.\textsuperscript{109} Within a year, the Queen’s Road and Bazaar chapels together built up sizable congregations. Shuck wrote on June 10, 1843: “We have thirty-three stated Chinese services every week, beside occasional ones.”\textsuperscript{110} On average, the attendance at the Bazaar chapel was forty-five and the attendance at the Queen’s Road church was about one hundred.\textsuperscript{111} Their pioneer effort received good results. Shuck’s excitement could be seen in his letter of July 8, 1844 to the Mission Board:

\begin{quote}
With feelings which I cannot possibly express, I am now enabled to communicate to the Board that there is a religious revival going on at this time in my Chinese congregations! There is no stir, bustle, nor excitement; but the still movements of the Spirit of God are evidently upon the hearts of between 20 and 30 different individuals. Besides the three lovely converts whom I have this year been permitted to baptized, I have nine others registered for baptism, and all of them have been for some time under instruction. Besides these there are several applicants for baptism, and some inquirers who are not considered candidates or applicants.\textsuperscript{112}
\end{quote}

About a month later, Shuck wrote that he had baptized twelve Chinese converts during the first eight months of 1844.\textsuperscript{113} These converts, mostly of the lower spectrum in terms of education and social status, however, were not ready to take responsibility for the emerging work. They were on the receiving end, and the

\textsuperscript{106} “Annual Report: Mission to China,” in \textit{BMM}, Vol. 23, No. 6 (June 1843): 158. Dean’s estimation is in line with the figures given by the historian, G. B. Endacott, that there were 4,400 villagers and 2,000 boat people. See G.B. Endacott, \textit{A History of Hong Kong} (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 18.
\textsuperscript{109} Watson, \textit{Brief Historical Sketches of Baptist Missions in China}, 7. How Wan is known as Wan Chai today. There was no further news or information about the How Wan chapel. Probably it did not exist for long.
\textsuperscript{110} Jehu Shuck, Letter to the Mission Board (June 10, 1843), in \textit{BMM}, Vol. 24, No. 7 (July 1844): 209.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{112} Jehu Shuck, Letter to the Mission Board (July 8, 1844), in \textit{BMM}, Vol. 25, No. 3 (March 1845): 67.
\textsuperscript{113} Jehu Shuck, Letter to the Mission Board (August 14, 1844), in \textit{BMM}, Vol. 25, No. 3 (March 1845): 68.
Shucks ministered to the small group of converts in the form of pastoral care and preaching.

Within months of their arrival in Hong Kong, Mrs. Shuck had children under her instruction. She wrote to her father on May 2, 1842, that they had “formed a school consisting of twelve boys.”114 Two years later, she started a boarding school on March 1, 1844, which began with fifteen students.115 In a letter to her sister, Susan, on March 16, 1844, she stated that she had ten Chinese and three European children, some soldiers’ daughters, as well as her own four children under her teaching.116 In another letter to her sister, Isabella, also in March 1844, she said she had a school of twenty boys who spoke no English.117 Two months later her school grew to “forty to fifty heathen children under daily instruction.”118 To cater for the rapid growth, another school was established almost immediately.119

In the midst of her busy life, Mrs. Shuck also spent time to “visit the soldiers’ wives, pray with the sick among them, and distribute Bibles and tracts.”120 While her education ministry was prospering, she died on November 27, 1844, leaving behind a legacy to be remembered by many. Mrs. Shuck was the first western female to live in Hong Kong, the first female missionary to work among Chinese, the first person to start a girls’ school, and the first missionary to die in Hong Kong.121 More importantly, Henrietta pioneered the education ministry and social welfare services among Hong Kong Baptists. These have become a long-established tradition since her beginnings. Hong Kong Baptists continued with the tradition of operating small church schools to reach out to people over the following one hundred years. Lam Chi-fung built, upon this tradition, a large scheme of Baptist education and social welfare ministries in Hong Kong from 1950 until 1970.

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114 Henrietta Shuck, Letter to her father Mr. Hall (May 2, 1842), in Jeter, A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, 181.
115 Watson, Brief Historical Sketches of Baptist Missions in China, 7.
116 Henrietta Shuck, Letter to her sister Susan (March 16, 1844), in Jeter, A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, 201.
117 Henrietta Shuck, Letter to her sister Isabella (March (without the day), 1844), in Jeter, A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, 202.
119 Dunaway describes the building as two stories high which was equipped with classrooms, dormitory, and rooms for teachers, colporteurs, and others. See Dunaway, Pioneering for Jesus, 123-124.
120 Henrietta Shuck, Letter to her sister Susan (March 16, 1844), in Jeter, A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, 202.
121 Li Chi-kong, Xianggang jiaohui zhanggu [A History of Hong Kong Churches] (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (H.K.), 2006, 3rd printing), 3-5. Mrs. Theodosia Dean died shortly after moving to Hong Kong on March 29, 1843, which was about one and a half years before Henrietta’s death. See “Miscellany: Death of Chinese Missionaries’ Wives,” in BMM, Vol. 25, No. 6 (June 1845): 133. Since Mrs. Dean did not have much time to serve there, some church historians such as Li would leave the honor of the first missionary giving up the life in Hong Kong to Henrietta. Princeton Hsu recorded incorrectly that Mrs. Dean died “shortly after” Henrietta’s death. See Hsu, A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Vol. V, 6.
William Dean and Swatow Churches

While the Shucks worked among the Cantonese speaking Chinese, Dean, who had learned to speak Swatow, the Tiechiu dialect, while serving in Bangkok, ministered among the Swatow speaking groups. There were somewhere between two and three hundred Tiechiu men in Hong Kong. Dean preached in Swatow in the morning at the Bazaar chapel and in the afternoon at the Queen’s Road chapel. According to his journal dated December 11, 1842, Dean also had fruitful results from his labor: “We have to-day had more than thirty different Tie Chiu men at our services; about a dozen in the morning, and twenty in the afternoon.” As a result, a Swatow Church was formed. On May 8, 1843, the constitution of the Swatow Church of Hong Kong was read before a meeting composed of the church attendees at the Queen’s Road Chapel and members of the missions. It was the first Swatow Baptist church on Chinese soil.

The Swatow congregation saw rapid growth. In less than a year after the Tiechiu Church was formally established, there were forty attendees at the Bazaar chapel in the morning, and more than twice that number at the Queen’s Road chapel in the evening as reported in Dean’s letter dated March 24, 1844. About a month later, Dean’s letter of April 28, 1844, stated: “At the bazaar chapel we had to-day a house full of people, and many came away who could not find admission.” As the Bazaar Chapel could seat up to eighty people, there must have been close to one hundred people, or even more, who had come to the chapel.

Apart from working within the colony, Dean also ventured to places outside British rule such as Tokwawan, Shamshuipo and Mongkok in the Kowloon peninsula, and Cheungchau Island to reach out to Swatow-speaking Chinese. These Tiechiu converts were the seeds of the strong Swatow churches in Chaozhou, where Lam Chi-fung’s original home was during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

128 Lau Siu-lun, The Foundation of the Hong Kong Chinese Church: The History of Hong Kong Christian Church, 1842-1866 (Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 2003), 78-79. Kowloon was ceded to the British in 1860, as a result of the Second Opium War. Cheung Chau, an outlying island west of Hong Kong and part of the New Territories, was leased to the British in 1898 for 99 years. Dean, who was fluent in Swatow, reached out to places where there were large populations of Chaozhou people speaking the Swatow dialect. It is still debatable whether Cheung Chau Baptist Church is the first and still existing Baptist church on the Chinese soil. See Tong Siu-yuen, “Changzhou Jinxinhui Kaoyuan (Shijiushiji de Yiye) [The Origin of Cheung Chau Baptist Church (A Chapter in 19th Century)],” in The 3rd Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China “History of Christianity in Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Christianity & Chinese Culture Research Centre Alliance Bible Seminary, 2003).
century. The Swatow-speaking converts also played a significant role in Hong Kong, where Lam was instrumental in the development of the Baptist family in the middle of the twentieth century.

Issachar Roberts in Stanley

At about the same time when the Shucks settled in Hong Kong, Roberts moved to work in different areas on the island such as Wongneichong (today known as Happy Valley), Shaukeiwan, and Chekchu (today known as Stanley).\(^\text{129}\) Chekchu was located in the south side of the Island and had about eight hundred to a thousand Chinese who were divided in Cantonese, Hakka and Tiechiu dialects.\(^\text{130}\) The British had a barrack of four hundred men there. Roberts started a chapel and conducted worship services in both English and Cantonese on Sunday, and superintended a school for Chinese young people. He made daily visits from house to house and also occasional visits to neighboring villages.\(^\text{131}\) Stationed in Chekchu which was “half a day’s walk from his colleagues and friends on the other side of the island,” Roberts was all by himself and “suffered periods of loneliness in his isolated outpost.”\(^\text{132}\)

The work of others of these pioneer missionaries was also extended beyond Hong Kong to territories outside the British jurisdiction. Thirteen natives were employed “in distributing Christian tracts and books, and making known to their countrymen the way of salvation.”\(^\text{133}\) Though the missionaries had their own areas of work and related themselves to different language groups of the locals, there was evidence of at least some, though random, mutual cooperation between them. According to Dean’s journal, he and Shuck visited Kowloon on February 20, 1843.\(^\text{134}\) About a month later on March 13, Dean visited Sum-Sui-pu, Mong Kok, and some other villages.\(^\text{135}\) Nevertheless, much of the ministry was on the

\(^\text{129}\) Lau, *The Foundation of the Hong Kong Chinese Church*, 78. One reason for Roberts to be assigned to work in different places is because he could not get along well with other co-workers. Coughlin describes that Roberts “would indeed become a problem to all concerned – to Shuck, the Board, the churches and the other missionaries”. For detailed discussion of this point, see Coughlin, “Strangers in the House,” 36-44. Roberts was assigned to Chekchu in April 1842, by the vote of the mission including Dean, Shuck, and Roberts. He was seen as a constant irritant to Shuck. See Coughlin, “Strangers in the House,” 36, 76.

\(^\text{130}\) Tiechiu is also known as Shantou, Swatow, and Chaozhou.


\(^\text{134}\) “Journal of William Dean (February 20, 1843),” in *BMM*, Vol. 23, No. 8 (August 1843): 206. Dean reached Tuka-wan (today known as Tokwawan) where he found about four hundred people who spoke the Tie Chiu dialect.

\(^\text{135}\) William Dean, Letter to the Mission Board (March 13, 1843), in *BMM*, Vol. 24, No. 5 (May 1844): 97. Sum-Sui-pu (today known as Shumshuipo) and Mong Kok (today known as Mongkok), situated in the Kowloon peninsula, are among the most populated districts in Hong Kong today.
shoulders of individual missionaries. Teamwork patterns were sporadic rather than regular. In Shuck’s letter of May 14, 1844, he spoke of the selection of three outstations: Kowloon on the mainland which had either 8,000 or 10,000 inhabitants; Cheung Chau, a small island with a population of 4,000; and Peng Chau, an island near Cheung Chau with 3,000 inhabitants.\(^\text{136}\) His letter also mentioned that there were as many Tiechiu people as other dialects in Cheung Chau and Peng Chau, and a whole town of them in Kowloon.\(^\text{137}\) To these early missionaries, the harvest was plentiful, but one could imagine that it was also a heavy burden for them and their families to bear. Apart from the problems caused by a lack of cooperation among missionaries most of the time, the financial support from their mission body at home was also ineffective. Due to the failure of Boyd & Co., the agent of the Mission Board, from whom the missionaries obtained their funds, Shuck had to engage himself as an editor of the newspaper, “Friend of China,” and to supervise the work of its printing in order to support his livelihood.\(^\text{138}\) As can be seen from Henrietta’s letter to Mrs. Devan on March 23, 1843, at times they felt discouraged and were lonely:

> There are sore and bitter trials, my dear friend, which missionaries often feel. They toil and labor and are often discouraged – no good results from their efforts. We need great faith, we indeed are compelled to walk by faith alone.\(^\text{139}\)

Although there was great hardship and many difficulties, the results were visible. Nineteen people were baptized in 1844, only two years after their arrival.\(^\text{140}\) Compared to Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, who gained his first convert after laboring for seven years, these early Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong had significant achievement. Moreover, their efforts and sacrifice inspired others to follow their footsteps to dedicate their lives for the Chinese.\(^\text{141}\)

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\(^\text{137}\) Ibid. Cheung Chau and Peng Chau are two outlying islands within the New Territories of Hong Kong which were leased to the British in 1898 for ninety-nine years. These territories together with the Hong Kong Island and the Kowloon peninsula were returned to China in 1997.

\(^\text{138}\) Henrietta Shuck, Letter to her father Mr. Hall (May 2, 1842), in Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck*, 180. It was not unusual for the mail to take ten months to reach Hong Kong from the United States in those days. Thus, getting immediate and effective support from the home mission was not easy. ‘Friend of China’ was the first newspaper in Hong Kong.

\(^\text{139}\) Dunaway, *Pioneering for Jesus*, 129. The condition and prospects of these early missionaries were “for a long time extremely dark and discouraging” as described by their mission board. See “A Sketch of the Moral Condition of China,” in *SBMJ*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (June 1846): 9.

\(^\text{140}\) “Mission to China,” in *BMM*, Vol. 25, No. 7 (July 1845): 183. Another record says there were eighteen people baptized in 1844. See *SBMJ*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (June 1846): 11.

Despite the fact that the role of missionaries declined and disappeared, and the Hong Kong Baptists worked practically on their own in the first half of the twentieth century, cooperation with missionaries was vigorously revived after 1950, clearly with the help of Lam Chi-fung and due to his vision.

**Departure of Pioneer Missionaries**

Despite the positive result of their initial efforts and the vast gospel field in front of them, the pioneer missionaries departed one by one. After spending two and a half years laboring in a primitive environment in the colony, Henrietta Shuck died in November 1844. Her death led to the closure of the girls’ school which she had started two years ago. Roberts appeared to be not getting along with other co-workers and, with his two Chinese assistants, Chung and Chen, left for Canton (today known as Guangzhou) in May 1844.\textsuperscript{142} Although he also joined the Southern Baptists with Shuck, his relationship with the mission body was seen as “irregular and unsettled” and his connection with the mission board finally came to an end on January 1, 1846.\textsuperscript{143} The initial stages of the mission were fragile and unsustainable.

While their work was ground-breaking, the lack of supportive networking and a too narrow basis among local converts made the whole missionary enterprise vulnerable. The hardest blow to the Hong Kong Baptists was the departure of Jehu Shuck and Thomas Devan together with nine Chinese assistants.\textsuperscript{144} Terminating the relationship with the American Baptist Board and joining the Southern Baptists on April 1, 1845, the two missionaries left for Canton to start a new ministry there.\textsuperscript{145} Dean returned to the United States on furlough in December 1844. Although he came back in the autumn of 1847, to resume work in Hong Kong, he was not able to stay for the long term and had to return to America in 1854, due to health issues. When he sailed back to Asia ten years later, he did not come back to Hong Kong, but returned to his old station in Bangkok.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{142} Periodical Paper of the American Foreign Bible Society, No. 22 (January 1845): 5. Roberts joined Charles Gutzlaff (Karl Gutzlaff) in Guangzhou. Gutzlaff was a legendary German missionary originally sent by the Netherlands Missionary Society to Java who finally ended up in China. Roberts was strongly influenced by Gutzlaff. Coughlin sees that “both were consumed with a desire to see China converted and would let nothing stand in their way.” See Coughlin, “Strangers in the House,” 81-84.

\textsuperscript{143} “Thirty-Second Annual Report,” in BMM, Vol. 26, No. 7 (July 1846): 197. Roberts was seen to be a problem to Shuck and other missionaries as well as the mission board. See Coughlin, “Strangers in the House,” 36.

\textsuperscript{144} Lau, The Foundation of the Hong Kong Chinese Church, 84-85. Thomas Devan, a preacher and physician, and his wife were appointed to the China mission by Baptist General Convention in 1844. See BMM, Vol. 24, No. 7 (July 1844): 215.

\textsuperscript{145} Although Shuck moved to Guangzhou in April 1845, he visited Hong Kong from time to time and helped with ceremonial services. He baptized six converts in June 1845. See Jehu Shuck, Letter to the Mission Board (June 16, 1845), in BMM, Vol. 25, No. 12 (December 1845): 318.

There were other missionaries who arrived in Hong Kong during this period. However, most of them only stayed briefly and moved to mainland China. These new arrivals treated Hong Kong simply as a springboard to the greater land. In the spring of 1843, Dr. and Mrs. D.J. Macgowan reached Hong Kong and became connected with the mission. They, however, soon went to Canton and then headed to Ningpo on February 20, 1845. Dr. Devan and his wife arrived on October 22, 1844. Mrs. Devan helped to take care of Shuck’s children and also acted as superintendent of the school for the Chinese children. This couple also stayed for only a short while and left for Canton the following April. For nearly two years there was no missionary in the territory. In 1848, John Johnson and his wife came. However, Johnson was all too soon by himself as his wife died almost immediately upon her arrival. Johnson worked in Hong Kong for about eleven years and left for Swatow in 1860. Others such as William Ashmore and H.A. Sawtelle, who arrived in 1858 and 1859 respectively, also stayed only briefly before heading for the mainland. Most missionaries were after the wider gospel field in China. Rev. G. Smith, an English Episcopal missionary in China, revealed clearly the thinking of most missionaries in Hong Kong. In his two reports to the Church Missionary Society in 1845, Smith shared his investigation findings and opinions on the facilities for evangelical effort in China:

(...), the eye of the Christian philanthropist is directed to a far more promising field. To concentrate our energies on a mere outpost on the enemy’s frontiers is a course of manifest impolicy. The warfare must be carried into the enemy’s country. The battle of Christianity must be fought on the soil of China itself.

The Baptists in the United States split along geographic lines between the north and south in 1845, for political, not religious reasons. With the establishment of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) in the same year, Shuck and Roberts

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152 Gammell, A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe and North America, 204.
153 Gammell, A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe and North America, 205. Like Dean, Johnson learned the Tiechiu dialect and ministered among the Swatow Chinese in Hong Kong.
joined the Foreign Mission Board of the SBC, and Dean joined the American Baptist Mission Union, Northern Baptist Convention. In view of the large population in mainland China and its potential, Shuck and Roberts departed for Canton in 1845. The Hong Kong mission was left to the Northern Baptists of the American Baptist Foreign Mission. Since missionaries from the American Baptist Mission spoke the Tiechiu dialect and worked mainly among the Tiechiu Chinese, Cantonese congregations began to diminish. In 1857, all English and Cantonese ministries ceased and only the Swatow ministry continued. Because China overshadowed Hong Kong, missionaries in Hong Kong were often left alone and the growing numbers of converts and their needs did not receive sufficient missionary attention. Like the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board, the ultimate goal of the Northern Baptists was to enter China, a much larger gospel field. In 1860, the American Baptist Mission decided to move the South China Mission Station from Hong Kong to Tiechiu and sold the Hong Kong property the following year.

Missionaries in Hong Kong experienced the fact that their opinions were given little weight by the sending agencies and decision makers. The decision to leave was made despite Dean and Johnson’s opposition to the idea of giving up the mission station in Hong Kong. The missionaries in Hong Kong were leaning towards the conviction that Hong Kong served as a strategic location, a position that did not receive enough attention from sending agencies. Dean commented that even when they might plant themselves in a neighboring province such as the Tiechiu district on the mainland, “it would afford no reason for the abandon of Hong Kong, but an additional reason to reinforce it as the central station.” Johnson had even stronger words against moving the mission station from Hong Kong to Tiechiu. He wrote in his letter of May 19, 1847, saying:

Some who abandoned Hongkong at the opening of the other ports, made at the time very strong representations to the detriment of the former, feeling doubtless, at the time, that they were under the influence of “a zeal according to knowledge.” But, however correct in their opinion may have been such a movement then, it is now quite generally conceded that it was a serious mistake.

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157 Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1987), 391. According to McBeth, Shuck inherited slaves through his wife’s Virginia estate and also encountered several incidents which soured his relations with the Boston board, and thus joined the Southern Baptists.


159 Dean believed that life and property were more secure in Hong Kong when compared with other stations. Dean’s view was recalled by John Johnson. “Forty-four Annual Report,” in *BMM*, Vol. 35, No. 7 (July 1858): 258.

Ten years later, in 1858, Johnson still believed that it had been a “very bad policy” to give up Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{161} Although Hong Kong was considered “the largest and most flourishing Christian church in all China” at that time,\textsuperscript{162} no Baptist missionary was stationed there after Johnson left in 1860.\textsuperscript{163} The episode of early Baptist missionary endeavors in Hong Kong finally came to an end.\textsuperscript{164} The missionaries were apparently, from their writing, sad and frustrated that their pioneer work was disrupted. From their point of view the abandonment was not merely a matter of mission strategy but also a personal and strategic tragedy. More than a century later, Paul Wong, a leading Hong Kong Baptist pastor, had a similar view that “the termination of the Hong Kong Mission by the American Baptists in 1861 was a tragedy to Hong Kong.”\textsuperscript{165}

During the nineteenth century, there were also other mission bodies in Hong Kong besides the American Baptist Board of Foreign Mission. They were the Church Missionary Society, the Basel German Evangelical Missionary Society, the London Mission Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission, and the Barmen Missionary Society.\textsuperscript{166} The Church Missionary Society (Anglicans) served mainly westerners in the colony.\textsuperscript{167} The ministry of the Basel Mission was geared toward Hakka-speaking Chinese.\textsuperscript{168} The London Mission Society was more interested in indirect evangelism and started a number of institutions including a hospital, clinics, theological school, and printing house.\textsuperscript{169} Since most mission agents treated Hong Kong only as a supporting base for their mission work in China, they soon closed down their Hong Kong ministries and moved to the mainland. Under the circumstances, it was indeed not an easy time for the Chinese Baptists who were left alone by themselves with very little help from other mission bodies and only remote support from Baptist missionaries in

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\textsuperscript{162} Gammell, \textit{A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe and North America}, 204.
\textsuperscript{163} When Baptist missionaries appeared and were stationed in Hong Kong again, it was 90 years later in 1950.
\textsuperscript{164} Hong Kong became an out-station of the South China Mission. All church properties were sold in 1861 except perhaps that of Cheung Chau. See Wong, “Jinxinhui Zaigangao [Baptists in Hong Kong and Macau],” 54. Cheung Chau was under Chinese jurisdiction at that time and was leased to the British in 1898. The property of the Cheung Chau church was believed to be a mix of a leased and an unofficially occupied property. See Tong, “Changzhou Jinxinhui Kaoyuan (Shijiushiji de Yiye) [The Origin of Cheung Chau Baptist Church (A Chapter in the 19th Century)],” 8.
\textsuperscript{165} Paul Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong” (PhD dissertation, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1974), 291.
\textsuperscript{166} Ying Fuk-tsang, \textit{Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong} (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2004), 12. Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society also came after 1860.
\textsuperscript{167} The Anglicans did not think Hong Kong a good place to start ministries among the Chinese and decided to use it only as a springboard into mainland China. See Lau, \textit{The Foundation of Hong Kong Chinese Church}, 25, 144.
\textsuperscript{168} Ying, \textit{Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong}, 16.
\textsuperscript{169} Lau, \textit{The Foundation of the Hong Kong Chinese Church}, 99.
the southern part of China. However, this undesirable situation created an opportunity for the local Baptists to be involved in and shoulder up the mission.

**Hong Kong Baptist Story: Chinese Taking Part (1860-1900)**

The year of 1861 began a new era: native Christians continued the mission work Baptist missionaries had started. After the departure of missionaries in 1860, Hong Kong became an outstation of the Swatow Missionary Station of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Missionaries stationed in the mainland made visits to Hong Kong occasionally. Unlike the period from 1842 to 1860, when foreign missionaries were the sole players acting alone without much support from the locals, the American Baptist Mission Board in the new era relied on employed native assistants to maintain the work in Hong Kong initially, and later left to the natives the work of continuing the mission by themselves. Without their own premises, local Baptists had to meet first in a borrowed location and later in a rented property. The local residents also began to participate in funding the Hong Kong ministry. Thus, this period saw the increasing participation of the locals, a transition from missionaries acting alone before 1860, to Chinese acting alone after 1900.

**A Tui and His House Church**

Since the departure of foreign missionaries, workers native to Hong Kong began to take part in the missionary endeavors. At first the native assistants were employed by the mission board to continue the work left behind by the foreign missionaries. A Tui (also known as Tang Tui), A Sun, A Ee, and A To served in four outstations respectively: Cheung Chau, Chekchu, Tokwaiwan, and Tsimshatsui. Due to the lack of a permanent missionary and also without ongoing financial support, the work in the colony was much weakened. The size of congregations was greatly reduced, from sizable congregations of up to one hundred people in Queen’s Chapel alone to only about a dozen in total. The Hong Kong Baptists entered into “a dark age.”

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170 Wong, “Jinxinhui Zaigangao [Baptists in Hong Kong and Macau],” 55.
171 “Forty-eight Annual Report,” in *BMM*, Vol. 42, No. 7 (July 1862): 281. The four outstations in Hong Kong as recorded in the report were Tung-Chiu which is Cheung Chau, Chek-echu which is Stanley, Ko-keu-wan is Tokwawan, and Chiem Ta Chiu is Tsimshatsui. These four stations and the four assistants were first mentioned in the report of the Hong Kong Mission in 1851. See “Hong Kong Mission,” in *BMM*, Vol. 31, No. 7 (July 1851): 281. That means these assistants had served for more than 10 years.
However, Dean found, somewhat optimistically, that the Hong Kong church still survived as “a light amid the surrounding darkness.” When he visited Hong Kong in December 1864, he met fourteen members and baptized five, three males and two females. Dean was still displeased with the Mission’s decision to dispose of all Hong Kong properties a few years before, and said during his Hong Kong visit in December 1864: “We (...) regret that when the mission property was sold, there had not been reserved a place for Chinese worship. It is poor policy, after years of tears and toil in lighting the lamp of life in a dark place, to remove the candlestick.” Without a meeting place of their own, Baptists in Hong Kong met in borrowed premises. By the kindness of Dr. Legge of the London Missionary Society, they were allowed to use one of his chapels for an hour a week to hold services. The American Baptist July 1866 mission report said church services were regularly kept up, sometimes by Rudolf Lechler of the Basel Missionary Society, who besides preaching also exercised “watch-care over the little flock,” and sometimes by the natives. Local Chinese Baptists began to be involved in “tendering the flocks.”

A Tui was a local worker helping in the church space borrowed from the London Mission Society. After the borrowed place was no longer available, they met in a rented property. When Mr. and Mrs. Sylvester B. Partridge of the American Baptist Missionary Union passed by Hong Kong in 1868, they visited the congregation there and reported to the mission board, saying: “There were but few present at first, but very soon forty or more came together.” A Tui was reported to be leading the congregation. As there was seldom any foreign missionary preaching in town, A Tui was able to invite more people to come when Partridge was visiting. Two weeks later on January 3, 1869, Partridge was present at the Hong Kong congregation again and there were more than a hundred people this time. Partridge also mentioned that they been meeting in a rented place which was believed to be A Tui’s house at a rent of ten dollars a month since 1866. The first year’s rent was supported by Johnson. A Tui’s family paid for it

174 Ibid.
175 Ibid.
176 Ibid.
177 “Tie Chiu Mission,” in BMM, Vol.46, No. 7 (July 1866): 283. As there was no Baptist pastor located nearby, Rudolf Lechler of the Basel Mission helped to nurture the local Baptist congregation.
178 Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 22.
179 Sylvester B. Partridge, Letter to the Mission Board (December 20, 1868), in BMM, Vol. 49, No. 6 (June 1869): 172. Partridge was an American Baptist missionary working among the Chinese in Bangkok. He left Bangkok on January 18, 1872 and was transferred to Swatow, China. See “Chinese Mission at Bangkok in Mission to the Chinese,” in BMM, Vol. 53, No. 7 (July 1873): 271.
180 Partridge, Letter to the Mission Board (December 20, 1868), in BMM, Vol. 49, No. 6 (June 1869): 172.
181 Ibid., 173.
Local Chinese began to take up a leading role in the church and participate financially.

A Tui was baptized in 1843. He became Dean’s assistant in Cheung Chau beginning in 1850, and was responsible for the daily worship which was “conducted morning and evening.” According to Dean, A Tui was “a zealous advocate for Christianity wherever he goes”, and labored “entirely at his own charges.” A Sam married A Tui in 1850. Johnson commented that she “could not read, nor did she know anything of the doctrine” in the beginning. However, after she was converted in the end of 1850, Johnson found that she was “most exemplary in all her conduct” and had a “superior order of mind,” and “learned to read (…), and (…) committed (…) to memory (…) large portions of the ‘Manual of Doctrine.’” After being baptized in May 1951, A Sam was responsible for a small mission school for girls in Tung-chui. According to Ashmore’s report to the mission board in 1872, the church met at A Tui’s house and was described as “the church in his house” and “the church in his family, for himself and wife and two sons and a daughter-in-law constitute (…) an assembly at a communion.”

The church which met in A Tui’s house was probably the first house church in Hong Kong. In a way, his house church might well have been the forerunner of Chinese house churches which became widespread in China a century later following and during the Cultural Revolution.

As A Tui was ministering the Hong Kong church, Ashmore and Johnson considered ordaining him in 1869. However, the decision was held up because A Tui was running his own business, which the mission board wanted him to close before proceeding with ordination. The Mission Board was also concerned that A Tui’s two sons did not attend any church at that time. Without full time workers, the Hong Kong church continued to deteriorate. There were only ten

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182 Ibid., 172. A Tui’s son supported the rent until they departed for Chaozhou in 1873.
187 Ibid.
191 The Chinese Cultural Revolution that took place between 1966 and 1976 was set into motion by Mao Zedong, the then Chairman of the Communist China. During the period all religions were abolished, and all houses of worship were closed. Christians could only meet secretly in private houses. See Daniel Bays, A New History of Christianity in China (UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2012), 185.
193 Ibid., 409.
194 Ibid.
members in total in the Hong Kong and the Cheung Chau churches in 1864.\textsuperscript{195} The number was further reduced to nine in 1868.\textsuperscript{196} Despite the decline in membership, A Tui continued the ministry and reported to the Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting of 1869 that there were two to three applicants for baptism.\textsuperscript{197} The 1870 report recorded that “three Chinese have been baptized. One by Aee [same as A Ee], who visited the island in the early part of the year, one by Ashmore, who was there in May, and one by Mr. Johnson, when on his way home.”\textsuperscript{198} Regardless of new converts added to the house church, Ashmore did not think it was wise to “spend any large sum on Hong Kong” as he considered the Tie Chiu population in Hong Kong was “exceedingly small and migratory.” Besides, A Tui, the key local leader, also planned to move back to Tiechiu soon.\textsuperscript{199} Meanwhile, Rosewell Graves was assigned to look after the Hong Kong ministry remotely from Guangzhou, and held “communion there once a quarter.”\textsuperscript{200} Thus, it can be seen that survival of the Hong Kong church over ten years after the departure of Baptist missionaries mainly relied on the faithful service of the lay leader, A Tui, and the remote supervision by missionaries in Southern China. When A Tui and his family left Hong Kong in 1873, the family church which met in his house was eventually closed.\textsuperscript{201} However, A Tui had begun the long tradition of lay leadership among Hong Kong Baptists. Lam Chi-fung who emerged in the first half of the twentieth century was following these earlier roots.

**Tang Si-deng: A Chinese Baptist Pastor from Swatow**

After A Tui left, the work in Stanley, the work in Tokwawan, and Tsimshatsui is believed to have been terminated.\textsuperscript{202} All Baptists ministries in Hong Kong had come to a complete halt except the work in Cheung Chau. The Cheung Chau church was able to hold regular meetings because of a Chinese pastor, Tang Si-deng, who ministered there between 1872 and 1884.\textsuperscript{203} Tang was a Chaozhou native and was trained under Rosewell Graves before coming to Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{204} He was sent to Cheung Chau by Ling Tung Baptist Church in Chaozhou, which was

\textsuperscript{196} “Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting,” in *BMM*, Vol. 49, No. 7 (July 1869): 268.
\textsuperscript{197} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{198} “Fifty-sixth Annual Meeting,” in *BMM*, Vol. 50, No. 7 (July 1870): 261.
\textsuperscript{200} Ibid. Rosewell Graves was a Southern Baptist missionary. Since Ashmore of the American Baptists did not have resources to look after the Hong Kong church, he asked Graves to assist although Hong Kong was still an outstation of the American Baptists.
\textsuperscript{201} Lee, *Zìlì yù Guànhuái [Independence and Concerns]*, 33.
\textsuperscript{202} Wong, *The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,* 82.
\textsuperscript{203} Tong, “Chângzhōu Jìnxìnhuì Kâoyuán (Shìjìushìjì de Yíye) [The Origin of Cheung Chau Baptist Church],” 8.
\textsuperscript{204} Ibid.
founded by John Johnson in 1860. After Johnson died in Chaozhou in 1872, Mrs. L.W. Johnson continued to work there until 1874, before returning to the United States. She was back in Asia, in Hong Kong, probably already in the following year, as a self-supported independent missionary. Her arrival helped to revive the churches in Victoria and Cheung Chau. She started a girls’ school on Hollywood Road at the house she rented, and employed Tang Si-deng to be the teacher and preacher there. As a result, Tang Si-deng ministered to two congregations, the Victoria and the Cheung Chau churches at the same time.

In 1881, Mrs. Johnson left Hong Kong and returned to her native Netherlands. Before her departure, she requested the American Baptist Mission to take over her work, but her request was declined due to the shortage of resources. Finally, Rosewell Graves and Ezekias Simmons (Southern Baptists) accepted the responsibility. As a result, the Hong Kong mission changed hands from Northern Baptists to Southern Baptists in March 1881. From then on, Hong Kong became a Southern Baptist mission field. Although Graves and Simmons agreed to take over the Hong Kong ministry, they could only make occasional visits to the territory. Other than Tang Si-deng who was sent by the Ling Tung

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205 Tang Si-deng was sent by Ling Tung Baptist Church in 1860. See Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches*, Vol. II, 17. However, Tong believes that the year 1860 is incorrect. See Tong, “Changzhou Jinxinhu Kaoyuan (Shijijushiji de Yiye) [The Origin of Cheung Chau Baptist Church],” 8. The Ling Tung Baptist Church was founded by John Johnson in 1860 after he departed Hong Kong for Chaozhou. See Lee Kam-keung, “Jidujiao Ruhua de Yubei Shiqi: Yi Chaoshan Kajiao Weili [Preparation Period of Christianity Entering China: Based on the Example of the Beginning in Chaozhou and Shantou],” in *East Meets West: Essays Celebrating the Bicentennial of Protestant Christianity in China*, ed. Lee Kam-keung et al. (Hong Kong: Chinese Christian Literature Council, 2009), 203. For more detailed history of the Ling Tung Baptist Church, see *Lingdong Jinxinhu Qishi Zhounian Jinian Dahui Tekan [Ling Tung Baptist Church 70th Anniversary Commemoration Issue]* (China: Administrative Committee of Ling Tung Baptist Church, 1932).


207 The exact year of Mrs. Johnson’s return to Hong Kong is uncertain. Most researchers in recent years show that she arrived in 1875, and argue the date of 1880 by Lau Yuet-sing is incorrect in Lau Yuet-sing, *Lainggang Jinxinhu Shilue* [A Brief History of Guangdong and Guangxi Baptist Churches] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1997 reprint), 113. According to Simmons’ report in 1880 to the Southern Baptists, it indicated that Mrs. Johnson worked in Hong Kong for several years. So she must have been there a few years before 1880. See E.Z. Simmons, “Report on Hong Kong,” in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Session of the Southern Baptist Convention* (Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing Company, 1881), 49.

208 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 83; Tong, “Changzhou Jinxinhu Kaoyuan (Shijijushiji de Yiye) [The Origin of Cheung Chau Baptist Church],” 9; and Lee, *Zili ya Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns]*, 22.


210 Simmons, “Report on Hong Kong,” in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Session of the Southern Baptist Convention*, 49. Ashmore replied to Mrs. Johnson that the American Baptist Mission could not take up the ministry in Hong Kong because it was “too far away and too expensive for them to keep up as an out-station.” At that time there were about 100 members in the Hong Kong church, and the number of baptized was 19 in 1880.

church, there was no missionary assigned to be stationed in the colony and no financial support rendered by the mission board to the Hong Kong ministry. However, the Hong Kong church had a new situation as seen in Ezekias Simmons’ letter to the mission board on February 18, 1884, while he was visiting the territory.

The following quotation shows the picture of the Hong Kong Baptists in transition:

As our members here are mostly Te-chiu people (…), now we have several Cantonese members, and wish to have preaching in both dialects (…), just now many of the wealthier Chinese from Canton and other places have moved here (…). Many of the Chinese who go abroad and make money prefer to live here under English rule rather than at their old homes (…). In order to follow up and utilize the good effects of missions in San Francisco, Portland, and other parts of America, among the Chinese, we must have a station here (…). As to my success in getting outside help when I took the work from Mrs. Johnson she gave me about $300, and Dr. William Dean of Bangkok, Siam, has each year sent us $50. About two months ago I received a check of $100 from two Chinese brethren – Dong Gong and Sied Bok, of Portland, Oregon. The Chinese brethren in Portland propose to help us more if we can get a suitable house (…). There are now about forty members in Hong Kong, and about thirty on Long Island. Seven were baptized here last year. There are mostly very poor, and yet they help considerably in the way of rent.

The letter revealed the emerging trend: the church in Hong Kong was considering changing from Swatow only to bilingual sermons including Cantonese, a move which led to the eventual blooming of the Cantonese Baptist church in Hong Kong. In the meantime, people were moving in from neighboring provinces, in particular Canton province. While the influx of people greatly strengthened the Hong Kong church, overseas Chinese returning from America where they were introduced to Christianity, were also a new force for the church. Some front line

212 Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 23.
213 E.Z. Simmons, Letter to the Mission Board (February 18, 1884), in Foreign Mission Journal, Southern Baptist Convention (FMJ), Vol. 15, No. 10 (May 1884): 3. Te-chiu is the same as Tiechiiu. Long Island is the same as Cheung Chau, an outlying island situated about 10 kilometers west of Hong Kong Island.
214 The Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church which was established in 1901 and called the ‘mother church of Hong Kong Baptist churches’ is a Cantonese-speaking church.
215 Many people fled China for Hong Kong, from the place of widespread political turmoil and famine to the territory which was relatively stable under British rule. A number of the early deacons of Hong Kong Baptist Church were originally from Baptist churches in Canton. They included prominent Baptist leaders such as Wong Kwok-shuen who was from Zhongshan, Canton. See Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 63, 65 and 81.
216 The Manchu government permitted the export of labor in 1860. Many young people from Canton left for America and came into contact with Christianity in places such as San Francisco, California, and Portland, Oregon, where former Baptist missionaries to China had returned and were ministering among the Chinese there. Jehu Shuck was one of them and set the foundation of the First Chinese Baptist Church in San Francisco, California, the first Chinese Baptist church in history in the western hemisphere. See Ninetieth Anniversary 1880-1970, 1st Chinese Baptist Church, San Francisco, (San Francisco: 1st Chinese Baptist Church, San Francisco, 1970). See also Hsu, A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Vol. IV, 130-135.
Baptist missionaries insisted on the importance of maintaining a mission station in Hong Kong. However, this wish did not materialize in the nineteenth century. Financial support continued to be received from individual missionaries. Chinese believers, locals and overseas, participated in financial contribution. The Hong Kong Baptists were in a transition from missionaries acting alone to Chinese acting alone.

During this period, Tang Si-deng continued to serve in both the Victoria church and the Cheung Chau church until 1886, when Fung Wood-chuen, the first Cantonese preacher who returned from America, was called to work there. Tang was then transferred to Cheung Chau and worked full time there until returning to his home town Chaozhou in 1889. Being a native Chinese minister who was sent by the Swatow Mission to the Hong Kong Baptist church, Tang Si-deng was a key person who kept the light on “amid the surrounding darkness” after A Tang left the colony and before the Victoria church was able to employ her own first pastor, Rev. Fung Wood-chuen from the United States.

The Dawning of a Self-governing Church

Hong Kong Baptists began a transition period from being a missionary-dependent church to self-governance upon the arrival of Fung Wood-chuen. Fung was a native of Nanhai in the southern part of China near Guangzhou. His ordination took place before he ministered in overseas Chinese churches in Portland and Golden Gate (San Francisco) of the United States. After Tang Si-deng’s departure for Chaozhou, the Cheung Chau church began to diminish. However, due to the continuous influx of people from mainland China and returning Chinese from overseas, the Victoria church experienced a steady growth under Fung’s

217 Both Dean and Johnson stated their requests to maintain Hong Kong as a mission station. Johnson wrote to the mission board saying that it was a serious mistake to abandon Hong Kong and move the mission station to Swatow. See John Johnson, Letter to the Mission Board (May 19, 1948), in BMM, Vol. 28, No. 10 (October 1848): 395. Southern Baptists established a mission station in Hong Kong ninety years later after returning to Hong Kong in 1950.

218 Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1991), 1.

219 Tang left Hong Kong and retired to his home town in Tiechiu due to his old age. Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 87. Tong Siu-yuen argues that Tang worked in Cheung Chau until 1884, not 1889. He discovered there were remarks on an old photo of Tang Si-deng indicating that Tang was often stationed in Cheung Chau Baptist Church from 1872 to 1884 and then moved to Swatow to serve until he died in 1939. The photo is now kept in Cheung Chau Baptist Church. See Tong, “Changzhou Jinxinhui Kaoyuan (Shijiushiji de Yiye) [The Origin of Cheung Chau Baptist Church],” 8.

220 “Fifty-first Annual Report,” in BMM, Vol. 45, No. 7 (July 1865): 250. The period between 1860 and 1900 was seen as the dark age of Hong Kong Baptists. Footnote 172 is referred.


222 Fung Wood-chuen, a Cantonese-speaking minister, was handicapped to serve the Swatow-speaking congregation in Cheung Chau because he did not speak the Swatow dialect.
leadership. The church met on Hollywood Road in the beginning, and then moved a few times until it settled down on Baily Street which became the future home of the Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church in 1901. Fung Wood-chuen, the first Cantonese-speaking preacher, took up the ministry from 1886 until 1889. After that, several Cantonese preachers came and served: Tso Fat-suen, Chan Mui-ng, and Lee Yin-si. In 1900, the Victoria church invited Rev. Tong Kit-hing from San Francisco to be the pastor. Tong helped organize the Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church which is today known as the Hong Kong Baptist Church. This church is sometimes called the mother church of Hong Kong Baptist churches.

During the period from 1884 to 1900, the Hong Kong churches gradually switched from Swatow to Cantonese. The reasons for the change were many: most Swatow-speaking people could understand Cantonese but not the other way around; more Cantonese-speaking people came to Hong Kong from the southern part of China and overseas; some overseas Chinese who left Canton to work as railway construction laborers and miners in America returned to Hong Kong; and most Southern Baptist missionaries taking over the Hong Kong mission knew Cantonese rather than Swatow, a dialect which had been learned by the Northern American Baptist missionaries when they worked in Bangkok and Tiechiu area. The transition from Swatow to Cantonese turned out to be a positive and important move for Hong Kong Baptists as the Cantonese-speaking population in the colony continued to increase and Cantonese-speaking Baptists from both the mainland and overseas kept coming in. From then on, the church grew rapidly, and the Cantonese Baptist church became the mainline Baptist church in Hong Kong. It

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223 The church moved a few times, from Hollywood Road to Queen’s Road, then to Pokfulam Road, Gage Road, and Baily Street. Hsu, A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 12. Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 86-87. Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 24.
224 Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church], 1. See also Hsu, A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 12.
225 Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church], 1.
226 The title of “the mother church of Hong Kong Baptist churches” was first mentioned by Lam in Lam Chi-fung, “Zhu Wen [Compliments],” in Hong Kong Baptist Church 60th Anniversary Commemoration (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1961), 12. See also Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 72.
227 There is no record of exactly when the dialect was switched from Swatow to Cantonese. Simmons is believed to be the one who first suggested using a bilingual approach, Swatow and Cantonese, in 1884. See Simmons, Letter to the Mission Board (February 18, 1884), in FMJ, Vol. 15, No. 10 (May 1884): 3; and Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 85. Wong believes that the church started to be bilingual in 1884 and gradually switched to solely Cantonese. See Wong, “Jinxinhui Zaigangao [Baptist in Hong Kong and Macau],” 55.
228 Shuck and Roberts, the first two missionaries to Hong Kong who spoke Cantonese, joined Southern Baptists in 1845 and later worked among the Cantonese-speaking Chinese in Guangzhou. Dean and Johnson, who spoke the Swatow dialect, joined Northern Baptists (later called American Baptists) and worked among the Tiechiu people. When the Hong Kong mission was under the care of American Baptists, the ministry was concentrated among the Tiechu people. After the work was passed to Southern Baptists in 1881, Cantonese became their main target of ministry.
was not until fifty years later that the Swatow Baptist church reappeared in the colony. Lam Chi-fung, originally from Chaozhou and fluent in both the Swatow and Cantonese dialects, helped Swatow Chinese who fled China during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) to start the Swatow church in Hong Kong. We will later see that Lam was the key person inviting and embracing them into the Hong Kong Baptist denominational body which was mainly composed of Cantonese speakers.

Work during the period from 1860 to 1900 among the Baptists also experienced a financial transition. During the “Missionaries Acting Alone” period between 1842 and 1860, foreign missionaries were responsible for all mission expenses. When the mission property in Hong Kong was sold in 1861, a large part of the proceeds of $20,500 remained in the colony and was kept in the Oriental Bank to support the Hong Kong ministry. Other than that, there was no further help from the mission board. Johnson and Dean rendered some personal support from Bangkok, Siam. Johnson paid for the first year’s rent of their meeting place from 1865 to 1866. Mrs. Johnson supported the operation of the girls’ school and paid Tang Si-deng for the Hollywood Road ministry. Mrs. Vanderpool, a devoted laywoman from America, donated $18,000 for the purchase of the Baily Street property in 1899. Meanwhile, Chinese also participated financially. Since American Baptists no longer funded the Hong Kong ministry, the family of A Tui supported his work and paid for the rent of his “house church” beginning in 1866. There were also occasional donations received from overseas Chinese Christians as well as from locals. Finally Hong Kong Baptists started to stand on their own and paid for the employment of Fung Wood-chuen and all the subsequent preachers. Thus, before the natives could stand on their own they were taking part, and increasing their level of responsibility, in the Hong Kong mission after the departure of foreign missionaries.

Conclusion

Baptists were the first Protestant missionaries reaching out to the Chinese, translating the first Chinese Bible, establishing the first Chinese Protestant church and finally establishing a foothold in Hong Kong. Roberts, Shuck and Dean pioneered to bring the gospel to Hong Kong, a land totally ignorant of and untouched by Christianity. From the arrival of these early missionaries in 1842 to the departure of Johnson in 1860, foreign missionaries were the lone labors in the

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229 The entire property of the Missionary Union in Hong Kong was sold. See “Forty-eight Annual Report,” in BMM, Vol. 42, No. 7 (July 1862): 281.
230 Wong, “Jinxinhui Zaigangao [Baptists in Hong Kong and Macau],” 55.
231 Tang Si-deng had been supported by Ling Dong Baptist Church in Chaozhou to work in Cheung Chau since 1872, before he was employed by Mrs. Johnson.
232 Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church], 1.
field. They established churches, evangelized and baptized people, started and operated schools, and trained native assistants, most of the time without cooperation among themselves and sometimes lacking effective support from their home mission. Although there were a few natives whom they employed as their assistants, such as Yang San-sang, and Hok Heng, the Chinese helpers only had roles such as distributing gospel tracts upon the instruction of foreign missionaries. The missionaries were virtually acting alone. Despite their accomplishment of winning converts within a short time, missionary activities practically discontinued in 1860 with foreign mission agencies moving their focus to mainland China. However, Baptist mission work did not die out altogether, and the weak Christian community of native believers turned out to be the vehicle that – together with incoming or visiting foreign missionaries – was able to bring the Gospel message forward. A period of Chinese Baptists taking part in the mission work in Hong Kong followed.

The period from 1860 to 1900 witnessed the phasing out of foreign mission support and the gradual involvement of native believers. Since the departure of foreign missionaries, the work of tending the local believers rested on the shoulders of the Chinese. A Tui, who was initially employed as a missionary assistant and later acted as a lay leader, took up the responsibility to lead the church. Tang Si-deng, sent by the Swatow church in Chaozhou, worked as a full time pastor, ministering mostly among the Hong Kong Swatow Baptists. Fung Wood-chuen began the era of local Baptists supporting their own pastors. Meanwhile, foreign missionaries played a remote supervisory role, making occasional visits to the territory and performing ceremonial duties. Such remote missionary support provided an opportunity for local Chinese to take up the responsibility of self-administration, paving the way towards increasing independence from foreign help. Financially, the transition involved, moving from complete support from mission bodies to occasional help from individual missionaries, and concluded with Chinese financial participation completely on their own.

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233 Yang Sen-seng, also known as Yang Hing, was Shuck’s convert and assistant. Shuck took him to the United States in 1845. He was ordained during his visit in the States and became the first Chinese Baptist pastor. Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches*, Vol. V, 14.

234 Hok Heng originally from Bangkok was one of the three who signed the constitution of the Tie Chiu Church of Hong Kong established on May 8, 1843. The other two were Ko A-Bak and Tang A-Tui (same as A Tui), two recently baptized converts. William Dean, Letter to the Mission Board (May 28, 1843), in *BMM*, Vol. 24, No. 5 (May 1844): 100.

235 During the early stage of the period between 1861 and 1900, the American Baptist Mission Union paid for the employment of native workers and rent for the meeting places. Missionaries led communion and performed baptisms.
The Baptist mission in nineteenth century Hong Kong was able to carry on despite all the difficulties encountered. The participation of the natives and the remote support of foreign missionaries were in preparation for the dawning of a new chapter for Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church which was self-supporting, self-propagating, and truly indigenized was established in 1901. Under the new situation, the Hong Kong Baptist ministry began to flourish when there were lay leaders contributing to church growth. Lam Chi-fung, being a prominent lay leader, started to appear on the scene in the 1930s and subsequently played a transforming role in Hong Kong Baptist life between 1950 and 1970.
Chapter 3: Hong Kong Baptist Story (1900-1950): The Context in Which Lam Emerged As a Lay Leader

Introduction

Lam Chi-fung made significant contributions to Baptist life in Hong Kong in the twentieth century. However, he himself was shaped by the context in which he grew up and where he found his vision and ministry. In their development, Hong Kong Baptists were moving from work which was centered on the role of foreign missionaries towards more indigenous and independent efforts. From 1842-1950 it is possible to trace three major periods in Hong Kong Baptist development. The first period started with American Baptist missionaries taking the lead in spreading the gospel and organizing churches, including educational ministries. Later, in the second period during the second half of the nineteenth century, when a number of foreign missionaries left Hong Kong, Chinese believers shouldered more responsibility but they were still dependent on foreign missionaries – their model and financial support. It was not until the third period during the first decades of the twentieth century that indigenous resources were included and local cultural forms began to shape Baptist churches. The new situation posed challenges for these growing Chinese churches: there was a lack of ordained and trained pastors; the churches – mostly consisting of members of low income – had to take financial responsibility. In this situation there was space created for the energy and contribution of lay leaders in the churches. This is the context existing at the time Lam Chi-fung came to the scene. His major ministry as a lay person was carried out later, from 1950 onwards. However, this chapter delineates the contextual characteristics and early years of his beginning contributions.

The Birth of the Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church

The year 1901 marked the beginning of a new era for the Hong Kong Baptists. The Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church was formally established. It was the first Baptist church organized, governed and supported by local Chinese Baptists, completely independent of foreign support and influence. The church demonstrated an indigenous Baptist life with three-self characteristics – self-

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236 Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1991), 2. Paul Wong had a long discussion about the date of the organization of this first church although he says the date is uncertain. However, all latter-day records by the church date it to 1901. See Paul Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong” (PhD dissertation, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1974), 90-92.
government, self-support and self-propagation.\textsuperscript{237} It was also a church exercising strong outreach, both in home and overseas mission efforts. Between 1901 and 1950, the church grew from a humble beginning of merely twenty-eight members to over 5,000;\textsuperscript{238} the growth was seen in both membership and maturity.

**Self-governing and Self-supporting**

Formed in 1901, Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church, also commonly known as Hong Kong Baptist Church, was one of the earliest indigenous churches in the history of Protestant Chinese churches. Although Hong Kong Baptists had their origins connected to American Baptists, the church demonstrated a truly indigenous feature literally and practically, as reflected in its name – “Self-governing.”. The church was started, governed, supported, and staffed by natives, and free from foreign influence and mission support. Immediately upon the establishment of the Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church (later in this chapter Hong Kong Baptist Church), native deacons were ordained, and different functional departments formed. Wong Kwok-shuen was among the first deacons ordained in 1906.\textsuperscript{239} It was also in this church that Lam Chi-fung was later involved in the Mission and Finance Committees and Mrs. Lam was elected the head of the Benevolence Committee in the 1930s.\textsuperscript{240} From the beginning, Lam’s interest was in evangelism and securing church resources while Mrs. Lam’s concern was in welfare ministries. Lam’s commitment to evangelism through churches, schools, and other social services and his efforts to seek mission and government aid were more notable after the mid-twentieth century. The Hong Kong Baptist Church was not only influential for the twentieth-century history of Hong Kong Baptists but also instrumental in the formation of the future denomination leader Lam Chi-fung.

As early as 1896, when the church was still at its formation stage, a Sunday school was started and expanded to include classes ranging from young children to adults in 1901. It was an important ministry both for evangelizing non-believers

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\textsuperscript{237} Three-self meaning self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating was an indigenous movement among churches in China in reaction to anti-Christian campaigns during the 1920s.

\textsuperscript{238} There are different estimates concerning the total membership of Hong Kong Baptists in 1950. The figure of around 5,500 is an estimation made by the author based on related material which will be discussed later in this chapter.

\textsuperscript{239} Seventy deacons were ordained between 1901 and 1937. Lee Kam-keung, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns]: A Hundred Year History of Hong Kong Baptist Church 1901-2001 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2001), 63.

\textsuperscript{240} Nine departments were begun in the 1930s. Lam Chi-fung and Mrs. Lam were appointed to their roles in January 1935. See Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 8, Issue 1 (January 1935) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church); 2. Hong Kong Baptist Monthly was published by Hong Kong Baptist Church until April 1938 and was passed to the denomination body, Hong Kong Baptist Association, for publication after the Association was formed.
and equipping members with their dedication to full time ministry.\footnote{Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church], 4.} A children’s ministry was also started in 1901 and later developed to include a Young Adult Fellowship. A church choir was organized in 1902. A Women’s Missions Department was formed in 1918, the first such ministry in Hong Kong.\footnote{“Nuchuandaohui Jiushi Zhounian [Women’s Missions Department 90th Anniversary],” in Xinfeng [Hong Kong Baptist Church Newsletter]. Issue 4 (December 7, 2008): 29.} A church magazine reporting on the news of members and affairs of related chapels was started in 1919.\footnote{Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church], 4.} Concerning preachers and clergymen of the church, Rev. Tong Kit-hing was appointed the Senior Pastor in 1900, and was instrumental in formally establishing the church in 1901.\footnote{Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 44.} Between 1901 and 1937, the church appointed six pastors and thirty co-workers.\footnote{Ibid.} From the beginning, the church was properly set up, organized and administered by itself. The natives took charge without foreign aid or supervision.

Financially the church was also self-supporting. During the first ten years, the church made use of the rental income from the two upper floors of the building on Baily Street to support its ministry.\footnote{Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 93-94.} By 1911, the church outgrew the building and had to move to a larger location on Hollywood Road. The church moved again in 1920 to its present location on Cain Road. Since it is situated on Cain Road, the church is also commonly called Cain Road Baptist Church.\footnote{The name Cain Road Baptist Church is more commonly known to people in Hong Kong than the name Hong Kong Baptist Church.} The church building including the land cost $93,800. The Hollywood property was sold in 1919 for $29,500, and the church raised $44,300. Deacon Wong Kwok-shuen personally donated $10,000 for costs of the land and construction of the new church. Wong, following the will of his father, donated on his father’s behalf, another $10,000. As a result, the church bought a new premise with a seating capacity of 500 without incurring any debt.\footnote{See Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 94, and Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 71. The figures for the total cost of the building given by Wong and Lee are slightly different from each other. Wong said the building cost $93,000 and Lee said $93,800. The building was completed in the end of 1922. They moved into the new building on April 25 the following year. The officiating ceremony was held on November 10, 1923. See Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church], 2.}

After moving into the new building on Cain Road in 1923, the annual budget was HK$4,000. It was increased to more than HK$7,000 towards the end of 1931. The church’s financial record showed that the church was self-sufficient.\footnote{Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 94. Lee appears to have misread Wong’s writing when he quotes Wong and tells the annual spending was increased to $4,000 in 1931. See Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 71.}
point in 1935, it was mentioned that the church required each member to be responsible for HK$1.70 a month to cover expenses. However, there was no record showing how effective the idea was, or if it had ever been implemented. During that time, Lam and his wife donated significantly to the church. In January 1935, they donated $300 compared to the total monthly offering of $909.22 and the total monthly spending of $422.9. According to the annual report of the Hong Kong Baptist Association in 1938, the church had a slight surplus. Therefore, the church demonstrated itself to be independent and self-supporting financially. In these years, the Lam family began to play a significant part in the life of the church.

The Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church was the first independent Chinese Baptist church which undertook its mission singlehandedly, without essential aid from any mission agency or foreign missionary. Lee Kam-keung was right in saying that Hong Kong Baptists set a “bright-shining example” to the indigenous movement of Chinese churches in the early twentieth century. Indigenous in the Chinese context as explained by Kenneth Latourette refers to churches which are “led and supported by Chinese, and in doctrine, forms of worship, and organization confirming as much as possible to Chinese.” Wang Zhi-xin, a veteran Chinese church historian, said: “What is an indigenous church? There are many people who attempt to interpret this concept. In a simple sense, it is a Chinese church of self-government, self-support, and self-propagation.” The Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church pioneered the indigenous movement of Chinese churches in the twentieth century.

**Pioneering Indigenous Movement**

Churches in China began the indigenous movement during the 1920s, more than twenty years after the Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church was formally established. Shortly after the downfall of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republic of China in 1911, young people in China had a great passion for nationalism. Chinese students considered Christianity to be a tool of cultural invasion by western powers; they organized anti-Christian campaigns across the

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250 Lee, *Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns]*, 71. See also ibid., 86 (Endnote 65).
mainland, challenging the role of Christianity in saving China. To react to anti-Christian movements of the 1920s, some church leaders began to advocate the idea of indigenous, independent churches in order to avoid the label of a foreign religion. One well-known example of an indigenous effort is the formation of the Church of Christ in China in 1927. Sixteen denominational groups in China consisting of different Presbyterian Churches, Reformed Churches, London Missionary Society, and Baptist Missionary Society joined the union. Other native church leaders also started independent churches free of foreign connections. Typical examples included: True Jesus Church by Wei Enbo and Zhang Lingshen in 1917; Bethel Mission started by Mary Stone in the 1920s which was later joined by the renowned evangelists Andrew Gee and John Sung; Christian Tabernacle in Beijing by Wang Mingdao in 1925; Jesus Family by Jing Dianying in 1927; and Local Churches, also known as Little Flock, by Watchman Nee in 1927.257

Baptists in China were also aware of the need to become indigenous though with different motives. In 1885, the Liangguang Baptist Association, also known as Guangdong and Guangxi Baptist Association, was founded with the aim of localizing church leadership.258 Apart from Rosewell Graves and Issachar Roberts, the rest of the seven drafting committee members of the Association were all Chinese.259 Since the Republic of China was established in 1911, and the Republic was unified by the Chinese National Party in 1928, Baptist churches all over the country began to stress independence. Beginning in 1935, the Southern Baptist Mission Board gradually shifted church property ownership and church governance to local Chinese. Foreign missionaries only retained the role of consultants and helpers.260

Hong Kong Baptist Church, although humble in its beginning, set an example in the Chinese indigenous and independent movement as early as the beginning of the twentieth century. No wonder Paul Wong, the senior pastor of Hong Kong Baptist Church (1958-1976), could say that “its strong indigenous

257 The influence of these well-known church leaders can still be felt among Chinese churches today. For more detailed information about these indigenous groups, see “The Rise of Independent Chinese Christianity,” in Daniel Bays, A New History of Christianity in China (UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 128-140.
258 Liangguang Baptist Association was the first such denomination body in China. It included Baptist churches in Guangdong and Guangxi provinces as well as Hong Kong. See Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 119. Wong mistakenly says the formation of the Association was suggested by Simmons. Simmons in fact only suggested that the Association invite Hong Kong to send delegates to form a Baptist Association. See R.H. Graves, Letter to Dr. H.A. Tupper, Corresponding Secretary (March 6, 1885), in Foreign Mission Journal (Southern Baptist Convention), Vol. 16, No. 10 (May 1885): 2.
259 Lau Yuet-sing, Liangguang Jinxinhui Shilue [A Brief History of Guangdong and Guangxi Baptist Churches], reprint (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1997), 3.
sense influenced many Baptist churches in mainland China.”

However, when extensive cooperation with foreign missionaries was introduced by Lam Chi-fung during the 1950s and 1960s, there were concerns that the Hong Kong Baptist indigenous effort would be laid waste. The conflict between self-governance and missionary involvement under Lam (which will be elaborated in a later Chapter) can be better understood against the background of the indigenous movement in this early period.

**Fifty Years of Outreach**

The Hong Kong Baptist Church had not only been able to meet its own needs in self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating, but also had devoted itself to a large outreach program. Since the establishment of the Hong Kong Baptist Church, evangelism had been her distinct characteristic. The church moved at once to evangelistic missions, reaching out to different places within Hong Kong, surrounding cities across the border, and even as far as Hainan Island in mainland China. The fifty years of outreach during the first half of the twentieth century can be divided into three periods: the first ten years from 1901 to 1910; the next twenty years from 1911 to 1930; and the last twenty years from 1931 to 1950. Each period was characterized by its distinctive accomplishments.

**1900-1910**

During its first ten years, those between 1901 and 1910, Hong Kong Baptist Church reached out to Yaumati in Kowloon Peninsula, Aberdeen on Hong Kong Island, and Cheung Chau, an outlying island, within the British colony, and Shek-Kei and Hainan inside China. Gospel meetings began in 1902 at Yaumati on the Kowloon side and a chapel was formally begun in 1904 which, after the meeting place was moved a couple of times, became today’s Tsimshatsui Baptist Church, one of the three strong Baptist pillars in Hong Kong with a membership of nearly 5,000 as of 2007.

In 1905, the church reached out to Aberdeen. Initially, evangelistic meetings were held every Friday in a medical clinic owned by two local Baptists. After laboring for six years, there were only five converts. The chapel moved to different

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261 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 90.
262 Hainan Island is now known as Hainan Province which is part of China situated about 500 kilometers south-west of Hong Kong.
263 Tsimshatsui Baptist Church 55th Anniversary Special Issue 1939-1994 (Hong Kong: Tsimshatsui Baptist Church, 1994), 9. The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 70th Anniversary: 1938-2008 (Hong Kong: The Baptist Association of Hong Kong, 2008), 128. Hong Kong Baptist, Tsimshatsui Baptist and Kowloon Baptist are the three largest Baptist churches in Hong Kong, and are known as the “three Baptist pillars.” Originated from these three churches, a number of Baptist churches came to existence. They are also the key supporters, financially in particular, of many Baptist institutions today.
meeting places within the ten years following 1911, until the last meeting place was destroyed by a fire in 1920. To continue the mission work, Deacon Wong Kwok-shuen donated both land and money for construction of the church. Aberdeen Baptist Church was formally established in 1931. The newly formed church had inherited its mother church’s vision to reach out and started the Aplichau chapel in 1936. Lam Chi-fung personally paid for the rent of the chapel for a number of years. Lay leader contributions to mission work began to be seen here.

Hong Kong Baptist Church also took charge of the Cheung Chau chapel in 1910. After Tang Si-deng left and without any preacher caring for the congregation, the chapel began to diminish and struggled for survival. Although Southern Baptists had agreed to be responsible for the mission back in 1881, they neither sent anyone to be stationed there nor did they render any financial support. Upon the request of the Cheung Chau congregation, Hong Kong Baptist Church accepted the responsibility to oversee its ministry, appoint a preacher, and subsidize its expenses. Mission work was not confined to territories under the British rule. Upon the request of Deacon Wong Kwok-shuen, the church in 1909 took over the mission work in Shek Kei which had been originally begun by Wong. The Hong Kong Baptist Church took care of the Shek Kei Baptist believers for forty-one years until the Shek Kei church was formally established, grew to be independent, and ordained its own pastor in 1950.

This initial period of outreach witnessed the foundation of Aberdeen and Cheung Chau churches. Together with the Hong Kong Baptist Church, they made up the first three constitution churches of the Hong Kong Baptist Association when it was formed in 1938. The outreach to Shek Kei in mainland China signified the

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266 Tong Siu-yuen, “Changzhou Jinxinhui Kaoyuan (Shijiu Shiji de Yiye) [The Origin of Cheung Chau Baptist Church (A Chapter in the 19th Century)],” in The 3rd Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China: History of Christianity in Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, 2003), 10.

267 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 99-100.

268 Ibid., 99. Deacon Wong continued to support the salary of a preacher and later donated a barn as the chapel’s meeting place in Shek Kei. See also *Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church]*, 3; and Hsu, A History of Church Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 13. The Shek Kei church was formally established in 1950.

269 When the Hong Kong Baptist Association was formed, there were three churches and three chapels. The difference between a church and a chapel is that a church has her own deacon board and is financially independent, whereas a chapel does not have her own deacon board and is dependent on her mother church or a mission agency for financial support and administrative assistance.
beginning of Chinese churches accepting the responsibility of “foreign mission” beyond their own territories. The expansion of ministries also provided room for lay leaders to be involved and to contribute, most noticeably in financial support.

**1910-1930**

In 1911, Hong Kong Baptist Church supported a Baptist chapel in Man Cheong City of Hainan Island. Upon the request of the chapel, the church assumed care of the chapel and agreed to take responsibility for paying the salary of the preacher. The Hung Hom chapel was formed in 1912. However, the chapel struggled and ultimately merged into Kowloon City Baptist Church in 1941. After twenty-some years, the Hung Hom chapel was begun anew by Kowloon City Baptist Church in 1964. Hong Kong Baptist Church continued to evangelize and establish gospel stations in surrounding regions; a new chapel was started in Shaukeiwang in 1921, and a mission station was begun in Tsimshatsui in 1926. The great commission zeal never ceased. Macau, once the bridgehead of the American missionaries to China, had always struggled to have a Baptist mission. Hong Kong Baptist Church shouldered the responsibility during this period.

The mission in Macau had a longer “pre-history.” With the arrival of the Shucks in 1836 and Roberts in the following year in Macau, Baptists hoped to start work in Macau but were restrained by the Catholic government of the Portuguese enclave. The Catholic authorities did whatever they could to stop the “apostates” from spreading their “cults” there. It was described that “entering Macau with Protestant Christianity was like going into a tiger’s den to steal its cub.” Charlton Todd, sent by Southern Baptists, eventually succeeded in starting a

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270 Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church], 3. Man Cheong, today is known as Wenchang, is a coastal city situated at the eastern part of Hainan Province.
272 Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church], 4; Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 100-101.
274 Lau, Liangguang Jinxinhu Shilue [A Brief History of Guangdong and Guangxi Baptist Churches], 117; Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church], 4; Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 100. The mission was financially supported by Deacon Wong Kwok-shuen and Ma Wing-chaan.
275 Tsimshatsui Baptist Church 55th Anniversary Special Issue, 9. The mission originated with the Yaumati chapel back in 1902. The work moved to Saiwanho in 1921, then to Yaumati in 1926. After moving the meeting place a couple of times and with the help of Deacon Wong Kwok-shuen and Lam Chi-fung, Tsimshatsui Baptist Church was formally organized on Hillwood Road in 1939. The land on Hillwood Road was donated by Deacon Wong. See also Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 97.
276 Lee, Zili yu Guanhua [Independence and Concerns], 79.
277 Lau, Liangguang Jinxinhu Shilue [A Brief History of Guangdong and Guangxi Baptist Churches], 128.
mission there in 1903. After Todd left for America in 1908 due to his health concerns, John Galloway also sent by Southern Baptists, came and continued Todd’s work. Galloway served there for forty-two years and reached out to at least ten villages in the nearby Zhuhai and Zhongshan areas.

However, due to many difficulties encountered, the Macau church requested Hong Kong Baptist Church to render financial support and oversee the congregation. Hong Kong Baptist Church agreed to accept responsibility in 1919. Although it was only a spark of fire, the Macau church ignited the growth in number of several prominent Baptist leaders. They include: Paul Wong, senior pastor of Hong Kong Baptist Church (1958-1976) and president of the Hong Kong Baptist Association (1971); Daniel Tse, president of Hong Kong Baptist University (1971-2001) and of the Hong Kong Baptist Association (1975-1976, 1978); and Jachin Chan, vice-president of Hong Kong Baptist University (1971-1980) and president of the Hong Kong Baptist Association (1986-1990). These leaders were not only witnesses to the Hong Kong Baptist story in the twentieth century, but also key contributors to the speedy growth of Baptist life during the second half of the century.

The twenty year period between 1911 and 1930 showed Hong Kong Baptist Church continued its mission work both inside and outside the colony. Within the territory, Hung Hom Chapel, Shaukeiwan Chapel, and Tsimshatsui Mission were founded. The Hung Hom station later became Kowloon City Baptist Church and the Tsimshatsui mission later grew to be Tsimshatsui Baptist Church. Together with the Hong Kong Baptist Church, these three churches grew into mega churches and were known as the three Baptist pillars. Outside Hong Kong, they supported the Man Cheong church in mainland China until the country had a communist government. Hong Kong Baptist Church took over the responsibility of the Macau church from Southern Baptist missionaries. A number of Macau Baptists later became Hong Kong Baptist leaders. Lam moved from Chaozhou, China to Hong Kong during this period where he was exposed to the evangelistic and outreach spirit of the Hong Kong Baptist Church of which, he said she is “a mother of many

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278 Ibid., 126. Lau puts December 1903 as the date of Todd’s arrival in Macau. Lee quoting from Lau’s work also dates it to 1903. See Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 79. However, Wong quoting from Hsu puts the date as 1902. See Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 101 (footnote 45); and Hsu, A History of Church Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 189. Lau’s work is the earliest among all four writings mentioned here and Lau has more details about Todd’s work in Macau and also provides the month of Todd’s arrival, whereas Hsu and Wong only state briefly the year. Therefore the date of 1903 is more likely to be correct.


280 Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church], 4.

281 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 101. Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 79. At that time, there were forty-four members in the Macau church.
descendants,” “a gentle mother surrounded by many children and grand-children,” and “today’s Baptist churches in Hong Kong are either her sons or grandsons.”

1930-1950

In 1931, the Hong Kong Baptist Church started the Kowloon City chapel. Mrs. Wong Tong Chung-ling, Wong Kwok-Shuen’s wife, personally paid the ministers, Tang Chi-ling and Yeung Lai-yung, for their capacities in the new mission point. In February 1936, Lam and his family moved from Hong Kong Island to Kowloon Peninsula and his participation began to increase there. In 1939, the chapel grew to become Kowloon City Baptist Church and eventually became the largest of the three Baptist congregations in Hong Kong. Today the regular Sunday attendance of this church is 5,000 people. In 1934, the Wanchai chapel was opened. In 1938, a Bible class was started in Happy Valley. Through the efforts of Aberdeen Church which was situated in a fishing village, the Aplichau chapel and the Sai Kung mission, also located in major fishery towns, were started in 1936 and 1947 respectively. Again, through the effort of Aberdeen Church, the Wong Chuk Hang chapel was started in 1950. As of 2007, the Aberdeen Baptist Church had a membership approaching 2,000 and Sunday worshippers of almost 1,000.

Swatow churches began to emerge during this period. The Kowloon City Swatow Baptist Church began in a wooden shack on Po Kong Road in 1938. In

282 Lam Chi-fung, “Zhu Wen [Compliment],” in Hong Kong Baptist Church 60th Anniversary (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1961), 12.
283 Lau Yuet-sing, Xianggang Jidujiaohui Shi [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 2nd ed., (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1996), 66; Kowloon City Baptist Church 70th Anniversary Commemoration (Hong Kong: Kowloon City Baptist Church, 2009), 45.
284 Kowloon City Baptist Church 70th Anniversary Commemoration, 45.
285 For facts regarding the history of Kowloon City Baptist Church from its beginning till its formal establishment, see Kowloon City Baptist Church 70th Anniversary Commemoration, 44-46. Up to the 1980s, the church membership reached 8,000, and the Sunday school had 95 classes with students and staff of approximately 1,200 people. See An Introduction to Kowloon City Baptist Church-A Brief History (Hong Kong: Kowloon City Baptist Church, 1992), 8.
286 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 105-106. The Wanchai chapel was also called Lockchart Road outstation. Xianggang Jinxinjiaohui Huishi [History of Hong Kong Baptist Church], 5. Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 79.
287 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 106.
288 Ibid., 106-107. It was common for fishermen to have family ties and connections in different fishing villages in Hong Kong through marriage. Lam paid for the rent of the Aplichau chapel for many years. The rent was $8 per month. See Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 10, Issue 3 (April 1937): 11.
289 Hsu, A History of Church Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 21. It was probably due to the close proximity to its mother church, the Aberdeen Baptist Church that the chapel had difficulty growing and was eventually closed down in 1960 after the chapel building was destroyed in a typhoon.
290 These are the 2007 figures. The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 70th Anniversary: 1938-2008, 145.
291 Lam Chi-fung was the chief supporter and promoter for forming the Swatow-speaking church. He proposed starting the Swatow meeting in Kowloon City Baptist Church during the church monthly meeting on June 27, 1937. See Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 10, Issue 6 (July 1937): 2. He also acted as the chair of the first deacon board of the Swatow Baptist Church. Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 108-109.
1950, Kowloon City Swatow also assisted in starting a gospel station in Brotherly Love Village and a mission point in Ngautaukok. During the 1940s, two other Swatow Baptist churches were founded. They were Shamshuipo Swatow Baptist church in 1946, and Hong Kong Swatow Baptist Church in 1948. Apart from opening many churches, chapels and gospel stations, the last twenty year period from 1930 to 1950 witnessed the opening of two Baptist schools, Pui Ching in 1933 and Pooi To in 1938. These schools became important platforms for reaching out to young people and gaining converts. During this period, Lam’s energy and contributions to the Baptist community became more visible. He was the chair of the first deacon board of Kowloon City Baptist Church, was instrumental in founding the first Swatow church, and helped organize and begin Pui Ching and Pooi To schools in Hong Kong. He later served as principal after the two schools were moved back from Macau following World War II.

During the years from 1901 to 1950, the Hong Kong Baptist Church conducted extensive outreach work, planting and supporting more than fifteen chapels and outstations within and nearby Hong Kong. Although not all could survive, quite a number of them later became strong churches which in turn in subsequent years planted and supported different chapels and outstations. For example, Tsimshatsui Baptist Church had started seven churches and chapels by 2007, and Kowloon City Baptist Church over twenty churches and chapels by 2009. I must point out that Hong Kong Baptists carried out this mission work all on their own. During this period, Lam emerged to fulfill his vision through the ministries, and began to show his leadership and contributions among Hong Kong Baptists. One can imagine that the mission-minded activities of the Hong Kong Baptist Church and other Baptists in the neighborhood shaped the spirituality of

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294 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 110-111; Hsu, *A History of Church Baptist Churches*, Vol. II, 48-49. The church today is known as Hong Kong Western District Swatow Baptist Church. See also The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 70th Anniversary 1938-2008, 143.
295 The difference between a chapel and an outstation is that a chapel usually has a dedicated meeting place and most of the functions and ministries of an independent church except it is without her own deacon board and is financially dependent on her mother church, whereas an outstation is a preaching point for outreaching a neighborhood with all functions and ministries handled by the responsible church.
296 The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 70th Anniversary 1938-2008, 128.
297 Kowloon City Baptist Church 70th Anniversary Commemoration, 44.
Lam. Lam’s dedication to evangelism through churches, church schools, hospitals, and other social welfare services would be fully seen in the second half of the twentieth century.

**Church Growth**

The emphasis of the Hong Kong Baptists resulted in church growth, from a single church with a small congregation in 1901 to a major denomination with a sizable membership in 1950. By the time Communists took over China in 1949, there were in total eleven churches and chapels with a membership of over 5,000 in the Association.

Although the exact membership figures in 1950 are debatable, a number of references can be used to derive it. They are: the figure of 4,317 in 1945 by the Association; the figure of 4,609 in 1948 by Princeton Hsu; the figure of “over 4,000” in 1949 by Soo Ming-Wo; and the figure of 7,007 in 1952 provided by Paul Wong. Soo’s saying of “over 4,000” is not very helpful as it is too vague. The study by Earl Cressy and Loren Noren on church growth in Hong Kong during this period also gives a figure of 5,497 Baptist members in 1955. However, their figures are often seen to be understated since the surveyed churches probably gave only rough estimates and some simply did not respond to their survey. Leung Ka-lun also doubted their accuracy when referring to Cressy and Noren’s figures in his study of church growth of different denominations in Hong Kong during the 1950s. By the extrapolation of the figures provided by the Association of 1945, Hsu of 1948 and Wong of 1952, the author has derived a total number of Baptists

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298 Soo Ming-wo, “Christianity in A Colonial and Chinese Context-The Internal Organization and External Relations of the Swatow Baptist Church in Hong Kong” (PhD thesis, University of London, 1980), 178. Soo writes that by 1949, there were eleven churches and chapels in total, and over 4,000 Baptist members. However, the author believes Soo has under-estimated the figure. It should be well over 5,000.

299 *Hong Kong Baptist Churches Association Annual 1968*, 64.


302 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 136. Wong claims the source of his figure is the annual reports of the Foreign Mission Board to the Southern Baptist Convention.


304 Ying Fuk-tsang believes Noren’s figures are understated and may not be able to reflect the actual picture. Ying Fuk-tsang, “Continuity and Discontinuity: Christianity in 1950s Hong Kong,” in *The 3rd Symposium of the History of Christianity in Modern China: History of Christianity in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Christianity & Chinese Culture Research Centre, 2003), 33. Noren also warned that allowances must be made in the figures of his study as only 70% of his questionnaires which he sent out were returned. See Loren E. Noren, *Urban Church Growth in Hong Kong 1958-1962, Third Hong Kong Study* (Hong Kong: By the author, 1964), 1.

305 Leung Ka-lun, “Fushi Bianyuan Qunti de Jiaohui [Churches Serving Marginalized Groups],” in *The 3rd Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China: History of Christianity in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, 2003), 4.
in 1950 to be around 5,500. This is in line with Tam Hay-tin’s figure of 5,541. It is evident that Hong Kong Baptists had substantial growth during the fifty-year period when Chinese were acting alone without active foreign aid. The membership grew from twenty-eight in 1901 to over 5,000 in 1950, an increase of almost two hundred fold.

Hong Kong Baptists not only grew in membership, but also in maturity – in church life and leadership. When reporting on Southern Baptist ministries in the Orient in 1964, Winston Crawley repeatedly said: “Hong Kong shows the most mature Baptist church life.” By that Crawley meant the locals’ ability to self-govern their congregational practices and take initiatives in mission. Similar comments were also given soon after Baptist missionaries returned to the colony in the early 1950s. After visiting different cities in his Asian trip during the summer of 1951, Frank Means wrote in his report to Baker Cauthen concerning Baptist work in Hong Kong:

Pool Ching [same as Pui Ching] and Pool To schools in Hong Kong gave us cause to believe that the Chinese are qualified by experience and training to assume the leadership in Chinese Baptist life. We had heard much of the self-reliance of Chinese Baptists in South China and got a real thrill out of seeing the way in which they conduct their school work. The plants themselves are quite impressive.

Lam was the principal of both Pui Ching and Pool To schools as well as the head of the denomination body at the time when Means visited Hong Kong. Means was impressed by the ability of Hong Kong Baptists and the Chinese leadership to lead an indigenous Baptist life. Mary Alexander also had affirmative comments about Hong Kong Baptists. In her report to the Foreign Mission Board to summarize the work in Hong Kong in 1952, Alexander wrote: “The Baptist work in H. K. as now organized has from its beginning been an independent Chinese Baptist work.”

She was convinced that Hong Kong Baptists gave evidence of an independent church life.

Hong Kong Baptists had grown from a primitive church in the beginning of the twentieth century to a mature church in the middle of the century. By 1950, there were seven churches and at least seven chapels and mission points. They

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307 Winston Crawley, “Report of the Secretary of the Orient (October 1964),” microfilm, kept in the Archive of the International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention (IMB of SBC), Roll 826AR.
308 Frank Means, Letter to Baker Cauthen (November 7, 1951), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 885AR.
309 Mary Alexander, Letter to Miss Greer (December 31, 1952), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671R.
were: Cheung Chau Baptist Church (1843), Hong Kong Baptist Church (1901), Aberdeen Baptist Church (1931), Kowloon City Swatow Baptist Church (1938), Kowloon City Baptist Church (1939), Tsimshatsui Baptist Church (1939), Hong Kong Swatow Baptist Church (1948), Apleichau Chapel (1936), Saukeiw Harbor Baptist Church (1940), Sai Kung Chapel (1947), Shamshuipo Swatow Mission (1948), Shamshuipo Chapel (1949), Pok Oi Swatow Mission (1950), and Ngautauk Swatow Mission (1950). The mature Baptist life also formed a strong base for partnering with foreign missionaries when they returned to Hong Kong in the second half of the twentieth century.

**Emergence of Lay Leaders**

The first half of the twentieth century saw the emergence of lay leaders who played a role in the development of Hong Kong Baptist life. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, second-generation Christians, such as Wong Kwok-shuen and Lam Chi-fung who had received better educations and were successful in business, became lay leaders in churches. They were important to Hong Kong Baptists in many facets. Apart from their financial contributions which were particularly important during the developing stage of indigenous churches when there was no support from foreign mission agents, the lay leaders helped to build Hong Kong Baptists with their administrative experience derived from their business and professions. They helped to organize different functioning departments and set the model of a steward – giving to and serving in churches. They also acted as a bridge between laypersons and ministerial staff, encouraging lay support to the clergy spiritual leadership. A number of lay leaders emerged during the first half of the twentieth century and began a long tradition of active lay participation in churches. Following this tradition, Lam Chi-fung appeared on the Hong Kong Baptist scene and emerged as a prominent leader. His contributions, which as we will see later, were more influential than other lay leaders, would be more fully revealed during the second half of the twentieth century.

**Notable Lay Leaders**

When Lam arrived in Hong Kong from Chaozhou, China, he joined Hong Kong Baptist Church and met a number of prominent laypersons there. Notable lay leaders during the early years of the Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church included: Wong Kwok-shuen and Ho Hing-chuen, both were ordained deacons in 1906; and Wong Tong Chung-ling and Tam Hay-tin, ordained in 1930.\(^{310}\)

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\(^{310}\) In the tradition of Chinese Baptist churches, ordained deacons are different from ordained ministers. Deacons are normally selected among lay leaders for assisting in church administrative work and are ordained for lifelong service.
Wong Kwok-shuen (1880?-1974)

Wong Kwok-shuen (or Wang Guoxuan) was a native of Zhongshan District in Guangdong Province (the hometown of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Republic of China), and a personal friend of Sun and supporter of the Revolution which overthrew the Qing Dynasty. Wong’s father, Wong Kwong-cheong, was a well-known businessman from Zhongshan, and also a devoted Christian who deeply influenced his son. Wong himself was also a successful businessman operating various enterprises including the National Commercial and Savings Bank. He attended Hong Kong Baptist Church during the very early days of its formation and married Tong Chung-ling, Rev. Tong Kit-hing’s daughter, in 1902. 311 Ordained as a deacon of the church in 1906, he served faithfully for sixty-eight years, the longest term in its history. Paul Wong complimented Deacon Wong in saying: “Very few Baptists in China or elsewhere did so much direct missionary work as this aged and respected deacon of Hong Kong Baptist Church.”312 He and his wife supported the church substantially in both home mission and outreach work. They donated generously to build churches and chapels, and support church operations in many places, including: HK$16,000 for the building costs of Hong Kong Baptist Church in 1923; the land for Aberdeen Chapel, Tsimshatsui Chapel, and Shek Kei Chapel; a total of HK$20,000 as the operating funds for Shek Kei Chapel, and the salary of all ministerial staff in Kowloon City Chapel.313 Wong was the president of the Hong Kong Baptist Association after Rev. Lau Yuet-sing in 1940, and was dubbed as “the Pillar of Hong Kong Baptist Church.”314 However exaggerated it might sound, Wong indeed contributed significantly to the church in terms of leadership and finance from its infant stage with twenty-eight members in the beginning of the twentieth century until it became a well-established church with over two thousand members in the 1970s.315

Ho Hing-chuen (dates of birth and death not known)

Ho Hing-chuen (or He Qingquan) was a native of Conghua (or Tsungfa), Guangdong Province. Having learned music from a western missionary, he opened

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312 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 327. Paul Wong also said Deacon Wong made the greatest contribution in the Baptist history of South China. However, Paul Wong probably has exaggerated a little bit here as Deacon Wong’s contribution was mainly confined to the Hong Kong Baptist Church and not the whole Baptist denomination like Lam Chi-fung’s was.
314 Ibid., 65-67. For the biographic description of Wong Kwok-shuen and his family, see Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 327-328. The year of Wong’s birth is uncertain. It is estimated to be around 1880. Some said it was 1883 as he died in 1974 at the age of 92.
315 Hong Kong Baptist Church had 2,797 members when Wong Kwok-shuen died in 1974. See Lee, *Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns]*, 236.
a piano company in Lyndhurst Terrace, Hong Kong. While in Hong Kong, he was
baptized by Rev. Tong Kit-hing and joined the Hong Kong Baptist Church in 1901,
and was ordained a deacon at the same time as Wong Kwok-shuen in 1906. Ho
wrote “Xianggang Jinxinhui Shilue [A Brief History of Hong Kong Baptist
Church]” in 1940, the oldest surviving historical document of the church. The
whole family became devoted members of the church. His wife was ordained as a
deaconess in 1930 and his son started a couple of Baptist churches in Singapore
and Malaysia. He was remarked in the membership record of the church as “A
faithful deacon of the Church, having served whole-heartedly for forty-one
years.”

Wong Tong Chung-ling (1883-1952)

Wong Tong Chung-ling (or Wang Tang Chongling), the daughter of Rev. Tong
Kit-hing, was born in the U.S. After returning to Hong Kong with her father in
1900, she served as the church pianist and Sunday school teacher, started a
women’s Bible study class, and established a Women’s Missions Department. She
was married to Wong Kwok-shuen two years later and ordained a deaconess of
the church in 1930. Apart from supporting her husband to give generously to
churches, she was responsible for opening a girl’s school, called Pui Shun
Elementary School, at Aberdeen Baptist Church and acted as its voluntary
principal in 1922. Two years later, she also assumed the role of the principal of
an elementary school attached to Hong Kong Baptist Church. Being inspired by
Henrietta’s dedication to providing girls with education opportunities, Chung-ling
was determined to follow her footsteps to open a girl’s school to commemorate her.
Chung-ling’s dream finally came true in 1951 when the girl’s school at Hong Kong
Baptist Church formally was named the Henrietta Girl’s School.

Wong Tong Chung-ling was one of the forerunners among the locals encouraging the start of
Baptist schools and pioneering women’s ministries in Hong Kong. To

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316 For information about Ho Hing-chuen, see Lee, Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns], 67-68.
318 Lau, Xianggang Jidujiaohui Shi [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 66. Mrs. Wong employed
preachers, Tang Chi-ling and Yeung Lai-yung, at her own expense for Matauchung Road Mission in the early
1930s. See Hsu, A History of Church Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 22; Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in
Hong Kong,” 105.
319 Henrietta Secondary School: School History (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, no date).
320 Hsu, A History of Church Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 124. The decision to open the Henrietta school was made in
1936, one hundred years after Henrietta’s arrival in China. Wong Tong Chung-ling was appointed to lead a
committee to establish the school. However, the plan was interrupted due to the Second Sino-Japanese War
between 1937 and 1945. The school finally opened in 1951 on the site of Baptist Elementary School originally
321 The women’s Bible study class and the Women’s Missions Department were the first of their kind in the history
of Hong Kong churches. Princeton Hsu complimented Mrs. Wong saying that there was no one who was as
commemorate her contributions to Hong Kong Baptists, a bronze statue was erected in Cain Road Baptist Church in 1953, one year after she died.  

Tam Hay-tin (1894-1980)

Tam Hay-tin (or Tan Xitian), the son of a Baptist minister in Southern China, was ordained a deacon of Hong Kong Baptist Church in 1930. He was a graduate of Graves Theological Seminary and was Rev. Lau Yuet-sing’s classmate from 1915 to 1918. After graduating from the seminary and serving as a school teacher for a few years, he joined Ka Wah Bank in Guangzhou in 1923 and was the general manager of its Hong Kong branch in 1929. Being Lau Yuet-sing’s close co-worker, Tam helped to found the Hong Kong Baptist Association in 1938. He served as a board member and the supervisor of Pui Ching and Pooi To schools, and was a board member of both the Baptist Theological Seminary and the Baptist College. Tam and Lam were close co-workers in both the Ka Wah Bank and Baptist schools.

There were other lay leaders including: Lui Wai-chow, an ordained deacon of Hong Kong Baptist Church, who donated a plot of land consisting of 7,000 square feet to build the Shaukeiwan Baptist Church in 1954; and Lui Ming-choi (1888-1956), a well-known Baptist philanthropist who sponsored and built many schools – more than twenty schools were named after him including at least six Baptist schools. After Lam joined the Hong Kong Baptist Church and while he was influenced by these Baptist lay leaders, he also began his contributions to Hong Kong Baptists.

Lam Chi-fung (1892-1971)

Lam Chi-fung emerged as a prominent lay leader during this period, and was considered one of the most influential people in Hong Kong Baptist history. Lam had strong Baptist roots. He was born in a Baptist family, and accepted the Baptist faith when he was fourteen years old in his home town Kit-yang, Chaozhou.
District, through the influence of his father, Rev. Lam Siu-fan, the first Chinese Baptist pastor in Kit-yang. His Chaozhou background helped to identify him as a Swatow Baptist, which later enhanced his role in connecting Swatow Baptists to the wider Hong Kong Baptist community. His educational training in mission schools in his hometown proved to be useful to his subsequent service in churches. His ability in English became an important asset when dealing with foreign missionaries, making overseas visits and meeting with international Baptists, attending Baptist World Congresses and Southern Baptist annual meetings, and liaising with government officials. His medical training helped him to serve effectively in various philanthropic and medical related ministries.

Shortly after moving to Hong Kong in 1917, Lam became a successful businessman involved in a wide variety of businesses including coal and rice trading, banking, hotels, shipping, transportation, and manufacturing. He also served in different key positions in various non-profit social organizations, including the role of president of the Hong Kong YMCA from 1933 to 1934, and from 1939 to 1955, president of Chaozhou Chamber of Commerce in 1937, and president of the Hong Kong Teachers Association in 1952. His business and social exposure helped him to have connections with people from all walks of life. Those connections turned out to be useful to the development of various Baptist institutions in subsequent years, such as the Baptist College and Baptist Hospital, and for getting support and donations from different people. These included: Baptists and people of other denominations, and Christians and people of other faiths.

Lam began to attend Hong Kong Baptist Church immediately after arriving in Hong Kong and was active in Baptist circles ever afterward, even before he

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326 For biographical information of Lam Chi-fung, see Tim Lam, ed., Lam Family Tree (Canada: Lammett Arts, 2006), 16-22.
327 Tang Chi-ching, Social Leaders in Hongkong & Macao (Hong Kong Associated Press, 1959), 9-10.
328 Hong Kong Baptists received donations from a wide range of people and companies including Lei Kwok-wei of Hang Sang bank, Shun Cheong Steam Navigation Company, Fok Ying-tung, Lui Ming-choi Foundation, Ho Sing-hang, and Lieu Chong Hing Bank. Many of them were not Christians but made donations mainly because they were acquainted with Lam. See letters related to the donations in Daniel Tse Collection Inventory in Special Collections and Archives of the Hong Kong Baptist University, Box 1, Folder 6. The Kadoorie brothers denoted all the red carpets in Kowloon Baptist Church. They were British Jews and prominent businessmen in Hong Kong who owned the China Lights and Power Company, the Peninsular Hotel group, Whampoo Shipyard, properties on Kadoorie Hill and the Kadoorie Farm in Hong Kong. The Kadoorie brothers were elders in the Jewish synagogue of the Hong Kong diocese which had nothing to do with Christian churches. See David Y. K. Wong, By the Grace of God: Memoirs of David Y.K. Wong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 2006), 125 and 130. While Lam solicited donations from his business friends, there were voices questioning if money from non-Christians should be sought for church ministries. It will be discussed in chapter 8 of this study that Paul Wong questioned if the church should use worldly power to serve God.
formally joined the church membership in 1938. He served as a committee member of the finance department in January 1935; started to be involved in preaching in the church in the beginning of 1936; led a short term mission to villages in South China in mid-1936; and represented the church by attending the Hong Kong Christians Committee when it required a representative from Hong Kong Baptist Church who could speak English to be present in 1937. Lam was appointed because of his knowledge of English as there were not many in the church who had mastered the language. After moving to the Kowloon peninsula, he helped start Kowloon City Baptist Church and was elected the first chair of its deacon board in 1939. Meanwhile, he also served in various key capacities in different Baptist churches – the chair of the deacon board of Kowloon City Swatow Baptist Church and the deputy chair of the fund raising campaign of Tsimshatsui Baptist Church when the church was established in December 1939. Lam was frequently seen in the pulpit, and assumed the role of pastor-in-charge while the position of senior pastor of Kowloon City Baptist Church was vacant in 1953. His contributions were not confined to financial and administrative support to churches but also in spiritual leadership.

Lam’s contributions extended to the whole Baptist denomination when he began to be involved in the Hong Kong Baptist Association in 1938. He was the president of the Association for the longest term, with the exception of the war years 1941 to 1945, he served from 1941-1971. In 1949, he was elected a member of the Preparation Committee of South China Baptist University, director of both the Education Department and Medical Group of the Benevolent Department of Liangguang Baptist Association. In 1955 and 1960, he was twice elected a vice-president of the Baptist World Alliance, the first Chinese appointed to the position in history. With his exposure to Baptists around the world, Lam brought Hong Kong Baptists to the world arena. He was dubbed the “Hong Kong

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329 Lam transferred his membership from his home church in Chaozhou to Hong Kong Baptist Church in February 1938. See Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 11, Issue 3 (April 1938): 3.


331 Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 9, Issue 2 (March 1936): 8.

332 Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 9, Issue 7 (August 1936): 2.

333 Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 10, Issue 1 (February 1937): 3.

334 Kowloon City Baptist Church had the largest evangelical church building in all Asia when it was completed in 1964. See Winston Crawley, “Report of Secretary of the Orient (October 1964),” microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 826AR.


337 Lam died on April 17, 1971. Although some records show he was the president of the Association from 1941 to 1970, he actually served until he passed away in 1971.

Baptist Pope and was known among Baptists in America as “Mr. Baptist of Hong Kong.”

Lam, who himself had been influenced by early lay leaders, later became a legacy to his fellow Baptists who, seeing Lam as a successful professional and a devoted Christian servant, carried on in his footsteps. One well-known example among these followers was David Wong Yu-kong, who claimed to be Lam’s protégé. David, a professional engineer and architect, admitted to being in debt to Lam for his training in church service and considered Lam as his benefactor. Wong wrote in his autobiography:

> It is because of Dr. Lam’s guidance that I can have the opportunity to serve in the church, to be his co-worker and to learn from him. Also in my engineering profession career, Dr. Lam helped me to be involved in church building projects; and as a result I could build up the foundation of my business.

He further said:

> Because of the church and school work, Dr. Lam and I had a close working relationship and friendship. I followed his footsteps and had received a lot of help from him. Dr. Lam had long visions, and was determinate, energetic and a great leader. He was willing to teach me. I respect him very much.

Following Lam’s footsteps, Wong became an influential leader and assumed many important positions in Hong Kong Baptist life. He was elected the president of the Baptist World Alliance from 1975 to 1980, the first Asian and the first layman following a succession of thirteen clergymen in the position. Apart from being a prominent lay leader himself, Lam strengthened the long tradition of lay involvement in churches and trained others to accept key leading roles.

Lam Chi-fung and other lay leaders paved the way for the laity to assume important positions in churches. Of all the presidents of the Association since Wong Kwok-shuen’s term in 1940 till 2002, seven out of ten were laymen, serving a total of fifty-one terms out of fifty-nine. They were businessmen, educators

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339 For a biographic description of Lam Chi-fung, see Timothy Lam, *Lam Family Tree.* See also Michael Kam, “Christian Identity and Business Success: Lin Zifeng (1892-1971) and his Public Career in Hong Kong” (PhD dissertation, the University of Queensland, 2011); Tsang Heung-Wing, “A Study of an Outstanding Hong Kong Chinese Christian Leader: Lam Chi-fung (1892-1971)” (Bachelor of Arts thesis, Hong Kong Baptist University, 2003); and Yau Wai-Ip, “A Case Study of Hong Kong Christian Leader: A Baptist Deacon, Dr. Lam Chi-fung, His Life and Contribution” (Master of Divinity thesis, Alliance Bible Seminary of Hong Kong, 1994).


341 Wong, *By the Grace of God,* 112.

342 Ibid., 120.

343 Wong, *By the Grace of God,* 119.

344 *The World Baptist Daily Publication of the 13th Baptist World Congress,* No. 5 (July 12, 1975, Stockholm).

345 The seven laymen who were the Association’s presidents were: Wong Kwok-shuen (1940), businessman; Lam Chi-fung (1941, 1946-1970), businessman and educator; Daniel Tse (1975-1976, 1978), educator; Daniel Lam
and engineers just like Wong Kwok-shuen, Lam Chi-fung and David Wong. With their extensive and successful experience in each of their respective fields, these lay leaders played a vital role in the rapid development of Baptist ministries in Hong Kong. In conclusion concerning the development of Hong Kong Baptists during the first half of the twentieth century, Lee Kam-keung believed that “the reason for Hong Kong Baptist Church to have such a breakthrough development in missions and social achievement during the pastoral-ship of Lau Yuet-sing was due to the matching support of prominent lay leaders such as Wong Kwok-shuen, Tong Chung-ling and Lam Chi-fung.” 346 Lay leaders who could contribute so significantly to their denominations were special for Baptists in Hong Kong. Lau Yuet-sing’s book on the “History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches” had a chapter on “Biographies” of eighteen prominent Christians in Hong Kong for the early decades of the twentieth century. All except a few were clergymen. Laymen included in Lau’s book were those who were important in certain events or specific ministries, such as Sun Yat-sen who was the national father of modern China overthrowing the Manchurian rule, Cheung Man-hoi (also known as Cheung Yick-kian and a Baptist) who was influential in Christian publications, and Ma Wing-tsan who was known for his generous donations to the Church of Christ in China.347

Lay leaders were distinctive for Hong Kong Baptists. No such lay leaders with comparable significance and influence were noticeable in other denominations in Hong Kong. The unique role of Baptist lay leaders was enhanced by the Hong Kong Baptist Church (initially Hong Kong Self-governing Baptist Church) which pioneered the indigenous movement in the territory and created opportunities for the laity to contribute their energy and leadership, from the beginning when the church was in its primitive stage. Their involvement in the early days also set an example for other laypersons to follow, hence creating a long tradition of lay leaders participating in Baptist ministries. The Baptists’ strong


347 Lau, Xianggang Jidujiao Shi [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 291-348. Out of the eighteen people listed in Lau’s book, twelve were ordained pastors including Robert Morrison. Apart from Sun Yat-sen, Cheung Man-hoi and Ma Wing-tsan, the other three laymen were Ho Miu-ling who denoted the money to start the Ho Miu-ling Hospital, Au fung-chi who was known as Sun Yat-sen’s close co-worker in the China revolution in 1911, and Kwan Yuen-cheong who was known as the pioneer of Chinese dentistry in Hong Kong.
commitment to the teaching of “priesthood of all believers” and their practice of
democratic and congregational church structure and polity also largely catalyzed
lay participation in decision-making and leadership roles. Lam Chi-fung
emerged as a lay leader in this period. The reason he stood out among others can
be more fully illustrated in the second half of the twentieth century as will be seen
in the following chapters.

Lam’s Involvement and Contribution

Lam Chi-fung’s contributions as a lay leader during this period were most notably
in Baptist schools, among Swatow-speaking Baptists, and within the denomination
body, the Hong Kong Baptist Association. Lam was responsible for the
establishment of a number of important church schools, the recruitment of
Swatow-speaking Baptists into the Hong Kong Baptist family, and the formation
of the denomination body. The Baptist schools and Swatow churches, being
members of the Association, constituted a strong Baptist community in Hong Kong
before the return of foreign missionaries in the 1950s. The Hong Kong Baptist
Association, also known as the Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, was organized
in 1938. The Association linked all Baptist churches, institutions and individuals
together to form a united force to carry out the mission. Lam’s energy and
contributions as a lay leader were clearly seen in these areas – church schools,
Swatow Baptist churches, and the denominational body.

Education Ministry

While Hong Kong Baptists were busy developing church ministries and reaching
out to places within and nearby Hong Kong, they also followed the steps of early
missionaries in establishing schools. Those small schools started by early
missionaries had all been closed after their departure. Shortly after Hong Kong
Baptist Self-governing Church was established, locals began to organize and begin
schools attached to church premises. As early as 1903, a kindergarten attached to
Hong Kong Baptist Church was started. During the first half of the twentieth
century, there were at least ten Baptist schools begun and operated by local
Baptists. Despite the fact that most of these schools had to be closed due a lack
of resources rendered by the churches that operated them, three flourished and

348 Other denominations, which were active in Hong Kong during the period (such as the Anglican Church and
Church of Christ in China), had a very clear church hierarchy of ordained clergy men taking charge of
denominational affairs.
349 Schools started by Hong Kong Baptists during the period from 1901 to 1950 include: a kindergarten attached to
Hong Kong Baptist Church in 1903, a girls’ school started by Hong Kong Baptist Church in 1906, Pui Shun
Girls’ School in 1922, Baptist Elementary School in 1924, an elementary school attached to Cheung Chau
Baptist Church in 1924, Hing Wah Secondary School in 1938, and a girls’ school attached to Shaukeiwan Chapel
in 1940.
became important Baptist institutions during the second half of the twentieth century. The three schools were: Pui Ching Middle School started in Hong Kong in 1933; Baptist Elementary School in 1937 which later became Henrietta School to commemorate Henrietta Shuck, the first female missionary who went to China and gave her life in Hong Kong; and Pooi To Girls’ School in 1938. Lam was involved in all three schools.

Lam’s interest in church schools and involvement in education ministries began as early as 1930 when he became a member of the Board of Guangzhou Pui Ching Middle School. In 1933, Lam, together with Wong Kwok-shuen and Tam Hay-tin, invited Guangzhou Pui Ching Middle School to start a branch school in Hong Kong, called Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School. Lam helped to raise money to start the school. Since Pui Ching was a school only for boys, the need to also provide education for girls became obvious. In 1937, the Hong Kong Baptist Church planned to open a girls’ primary school affiliated with the church to commemorate Henrietta Shuck for her dedication to the education of Chinese girls. Lam was appointed to lead a seven-person committee to plan the work. In 1938 when Guangzhou Pooi To Middle School moved to Hong Kong to escape the wartime turmoil in southern China, Lam helped the school to settle down temporarily in Kowloon Baptist Church. When Pooi To formally opened a branch school in Hong Kong in 1945, Lam acted as the school supervisor.

During the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, 1941-1945, Pooi To and Pui Ching moved to Macau from the colony. In view of the lack of leadership in the two Macau schools, Lam, who was also in Macau during the period, accepted the role of interim principal of the two schools. He later said in a radio interview with regard to the experience he gained in these schools:

In 1944 while Hong Kong was still under the Japanese occupation I moved to Macau. As a result of their principals being stuck in mainland China due to the War, the staff of Pui Ching and Pooi To in Macau was short of food and lack of leadership. Upon the recommendation of the school boards, I took up the post of Interim Principal of the two schools to help getting through the difficult time.

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350 Tam Hay-tin, “Xianggang Peizheng Zhongxue di Dansheng [The Birth of Pui Ching Middle School],” in Pui Ching Middle School 70th Anniversary Special Issue 1889-1959 (Hong Kong: Pui Ching Middle School, 1959), 108.
352 Michael Kam, “Lam Chi-fung,” in Lee Kam-keung, ed., Xianggang Jiaohui Renwu Chuan [Biographies of Hong Kong Churches] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Chinese Christian Churches Union, 2014), 373-374. Despite what Kam said here, most other sources say the school was temporarily settled in Kwong Wah Street in Mongkok, Kowloon. See Pooi To Middle School 115th Anniversary Memorial Issue (Hong Kong: Pooi To Middle School, 2003), 22. Lau Yuet-sing also recorded that the school first settled in Kwong Wah Street and then moved to Kowloon City Baptist Church in 1941. See Lau, Xianggang Jidujiaohui Shi [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 216-217.
353 Pooi To Middle School 5th Anniversary Memorial Issue (Hong Kong: Wah Hing Press, 1950), 20.
With this experience of involving in education work, my confidence in participating in educational ministry increased. Lam gained confidence in the education ministry through his involvement in the two Baptist schools in Macau. When Pui Ching moved back to Hong Kong and Pooi To formally established the Hong Kong branch school after World War II, Lam once again assumed the role of principal and manager of the two schools respectively. In the same year, 1945, Lam was elected chair of the Education Board of the Liangguang Baptist Association. As the principal of Pui Ching School, Lam was anxious to restart the school in the colony within the shortest possible time period. Under the news of Pui Ching Branch School of *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly*, it states,

The Pui Ching facility was taken over by the government in the beginning of the war. It was then occupied by the Japanese army, and was taken over by the British army after the war. (…) Lam requested the Director of Management of Enemy’s Properties to release the premise back to the school. (…) On the day of getting back the school building, over one hundred burglars were standing by to ransack the place. (…) Lam called in workers from Chuap-Wo Steel Factory to protect the school from robbery.

While material was scarce and the society was unstable right after the war, there were muggers waiting to rob the facility after the British forces handed over the premises to the school. Sending workers from his factory to guard Pui Ching School from robbery, Lam was more concerned about protecting the school than securing his own factory. In his speech to the Southern Baptist Annual Meeting in Miami in 1955, Lam said: “God has chosen me to be the principal of a Baptist school. For many years I have been dedicated to this work.” Seeing that the education ministry was a calling from God for him, Lam considered the school more important than his own business.

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354 Lam Chi-fung, “Xianggang Diantai Fangwen ji [Interviewed by Radio Hong Kong] (Likely took place in 1969),” kept in Daniel Tse Collection Inventory in the Special Collections and Archives of Hong Kong Baptist University (DTCI of HKBU), Box 6 Folder 17.
355 In 1945, Lam helped Pooi To School to register with the Department of Education in Hong Kong. See *Pooi To Middle School 5th Anniversary Memorial Issue*, 35.
356 Ibid.
357 *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly*, Volume 1, Issue 1 (Resumed Printing, June 1946): 33-35. Lam was the owner of Chuap-Wo Steel Factory.
358 Cheung Kai-ming, “Xianggang Peizheng Chuangjiaoshi [The History Hong Kong Pui Ching’s Beginning],” in *Peizheng Zhongxue Gangjiqiao Shiwuzhounian Jitian ji Fujiao Dierjei Yundongdahui Tekan [Special Commemoration of Pui Ching Middle School Fifteenth Anniversary and the Second Sports Day]* (Hong Kong: Pui Ching Middle School, 1948).
359 Lam Chi-fung, “My Testimony-Family Thanksgiving Meeting in 1955,” in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung*, ed. Lee King-sun (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 6. Lam was referring to Pui Ching Middle School.
Because Lam saw the profound impact of education, he advocated education as a powerful means of evangelism. He had a well-known phrase: “Yu Dao Yu Xue,” meaning “learning the religion through education.” To him, school and evangelism were inseparable. To achieve the goal of evangelism through education, Lam believed that the pre-requisite was to run good quality schools. He echoed the Church of Christ in China in this aspect that only good quality education could draw students and their parents to Christianity. With Lam’s perseverance and dedication, these three schools became important Baptist education institutions in Hong Kong, serving as effective channels of evangelism, reaching out to young people and their families. Many came to the Christian faith through these schools and quite many of them became members of Baptist churches. The schools were also vital for providing education to children from Christian families. They trained future leaders for the denomination, and nurtured young people for dedication to full time ministry. It was seen later in the mid-1950s that providing tertiary education opportunities to graduates of these Baptist schools became a key driving force for Lam to push for the establishment of Hong Kong Baptist College. Lam’s dedication to education in the second half of the twentieth century in fact had its roots from his early involvement in Baptist schools.

**Swatow Baptists**

This period also saw the resurgence of Swatow-speaking churches in the colony and their union with the Hong Kong Baptists who were previously basically all Cantonese. Since the time when Dean started mission work among Teichiu Chinese in Hong Kong in 1842 and stayed on with the American Baptist Mission in 1845, Swatow churches had always been associated with American Baptists. Swatow Baptists began to diminish after the American Baptists declined to take over the work left behind by Mrs. Johnson in 1881, and disappeared completely when Tang Si-deng retired to Chaozhou in 1889. After leaving Hong Kong, many American Baptist missionaries went to the Chaozhou district and built strong

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362 Lam often encouraged his students “to do well in academic achievement, moral standards and spiritual life.” See Lam chi-fung, “Speech at the 1964 School Year Closing Ceremony of Pui Ching Middle School,” in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung*, ed. Lee King-sun (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 290. He also required “every student meeting the standard of admitting into leading universities.” See Lam Chi-fung, “Speech at the School Year Opening Ceremony of Pui Ching Middle School in 1956,” in *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung*, ed. Lee King-sun, 178.

363 Zhonghua Jidujiaohui Wanzitang 150 Shounian Tangshi Tekan [Church of Christ in China, Wanchai Church 150th Anniversary Special Issue] (Hong Kong: Wanchai Church of Church of Christ in China, 2014), 118.
Swatow Baptist congregations there. Lam Chi-fung’s father, Lam Siu-fan, among other unreached people, was introduced to the Christian faith through the American Baptist missionaries in Chaozhou.\textsuperscript{364} When Chaozhou believers fled from the Sino Japanese War to Hong Kong in 1937, they sought help from Lam Chi-fung. Chaozhouiness (people of Chaozhou origin) were known among the Chinese for rendering assistance to their clansmen. Originating from Chaozhou and being a Baptist and a successful businessman, Lam agreed to accept responsibility for helping his fellow Swatow Baptists to settle in Hong Kong.

As early as 1937, while Lam was attending Hong Kong Baptist Church, he initiated the beginning of a Swatow worship service at the Kowloon branch. Lam personally paid for a Swatow speaking minister, Lam Hou-chai, to serve the Swatow congregation.\textsuperscript{365} As many Chaozhou believers gathered in the squatter area along the slope of Po Kong Shan in Kowloon, Lam helped to secure a piece of land from the government and raise money to build a wooden hut to form the Po Kong Shan chapel in 1938, which later became Kowloon City Swatow Baptist Church in 1953. Lam was invited to be the chair of the first deacon board of the Swatow church.\textsuperscript{366} Since most of the Swatow Baptists were refugees from China and had little financial capability, Lam helped to make up the deficit of the Swatow church in its early days.\textsuperscript{367} His financial support and “business-derived administrative experience to the church” were seen to be key factors leading to the successful establishment of Swatow Baptist churches in Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{368}

The Swatow-speaking Baptists in the Po Kong Road chapel were devoted to planting gospel stations and preaching points immediately following their establishment. Within a time frame of less than twenty years and while Lam was the president of the denominational body, the Swatow church opened a number of preaching points, including: Pok Oi Village (also known as Brotherly Love Village) Preaching Point in 1950; Ngau Tau Kok Preaching Point in 1950; Fu Mei Chuen

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\textsuperscript{364} Lam Sui-fan was a school teacher in his home town, Kit-yang (or Jieyang), Chaozhou, and was assigned to get acquainted with Protestant missionaries by elders of his village in order to obtain protection against coercion from the neighboring village. He later attended Ashmore Theological Seminary in Swatow, turned into a genuine follower of the faith, and became the first Chinese Baptist pastor in his home town. See Gao Shun-ching, \textit{A Memoir of David Lam} (Hong Kong: Ming Pao Press, 1995), 26; Mary C. Alexander, “The Remarkable Family of Chi-Fung Lam,” in \textit{A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung}, ed. King-sun Lee (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), Picture 22; and Michael Kam, “Cong Shangren dao Jiaoyuja – Lin Zifeng (1892-1971) de Shengping ji qi Shiye [From Businessman to Educator – the Life and Career of Lam Chi-fung (1892-1971)],” in Lee Kam-keung and Lau Yee-cheung, ed., \textit{Gospel Permeating Among the People: Christianity and South Chinese Dialect Groups} (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2016), 167.

\textsuperscript{365} \textit{Hong Kong Baptist Monthly}, Volume 10, Issue 6 (July 1937): 2.

\textsuperscript{366} \textit{Kowloon City Swatow Baptist Church 40th Anniversary Commemoration} (Hong Kong: Kowloon City Swatow Baptist Church, 1978), 7.


\textsuperscript{368} Soo, “Christianity in A Colonial and Chinese Context,” 62 and 93-94.
(also known as Tiger Tail Village) Preaching Point in 1952 (it later became Kwun Tong Preaching Point in 1960 and Kwun Tong Swatow Baptist Church in 1973); Castle Peak Road Preaching Point in 1957 (it later became Castle Peak Road Swatow Church in 1970); Cuk Yuen (also known as Bamboo Garden) Preaching Point in 1958; Wang Tau Hom Preaching Point in 1964; Causeway Bay Preaching Point in 1965; and Tsuen Wan Preaching Point in 1966. In 1970 the Swatow Baptists comprised eight churches and nine chapels and had a total of over 6,000 members. They were and still are the largest Chaozhou speaking Christian group in Hong Kong, and in the 1970s they constituted more than 20% of the total membership of the Association.

In the background, there were also Southern Baptist and American Baptist relations which directly or indirectly influenced Baptist life in Hong Kong. When Hong Kong Baptist College, in the 1960s, with the help of the Southern Baptists, strove for university status and to be included in the formation of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the American Baptists, who supported Chung Chi College, opposed Hong Kong Baptist College’s being included, and were seen to be pleased with the decision to reject Baptist College. A similar situation was also noticed in hospital projects. The Southern Baptists rendered extensive support to the Association to establish Hong Kong Baptist Hospital. However, the American Baptists gave no help but had active participation in United Christian Hospital in Hong Kong instead. Southern Baptists and American Baptist never seemed to get close to each other in Hong Kong. Despite the fact that Swatow Baptists had their origin related to the American Baptist Mission and the Hong Kong Baptist Association was seen as associated closely with Southern Baptists, Swatow Baptists were constituent members of Hong Kong Baptist Association. Lam Chi-fung, being a Swatow himself, helped to start Swatow Baptist churches and acted as their first chair of the board and their first pastor-in-charge. He played a crucial role in linking their connection with the Association and recruiting Swatow Baptists into the Baptist family in Hong Kong.

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369 For the history of Kowloon City Swatow Baptist Church and the preaching points in which the church was involved to start with, see Hsu, A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 37-41, and 108-109.
371 Precisely it was 21.5% of the total membership of the Association in 1970 according to Paul Wong. Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 145.
372 Franklin Liu, Letter to Lam Chi-fung Concerning Liu’s Meeting with Dr. Ling Do-yeung (June 24, 1967), DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 18.
373 Leung, Ka-lun, “Fushi Bianyuan Qunti de Jiaohui [Churches Serving Marginalized Groups],” in The 3rd Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China: History of Christianity in Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, 2003), 7. It is also worth noting that Lam was the chair of the deacon boards of both Kowloon City Baptist Church and Kowloon City Swatow Baptist Church at the same time. George Wilson told the author that Lam’s sons complained about Lam’s accepting the duty at Kowloon City Swatow Baptist as he already had too many burdens on his shoulders. George Wilson, Former Principal of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, Interview by the author (April 14, 2011).
Hong Kong Baptist Association

A famous Chinese proverb says: “Unity is strength.” As early as 1915, Hong Kong Baptist Church suggested the idea of forming a denomination body to unite the strength of all Baptists in Hong Kong when there only one church and three chapels (Aberdeen, Cheung Chau, and Hung Hom) existed. However, the idea did not materialize until twenty-three years later when there were three churches – Hong Kong Baptist Church, Aberdeen Baptist Church, and Cheung Chau Baptist Church, and three chapels – Yaumatti, Hung Hom, and Kowloon City. The Hong Kong Baptist Association was inaugurated on March 27, 1938. The objectives of establishing the Association were: to enable the fellowship of members of all Baptist churches; to strengthen the churches for further preaching of the Gospel; and to help suffering church members on the mainland and help support the work of these churches.

To meet the cause of its formation, the first representative meeting passed a resolution that the Association would: have its registered address at Hong Kong Baptist Church; hold a general meeting once a year for all Hong Kong Baptist members; take over the publication and the enhancement of Baptist Monthly, the denomination magazine; render help to suffering Baptists in mainland China; and collect and gather donations from member churches and chapels for all benevolence work. Rev. Lau Yuet-sing, Senior Pastor of Hong Kong Baptist Church and the key promoter of the denomination body, was elected the first president of the Association, Deacon Wong the first vice-president, and Lam was elected a member of the Benevolence Committee of the Association. Three years later in 1941, Lam was elected the president and began his long service in the Association until he died in 1971. During his term as president, the denominational body expanded its functions to include: starting new work and taking over chapels.

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374 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 117.
375 The reason for not forming a denomination body in 1915 was not clear. It was probably because Hong Kong Baptist Church was the only independent church at that time supporting three chapels. Thus, it was not very meaningful to start a denomination body with only one church.
376 “Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershinian Lishi [Hong Kong Baptist Association Twenty Years History],” in Hong Kong Baptist Association 20th Anniversary Commemoration 1938-1958, 4.
377 Lau, “From Periphery to Partnership,” 145.
378 Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 11, Issue 3 (April 1938): 2. This is the last issue published by Hong Kong Baptist Church. After the formation of the denominational body in April 1938, Hong Kong Baptist Association (which is also known as Hong Kong Baptist Convention or the Baptist Convention of Hong Kong) took over the publication work. See Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Issue 1 (April 1938): 13-15.
379 “Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui Ershinian Lishi [Hong Kong Baptist Association Twenty Years History],” in Hong Kong Baptist Association 20th Anniversary Commemoration 1938-1958, 4.
380 Ibid. Lam started to be involved in the Association in the year of its formation and became the chair of the Benevolence Committee the following year.
originally started by individual churches;\textsuperscript{381} establishing Baptist institutions such as schools, a seminary, a hospital and social centers; negotiating with government officials to obtain government aid; and most noticeably, fostering partnerships with foreign missionaries in the second half of the twentieth century to grow and expand Baptist ministries in Hong Kong. Under Lam’s leadership, the Association became the sole agent of all Baptist churches within the denomination body for dealing with the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. The mission fund was channeled through the Association to individual churches.\textsuperscript{382} It was also through the Association that Lam dealt with the Hong Kong government for obtaining land and interest-free loans for Baptist institutions. Lam Chi-fung began to play an important role in the Hong Kong Baptist story. His influence was initially on individual churches and eventually on all Hong Kong Baptists through the denomination body.

**Conclusion**

When early missionaries decided to leave Hong Kong for mainland China in the mid-nineteenth century, many including some frontline missionaries did not find it a wise decision. Paul Wong in the conclusion of his study of “The History of Baptist Mission in Hong Kong” plainly said that “the termination of the Hong Kong Mission by the American Baptists in 1861 was a tragedy to Hong Kong.”\textsuperscript{383} The early efforts of the pioneer missionaries appeared to have been in vain when they left the territory. However, their departure provided an opportunity for natives to accept and deal with more of the responsibilities needed to continue the mission with only remote supervision and support by missionaries. Gradually, the locals were all on their own without foreign aid. The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of the Hong Kong Baptist Self-governing Church or simply the Hong Kong Baptist Church, which was started and managed solely by natives and remained free from foreign influence. It was a truly indigenous church, characterized by self-government, self-support, and self-propagation. In the absence of foreign missionaries and their financial support, natives became the sole actors on the Hong Kong Baptist scene and carried out the mission singlehandedly. They built a strong congregation with many functional departments and ministries. The church had an extensive outreach program both within and outside the colony.

\textsuperscript{381} Ibid. By the 1950s, the Association had either opened or taken over work already started in nineteen different places.

\textsuperscript{382} There were many examples that the Hong Kong-Macau Mission of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention required all funding to Hong Kong Baptists, whether for churches or institutions, to be channeled through the Hong Kong Baptist Association. See “Executive Committee Meeting (March 2, 1962),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission of Southern Baptist Convention, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 48.

\textsuperscript{383} Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 291.
One distinctive characteristic during the period was the emergence of lay leaders. There had been mainly foreign missionaries and paid native workers responsible for the mission work during the nineteenth century. Since the turn of the century, lay leaders began to appear and play an important role in developing the denomination, especially when most members were of low income and there was no foreign aid. Their financial contributions and business derived management skills helped the rapid expansion of Baptist ministries. Lam emerged and began his contributions to Hong Kong Baptists during this period. His educational training and knowledge in English were useful in his service. As the early leaders set a model for Lam, he also encouraged others to follow his footsteps and began a long tradition of lay leaders serving actively in Hong Kong Baptist life.

Lam’s impact on Hong Kong Baptists during the period was most visible in Baptist schools, Swatow Baptist work, and the denomination body. Education had always been a key ministry for Baptists in Hong Kong. Early missionaries in the nineteenth century took it as a means to reach out to people. Locals in the twentieth century continued to use church schools as important platforms to evangelize, and as training grounds for future leaders and church workers. Lam’s first notable involvement in Baptist life was in education. He helped to start the three Baptist schools in Hong Kong – Pui Ching, Pooi To, and Henrietta School. They flourished to become important Baptist schools in the second half of the century. Swatow Baptists reappeared on the scene in 1937 after disappearing for almost half a century. Lam helped in their establishment in Hong Kong and recruited them into the denomination body. They became a strong force for Hong Kong Baptists, as they were fervent in mission work and church planting. By 1950 they constituted one fifth of the entire Baptist population in Hong Kong. A milestone of Hong Kong Baptists during the period was the formation of the denomination body – the Hong Kong Baptist Association. It was established initially to facilitate fellowship of members of all Baptist churches and unite the strength of all Baptists for mission and benevolence work. Soon after Lam became the president of the Association, it extended its ministries to include opening new churches and institutions, and eventually became the sole agent of all Hong Kong Baptists within the denomination body for matters dealing with foreign mission bodies and the government.

The formative years of Lam as a leader coincide with a period of Hong Kong Baptist’s rapid development. Lam came to the scene of the Hong Kong Baptists, fulfilled his vision through the ministries, and began to show his leadership and significance during the first half of the twentieth century. His influence continued in the second half of the century. We will see in the following chapters that, among Lam’s many contributions, the one that had the most impact
upon the life of Hong Kong Baptists was his solicitation of missionary support, in particular the Southern Baptists, and his collaboration with the Hong Kong government, in particular Governor Alexander Grantham, to develop Hong Kong Baptist ministries.
Chapter 4: Lam’s Role in Seeking Mission Support to Meet the Changing Needs of Hong Kong (1950-1970)

Introduction

1950 was the watershed year in the history of Hong Kong churches. Prior to that, churches were mainly on their own without foreign aid, as most mission bodies had their resources in mainland China, which was considered as the widest and most important field for Christian missions in the world. Before 1950, and since it had been ceded to the United Kingdom (UK) about a hundred years before, Hong Kong had been relatively stable under British rule and was mostly at peace with the Chinese government. Since the mid-twentieth century after the Communists took over in China, a new political situation appeared. There was a general fear that Hong Kong would soon be invaded and taken over. The concern was not that of the British government alone, but more so of the Americans, and also of overseas church mission groups, including Baptists in the United States.

Despite the political uncertainty of the colony’s future, large numbers of refugees fled China for Hong Kong due to the fear of Communism. The colony’s population thus increased. Unlike before, these refugees came to stay and were not going to leave. As a result, the mission field for churches suddenly became vast. While most missionary agencies were reluctant to put their resources in the colony, Hong Kong Baptists faced the question of whether to continue acting alone as they had been doing for the past half a century, or to seek foreign aid to carry out the mission. Lam Chi-fung, as the denomination leader, was seen to be playing a crucial role in inviting foreign missionaries, in particular Southern Baptists, to carry out Baptist mission work in Hong Kong. This chapter examines how Lam responded to the changing context of the British colony after 1950, and the way he responded to the needs that emerged from the influx of immigrants by inviting and persuading foreign missionaries to assist Hong Kong Baptists.

384 Ying Fuk-tsang says that 1949 was the water-parting line of Hong Kong churches as it was the year China turned to Communism. See Ying Fuk-tsang, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2004), 1. However, the author believes the actual impact on Hong Kong churches did not appear until 1950 as missionaries in China were forced to leave only after 1950 and the Hong Kong border control was enforced only in and after 1950.

Changing Political Context

During the first one hundred years of British rule, relations between Hong Kong and China were generally peaceful and not unfriendly. Chinese people were free to move between the two places. Just as Alexander Grantham, the then Governor of Hong Kong, described: “In pre-communist days the relationship between the Chinese and the Hong Kong authorities was, generally speaking, that of normal friendly states.” 386 Similarly, General Francis Festing, Commander of British Forces in Hong Kong, claimed during a press interview with the Canton Daily Sun in May 1946, the Sino-British relation was reasonably cordial and largely complementary. 387 However, the situation had a drastic change shortly after the Communist takeover of China in 1949. There was a general fear that Hong Kong would soon be taken over.

The British government took a series of actions in early 1949, while the People’s Liberation Army was crossing the Yangtze River (also known as Changjiang today) to the southern provinces. Worried that the Communist army might march to Hong Kong, in May 1949, the British government announced an increase in the reinforcement of the British garrison in Hong Kong. 388 A month later in June, A.V. Alexander, British Defense Minister of the UK, visited the colony to evaluate the situation. 389 Before Alexander departed for Hong Kong, a ministerial meeting was held in Britain to discuss measures of defending the territory. Sensitive issues such as “immigration control, registration of the population, compulsory military service and many of the elementary security measures” were raised in the meeting. 390

As a British crown colony, Hong Kong was ruled by the governor appointed by the British government. In addition to this role, the governor also acted as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. This entitled him to the right of allegiance, aid, and assistance of all military and air force officers in the colony. 391 In other words, the governor who was the Queen’s representative in the colony had the final say and deciding authority in colonial matters. 392 However, fearing that

386 Alexander Grantham, *Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965; reprint 2012), 149. Grantham was the Hong Kong Governor between July 25, 1947 and December 31, 1957.
387 Roger Buckley, *Hong Kong: The Road to 1997* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 38. Festing was the Commander of British Forces in Hong Kong between 1945 and 1946, and in 1949.
389 Lee, *Governing Hong Kong: Insights from the British Declassified Files*, 32. Alexander was in Hong Kong between June 6 and 9, 1949.
390 Ibid., 32-33.
the People’s Liberation Army would soon march over the border, a new post of General Officer Commanding-in-chief, Hong Kong (later altered to Commander of British Forces) was created. To ensure an effective decision could be made in time of urgency, the British Defense Minister at the end of the ministerial meeting, decreed the Commander of British Forces in Hong Kong to have authority over the governor when there was difference in opinion for matters related to the defense of the Territory.

After Alexander’s visit to Hong Kong, he submitted a report on June 16, 1949, to the UK Prime Minister suggesting a number of measures, including: recruitment of locals into the Hong Kong Volunteer Defense Force; increase of the number of British police officers in Hong Kong; monitoring the fuel reserve for the Royal Air Force and Royal Navy; appointment of suitable consultants to develop trade with countries other than China; and plan for an alternative fresh water supply. Alexander’s suggestions showed the underlying fear of a Communist invasion of Hong Kong. There were also other immediate measures carried out such as the construction of air-raid shelters, blast walls for vital buildings, an air-raid warning system, and the stock piling of essential supplies. While backup plans were also made for emergency evacuation of British subjects to Australia, the Communist army stopped advancing at the Shenzhen-Hong Kong border. Despite all these suggestions, Alexander Grantham did not think China had plans to invade Hong Kong. Even if they had, he believed that “the powerful U.S. Seventh Fleet and the large U.S. Air Forces presence in Taiwan (Formosa), Clark Field in the Philippines, and Okinawa (…) would come to Hong Kong’s aid (…) to resist the advance of the Chinese Communists in South East Asia.”

As much as the U.S. hoped to stop further expansion of Communism, the British also hoped they would not lose her colony. In order to demonstrate Britain’s determination to keep Hong Kong, Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, requested of the British Prime Minister that the existing jet squadron not be

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393 Grantham, Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong, 141-142.
394 Lee, Governing Hong Kong: Insights from the British Declassified Files, 33. The whole arrangement of reducing the governor’s power almost caused Alexander Grantham’s resignation from the position of Hong Kong Governor. See ibid., 19-20.
395 Ibid., 32-35. Fearing that the Chinese authority might stop supplying fresh water to Hong Kong, Hong Kong government planned in the 1960s and built in the 1970s Lok On Pai Desalination Plant, the world’s largest desalination plant at that time. Commissioned in 1975, it was capable of producing 181,800 cubic meters of fresh water a day. See Lok On Pai Desalting Plant (Hong Kong: Water Supplies Department, 1978). The plant was never in actual operation and was taken down in 1991, to provide temporary equipment staging space for constructing the new Chek Lap Kok airport.
396 Grantham, Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong, 147.
398 Grantham, Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong, 171.
withdrawn from Hong Kong unless “an R.A.F. SEATO jet squadron from Malaya was based on Hong Kong” and “the armored regiment should remain.”

The reasons for the British taking Hong Kong in the first place in the Treaty of Nanking were its natural deep water harbor for British trade vessels, and its proximity to Canton which was, before the Opium War, the only city opened to foreign trade. Grantham plainly said: “… the fact that Britain acquired, and remains in, Hong Kong [is] for her own purposes – principally trade.” He admonished the British reinforcement in the colony on the importance of protecting Hong Kong, “the superb Oriental shop-window.” Although it was said that the troops in Hong Kong were to demonstrate Britain’s resolve against Communism, the value of Hong Kong to the British was always trade which opened possible access for British goods to be sold in China. Indeed the British were afraid of losing the important show window of her trade products in the Far East. The value of Hong Kong was its strategic location to do business with China.

The fear of Communist China invading Hong Kong was not the concern of the British alone, but also of the Americans. When Alexander Grantham made a six-week tour of the U.S. in 1954, he was frequently asked: “Could the Colony successfully resist a military attack by China?” He felt that “the question was formed in a manner that implied that it could not.” In support of the view, Grantham’s questioners would quote “the capture of the Colony by the Japanese in three weeks.” The Americans were indeed very worried about Hong Kong falling under Communist rule. Grantham believed that during the 1950s, the American consulate-general in Hong Kong had “a larger American staff than any of their consulates anywhere else in the world;” it was “the regional headquarters for many of U.S. agencies in the Far East, such as information.” To the Americans, Hong Kong was a strategic place to stop the expansion of Chinese Communists in South East Asia. Indeed, the overall political atmosphere of the colony was changed in 1950, after one century of British rule.

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399 Alan Lennox-Boyd, “Report to Prime Minister on Defence of Hong Kong (December 27, 1957),” microfilm, Hong Kong Public Record Office, original in the National Archives of UK, Ref.: CO 967/291.
400 Grantham, Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong, 108.
402 Buckley, Hong Kong: The Road to 1997, 40.
403 Ibid.
404 Ibid.
405 Ibid.
406 Ibid., 169.
Increasing Needs Due to Population Surge

Up until 1950, Hong Kong had a fluctuating population. There were no restrictions on Chinese people crossing the border, they could enter and leave the territory as they wished. The population increased whenever there was unrest in Southern China, either due to wars, political turmoil, or natural disasters. The population decreased when trouble in China was over as people left Hong Kong and returned to their homeland. To these people Hong Kong was only a lifeboat during times of adversity. Instead of seeking a long term shelter, they preferred the government to leave them to their own devices. Likewise the flow moved according to the situation in Hong Kong. When Hong Kong was stable, people would come to Hong Kong. Whenever there was trouble in Hong Kong, people would flee Hong Kong to nearby places such as the southern part of China or Macau. There was no concept of permanent residency as no barrier existed at the China-Hong Kong border. The idea to impose restrictions on people coming into the colony was only proposed as late as May 1950. It was made not for political reasons to keep out Communists but because the city was being flooded with refugees.

When the British occupied Hong Kong in 1841, there were only 7,450 people. The population began to increase after the colony stabilized under British rule. The number increased to 12,361 in March 1842, 19,009 in 1844, and 23,872 in 1847. The population continued to increase to 800,000 in the 1930s. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, the population skyrocketed to 1.8 million within a year, as refugees flooded into the territory from China. However, the population had a rapid decline four years later when the Pacific War (World War II) broke out and Hong Kong fell into the hands of the Japanese. Toward the end of the War in 1945, there were only 600,000 people. The population immediately returned to 1.6 million in 1946 after the war ended. At the end of 1947, population estimates exceeded the pre-war peak to reach 1.8 million.

The population did not decrease following the war’s end. As civil war broke out between the Chinese Nationalist Party and the Chinese Communist Party immediately after the Sino-Japanese War, large numbers of refugees from China

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407 Kuan Hsin-chi, “Xianggang Zhengzhi Shehui de Xingcheng [The Formation of Hong Kong Politics],” in Twenty-First Century Review, Number 41 (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, June 1997), 153.
408 Grantham, Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong, 149.
409 Ying, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong, 30. Ying argues that the correct figure should be 5,650 and that the figure of 7,450 provided by the Hong Kong Gazette was incorrect. See “The Hong Kong Gazette,” in Chinese Repository X: 5 (May 1841): 37. In any case, it was a small population at the time when Hong Kong was initially occupied by the British.
410 Ying, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong, 30-31.
411 Ying, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong, 34.
412 Fan Shuh Ching, The Population of Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Department of Statistics, University of Hong Kong, 1974), 2.
continued to flood Hong Kong. Its population increased to 1.86 million by the middle of 1949, it continued to surge by the end of 1949, after the Communists defeated the Nationalists. Within a year by April 1950, it was increased by 400,000 to 2.24 million.\(^{413}\) By 1960, it became 3 million.\(^{414}\) Ten years later in 1970, the population was further increased to 4 million.\(^{415}\) As a result, Hong Kong’s population tripled between 1945 and 1951, and almost doubled between 1950 and 1970.\(^{416}\) The following table shows the population changes in Hong Kong between 1841 and 1970 in ten years increments:

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<th>Population Increase in Ten Years</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>33,100</td>
<td>25,650</td>
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<td>1861</td>
<td>119,300</td>
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<td>1911</td>
<td>366,100</td>
<td>68,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>625,200</td>
<td>259,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>849,800</td>
<td>224,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>1,600,000</td>
<td>750,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>2,015,000</td>
<td>415,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>3,164,000</td>
<td>1,149,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>4,045,000</td>
<td>881,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1) The population figure of 1841 is taken from “The Hong Kong Gazette.”\(^{417}\)
2) The population figures between 1851 and 1971 are taken from “Hong Kong: Historical Demographical Data of the Whole Country.”\(^{418}\)
3) The figures of “Population Increase in Ten Years” are calculated by the author, showing the population increase from the previous ten years.

\(^{413}\) The average population was 2.2 million as some of the refugees pouring into Hong Kong departed for Taiwan, South American, and other distant places. Wong. “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 130. The figure estimated by the Hong Kong Government for the mid-year of 1950 is 2,237,000. See Hong Kong Statistics 1947-1967 (Hong Kong: Census & Statistics Department, 1969), 14.

\(^{414}\) Hong Kong Statistics 1947-1967, 14. The exact figure provided in the statistics in mid-1960 is 3,075,300.

\(^{415}\) The exact figure is 3,959,000. See “Hong Kong: Population Growth of the Whole Country,” http://www.populstat.info/Asia/hongkonc.htm; accessed September 8, 2016.

\(^{416}\) Buckley, Hong Kong: The Road to 1997, 93. Hong Kong population density became one of the highest in the world since 1956. See Beatrice Leung and Chan Shun-hing, Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong, 1950-2000 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003), 24.


As can be seen from the table above, the population of Hong Kong increased by over one million people, more than 50%, within ten years during the 1950s. Unlike the past, the people who arrived during this period, settled and stayed in Hong Kong. Alexander Grantham, governor of Hong Kong at the time, admitted that he had predicted wrongly and thought the people would return to their native villages after China stabilized. The large population increase immediately posed a number of issues in the territory. For the Hong Kong colonial government, the problem of housing, education, medical care, employment, transportation, and social welfare suddenly became acute. For Hong Kong churches, the large influx of refugees and the stability of the colony under British rule provided a vast and favorable mission field to spread their faith. Meanwhile, missionaries were forced to leave mainland China. While mission agents were considering how to adjust their mission strategy and where to assign their missionaries coming out of China; they were hesitant to put their resources in Hong Kong, fearing the British colony would soon be taken over by Communist China.

Attitude of Mission Agents towards the Change

As mentioned, the churches had concerns about Hong Kong’s future. Although most people think and assume that a large number of missionaries and their mission agents moved to Hong Kong immediately after they left China, very few actually ended up in Hong Kong. When the China Inland Mission was forced to leave in the early 1950s, its headquarters was moved to Singapore instead of Hong Kong. Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA), today the second largest Protestant denomination in Hong Kong after the Baptists, had also debated whether to settle in Hong Kong after leaving China. A.C. Snead, the general secretary of Overseas Affair of the C&MA, believed the Communists would soon take over Hong Kong and all Far East mission work had to be closed within five years. It

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419 Grantham, Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong, 155.
420 Ying Fuk-tsang, a prominent Hong Kong church historian, believed that many denominations after leaving China moved their resources to Hong Kong to continue their China vision. See Ying, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong, 82. Princeton Hsu wrote that between 1949 and 1950 many missionaries in China moved to Hong Kong, and Hong Kong became an important mission center of the Southern Baptists. See Princeton Hsu, A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Vol. II: Hong Kong and Macau Area (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1972), 2. Lo Lung-kwong, former president of Divinity of Chung Chi College of Chinese University of Hong Kong, also believed that most foreign missionaries who left China in 1950 went to Hong Kong. See Lo Lung-Kwong, “Social Aspects of Hong Kong Protestant Churches’ Mission 1949-1984,” in The Church History of Hong Kong Seminar: September 22-24, 1993 (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, the University of Hong Kong, 1993), 2.
421 China Inland Mission was founded by Hudson Taylor in 1865. The name was changed to China Inland Mission Overseas Missionary Fellowship after its headquarters was moved to Singapore in November 1951, and was renamed Overseas Missionary Fellowship in 1964.
422 Ying, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong, 89. As a result of C&MA’s worry of Communists taking over Hong Kong soon, they were hesitant to start any ministry in Hong Kong between 1949 and 1950. See
was William Newbern who strongly insisted on continuing C&MA work in Hong Kong. Others also had the same concern; the Lutheran Mission had discussed moving the seminary from Hong Kong to Brunei; the Norwegian Lutheran Mission decided to send their China missionaries to Japan and Ethiopia, Africa; the American Reformed Presbyterian Mission decided to cease supporting ministries in Hong Kong; and the Free Methodist Mission finally turned over their Hong Kong ministry to the Canadian Holiness Movement Church Mission. Indeed many foreign mission groups were pessimistic about the future and did not consider Hong Kong to be a suitable place for long-term development of mission work, or worth their investment.

Baptists, although unwillingly, also had to leave China after laboring there for more than a century. Since Roberts and Shuck moved to Guangzhou from Hong Kong in 1844 and 1845 respectively, and Ashmore and Johnson went to Swatow in 1860, Baptists had always had a large presence in mainland China. Baker Cauthen, secretary of the Orient Mission of Southern Baptists, reported that in April 1948, Southern Baptists alone had 220 missionaries there. Two years later in 1950, a survey showed there were 391 churches and 186 branch churches included in the China Baptist Convention with a total membership of 48,797. Despite their desire to remain in the mission field, it became difficult for foreign missionaries to stay as the situation deteriorated drastically following the Communist takeover of China. When the Southern Baptists held their last Executive Meeting of the South China Mission in James Belote’s house in

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423 Ying, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong, 89. Ying also mentions even the President of C&MA, H.L. Turner, had opposed the idea of moving to Hong Kong as C&MA already lost too many properties in the mainland. William Newbern was assigned to move to Vietnam. He refused to take up the new assignment and insisted on staying in Hong Kong. See Leung, The Centenary History of Alliance Bible Seminary (1899-1999), 166. Newbern was the one who led the move of Alliance Bible Seminary from Wuzhou, Guangxi, China to Cheung Chau, Hong Kong, and was the president of the Cheung Chau seminary from 1949 to 1975.

424 Ying, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong, 90-93. There were more similar cases that foreign mission groups passed their Hong Kong properties to related local church groups and left Hong Kong. One example is Evangelical Missionary Society of Basel which sold the Basel House to Tsung Tsin Mission in Hong Kong in the early 1950s. See Ying, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong, 102.

425 Ying Fuk-tsang, “Continuity and Discontinuity: Christianity in 1950s Hong Kong,” in The 3rd Symposium of the History of Christianity in Modern China: History of Christianity in Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, 2003), 3.

426 “Lingdong Jinhui Qishi Zhounian Jinian Dahui Teken [Ling Tung Baptist Church 70th Anniversary Memorial Meeting Special Issue]” (China: Ling Tung Baptist Church Executive Board, 1932), 4.


428 Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention (1951): 153. The churches were distributed as follows: South China (Leung Kwang District), 151; North China, 86; Interior, 103; Central China, 46; and Frontier, 5.
Tungshan, Canton, on January 9, 1950, only three missionaries were present. Although many hoped to remain at their posts and would not have left unless it was absolutely impossible to stay, the day of their departure from China had come sooner than anticipated. Following China’s participation in the Korean War in 1950, all foreign missionaries were forced to leave. Pearl Johnson was the last of approximately two hundred Southern Baptist missionaries who left at the end of 1951. American Baptists at one time had over one hundred missionaries in China. The last twenty-four missionaries of the American Baptist Mission departed one by one between 1951 and 1952. The last British Baptist missionary, H.W. Spillett, field secretary of the China Mission, left in September 1952, after the property of the British Missionary Society in China was handed over to the provincial synod of the Church of Christ in China, of which the BMS churches were a component part.

After leaving China, only a few of those two hundred Southern Baptist missionaries went to Hong Kong, though three quarters of them indicated their desire to serve in Asian countries. When the South China Mission of the Southern Baptist Convention held their annual meeting in Hong Kong between July 11 and 13, 1950, seventeen missionaries were present. Despite the logical thinking that they “naturally began by seeking opportunities in the Chinese dispersion, where they could continue to serve through the language that they already know and in a familiar Chinese setting,” only seven decided to stay in Hong Kong. Although four more came in 1950, because of furlough and changing assignments, only seven missionaries, four in Macau and three in Hong Kong, were actually on the field in May 1952.

429 The three missionaries were James Belote, Clifford Barratt, and Eugene Hill. The meeting voted that the next Annual Mission Meeting would be held in Hong Kong or Macau because of restrictions of travel in China. See “Minutes of the 1949-1950 Executive Committee South China Meeting (January 9, 1950),” microfilm, the Archive of International Mission Board of Southern Baptist Convention (IMB of SBC), Roll MM17, 17.
431 Cauthen et al., Advance to Bold Mission Thrust, 102.
432 American Baptists also had a large presence in China. There were 117 missionaries in China in 1939. See Elmer A. Fridell, “Behind the Bamboo Curtain in China,” in Missions: An International Baptist Magazine (American Baptist Convention, March 1951): 170.
433 Ibid.: 169.
434 Missionary Herald (1960) (Baptist Missionary Society, June 1960): 92-94. The last BMS missionary left China after their mission had landed there over ninety years before.
436 “Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the South China Mission (July 11-13, 1950),” microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 3.
437 Crawley, Partners Across the Pacific, 97.
438 Cauthen et al., Advance to Bold Mission Thrust, 108. What Princeton Hsu claimed was that between 1949 and 1950 many missionaries arrived in Hong Kong and it became the chief city for Southern Baptist mission. This was not true. See Hsu, A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 2. What Ying Fuk-tsang says was that
had only one missionary assigned to the British colony. The Baptists were hesitant to put their resources in Hong Kong, despite their having been the first missionaries beginning their work there. The situation in Taiwan was similar. At the end of 1949, Southern Baptists had only two missionaries in Taiwan. The annual report of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1951 said: “At this writing we have six missionaries on the island, and if the Communists do not invade [Taiwan] we will likely have others there soon.” Nevertheless, under the circumstances, Southern Baptists were reluctant to send people to Hong Kong or Taiwan.

Where had all the missionaries gone? In Baker Cauthen’s letter to Southern Baptist missionaries in the Orient on March 30, 1950, he wrote that there were great needs, also opportunities, for missionaries to work in Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaya, Siam, and India. The Annual of the Southern Baptists 1952, reported: “Former China missionaries are now located in the Philippines, Malaya, Thailand, Formosa, Korea, Hawaii and Indonesia. Some are taking furlough until the way opens into Indo-China and India.” Former missionaries who had served in China were everywhere in Asia except Hong Kong. Even Taiwan, also known as Formosa, was mentioned in the report, but not Hong Kong. The place had once been the bridgehead of the Baptist mission to the Chinese and had later served as Southern Baptist headquarters for the Orient when the office could not function effectively in Shanghai. Due to their worries concerning the future of Hong Kong, only a few missionaries eventually were stationed there. The headquarters for Southern Baptist work was moved to Tokyo, Japan in June 1951.

Since numerous mission-owned properties in the mainland had been confiscated by the Communists, one could understand why the Baptist Mission was reluctant to invest resources in Hong Kong. Southern Baptists did not want to risk the repetition of the grave experience in Hong Kong. While missionaries were leaving the mainland and some requested to go to Hong Kong, Baker Cauthen warned Lucy Smith, one of the missionaries who also desired to go to Hong Kong in early 1951, saying:

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Southern Baptists already had large scale mission work in Hong Kong in the early 1950s. This is also incorrect. See Ying, *Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong*, 97.

Edna D. Smith was the only missionary assigned to Hong Kong after leaving China in the early 1950s. See Katherine L. Read, “Advance Planned For Thailand, Hong Kong,” in *Missions: An International Baptist Magazine* (American Baptist Convention, December, 1953): 59.

Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention (1950): 142. Taiwan was also known as Formosa.

Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention (1951): 150.

Baker Cauthen, Letter to Missionaries (March 30, 1950), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.


Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention (1951): 150.

Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention (1952): 156.

The outlook for Hongkong and Macao is not bright. We had the Consul General for dinner on Monday evening and he still feels that it is not wise to have a large group of people here. (...) General Chenuault has given his opinion as being that the Communists could take Hongkong in two weeks. I dare say his opinion is well worth considering.\footnote{Baker Cauthen, Letter to Lucy E. Smith (March 2, 1951), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 885AR.}

Although Baker Cauthen did not anticipate a real threat from Chinese Communism for Hong Kong, he issued guidelines of what to do in case of any crisis such as war in Hong Kong area. In his letter to James Belote in March 1953, he said:

If it were necessary, for instance, for missionaries to leave, (...) they would come back to America or go to the Philippines or to Siam or to Japan. (...) With regard to funds for plane or ship tickets for missionaries, there would be no problem whatever. You have a New York account, and you could cable us of the amount of your checks being written and fund would be deposited to cover these withdrawals.\footnote{Baker Cauthen, Letter to James Belote (March 24, 1953), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.}

The concerns lingered on. As late as September 1962, Crawley’s report to the FMB stated that “the threat of invasion and relatively quick and easy take-over by Communist armies across the Chinese border only a few miles away” were still present and the situation “would certainly lead one to raise many questions about the colony’s future.”\footnote{Winston Crawley, “Report of Secretary of the Orient (September 1962),” microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 826AR.} Most mission bodies, in particular the Baptists in the United States, indeed lacked confidence in the long term stability of Hong Kong. Only a small number of missionaries settled in Hong Kong after leaving China. As can be seen in Cauthen’s letter to Southern Baptist missionaries in early 1950, he hoped “that the way may soon be open for missionaries to return to China and the readiness of the Board to support their return as the Lord leads.”\footnote{Baker Cauthen, Letter to Missionaries (March 30, 1950), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.} To Cauthen, Hong Kong only served as a base “to keep in much closer touch with possibilities for developing mission work in the Philippines, Indonesia, Siam, and India, and do everything possible for the work in China.”\footnote{Baker Cauthen, Letter to Missionaries (September 14, 1950), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.} Southern Baptists did not see Hong Kong itself as a mission field, and thus were not prepared to allocate large mission resources there.

The challenge facing the Hong Kong Baptists was that the harvest was plentiful while the workers were few. Meeting the spiritual need of the vast populace demanded more workers. Hong Kong Baptists were in a dilemma of whether to continue the mission by acting alone without foreign aid or seek help from and partner with foreign mission bodies. If they should collaborate with missionaries, how could they go about alleviating the Communist phobia that was
a deterrent? What steps could they take to convince a foreign mission body to put resources in Hong Kong? Who was able to do these two difficult things? Lam Chi-fung was one of the key persons who responded to the challenge. He initiated an invitation to foreign missionaries to come to Hong Kong, solicited their support, befriended and collaborated with them to meet the need for finances and missionaries.

**Lam’s Way of Responding to the Change**

In view of the opportunity of reaching out to the large population in Hong Kong during the post-war period and being aware of the limited resources of local Baptists, Lam took the initiative to seek help from foreign mission groups as the leader of Hong Kong Baptists. While some might applaud his effort in this regard, this bold move however triggered opposition. When missionaries were forced to leave China, Lam grasped the opportunity to absorb them. He believed these missionaries could help not only to provide useful and necessary resources, but also get more people and money from their home churches for Hong Kong ministries after arriving and understanding the need there. Lam’s method of seeking help can be noted in three distinctive ways: initiating the return of missionaries to Hong Kong, making overseas trips to solicit support from wider Baptist circles, and building friendships with missionaries and foreign visitors to foster collaboration in Baptist ministries.

**Initiating the Invitation of Missionaries**

Lam initiated the invitation of foreign missionaries to come to Hong Kong. Due to China’s support of North Korea during the Korean War, and her opposition to the U.S. who supported South Korea, all missionaries had to leave China. Ronald Fuller said in his Report to the First Orient Missions Conference that when missionaries stopped off in Hong Kong after departure from China, they “began not knowing where [they] were going or how long [they] were going to stay.” Lam took hold of the opportunity to ask “the Foreign Mission Board [of the Southern Baptists] to send as many of these missionaries as possible to Hong Kong, where their knowledge of China and their experience would be of greater benefit than if they returned home.”

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453 Ronald Fuller, Report from Hong Kong in the First Orient Missions Conference (July 30, 1957), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 390AR.
Direct Request for Missionaries

When James Belote passed by Hong Kong after leaving Canton in February 1950, and was considering either going to Singapore or remaining in Hong Kong, it was reported: “Some of the Chinese brethren are hoping he may remain in Hong Kong.” Lam wrote to Southern Baptist Convention at once to request that Belote be allowed to stay. Since the time when Baptist missionaries left a century before, Belote was among the first Southern Baptist missionaries who arrived in Hong Kong. Lam also invited missionaries passing by Hong Kong to stay. When Ruth Pettigrew was given a new assignment to work in Taiwan after leaving the South China Mission and was en route from the U.S. via Hong Kong to Taiwan, she, “in response to the request of friends in Hong Kong,” sought Baker Cauthen’s permission for her to remain there. Shortly after Southern Baptists began to settle in Hong Kong, Lam wrote Baker Cauthen in July 1952 with a request for more missionaries, including the Crawleys, the Rankins and others, to be sent to Hong Kong.

Through Missionaries in Hong Kong

Lam also made his requests for more people through those missionaries who were in the territory. Soon after Belote arrived in August 1952, Lam approached him for his help to ask the Foreign Mission Board (FMB) of the Southern Baptists for more missionaries. Knowing that the Mission Board was deciding whether to send Auris Pender to Malaya or Hong Kong, Lam immediately asked Belote to launch a request to the FMB for her to teach at Pui Ching Middle School. Cauthen later said if she did not have a teaching schedule, she would prefer to go to Malaya as there was a great need of reinforcements in Malaya.

When missionaries arrived in Hong Kong and saw the need there, they often assisted in getting support from their mission board. Jaxie Short asked the FMB for funds for evangelistic work among students in Pooi To Girls’ School. After knowing Hong Kong Baptists had to pay a “prohibitivc cost” for renting the St. Stephen’s School buildings for a summer conference, Belote helped to request

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455 Baker Cauthen, Letter to Theron Rankin (February 1, 1950), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 885AR.
456 Hong Kong Baptist Association 20th Anniversary Commemoration 1938-1958 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Association, 1958), 5-6. It was also reported that Lam welcomed the arrival of Lila Watson, Margie Shumate and Baker Cauthen to assist in churches.
457 Baker Cauthen, Letter to Ruth Pettigrew (November 19, 1952), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR. Her request was granted. See Baker Cauthen, Letter to James Belote (January 12, 1953), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
458 Baker Cauthen, Letter to Mary Alexander (July 17, 1952), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
459 James Belote, Letter to Baker Cauthen (September 25, 1952), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
460 Baker Cauthen, Letter to James Belote (October 1, 1952), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
461 Baker Cauthen, Letter to Jaxie Short (November 18, 1952), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
funds from the FMB for a Hong Kong Baptist Assembly ground. While serving Baptist Press enthusiastically in Hong Kong, Mary Alexander probably did not notice that she was creating more demand for missionary help, and had to ask Cauthen to consider sending people such as Winston Crawley, Mary Lucile Saunders, Virginia Mathis, and Lila Watson to assist. In Belote’s letter to Cauthen, he plainly said: “We know, and you know, that there is a tremendous amount of work to be done here and wonderful opportunities for service along many lines.” Missionaries in Hong Kong were helping Lam to ask for more resources.

Through the Hong Kong-Macau Mission

As missionaries began to settle in Hong Kong, a number of projects such as a seminary were started. As the person who initiated most of the projects, Lam quickly saw the need for more resources to support them and sought help through the Hong Kong-Macau Mission (HKMM, or the Mission). The HKMM also saw the urgent need for more missionaries to meet the expanding program of Hong Kong Baptists. The Mission, upon “the request of the Hong Kong Baptist Seminary” and because of their “feeling as to the need,” asked the FMB to send Dr. and Mrs. Maurice Anderson to Hong Kong. “In view of the letter received from the Hong Kong Baptist Association inviting Ruth Pettigrew to work in Hong Kong,” the Mission wrote to the FMB to transfer her from Formosa to Hong Kong. The HKMM was seen constantly asking the FMB to send in support upon the request of Hong Kong Baptists. In the beginning of 1956, the Mission requested the appointment of thirteen additional missionaries to reinforce the twenty-two under appointment, saying:

The missionaries are carrying on a seminary of high academic level, a publishing house providing Chinese Christian literature for almost a dozen countries, and evangelistic work in four or five languages and dialects, besides working with an association of Baptist churches in an expending evangelistic program, the projecting of a clinic, relief work, and three Baptist schools totaling over five thousand students.

462 James Belote, Letter to James Cauthen (July 25, 1953), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
463 Mary Alexander, Letter to James Cauthen (April 28, 1953), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
464 James Belote, Letter to James Cauthen (June 1, 1953), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
465 The Hong Kong-Macau Mission was formed under the Foreign Mission Board of Southern Baptist Convention on May 23, 1952 for handling mission affairs in Hong Kong and Macau.
466 “Special Called Session (October 28, 1952).” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Baptist Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17.
467 Ibid.
468 Attachment to the minutes of Special Called Meeting of Hong Kong-Macau Mission (February 21, 1956), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17.
Missionaries were required for all fronts of this mission work. Apart from requesting more missionaries to be sent to help in churches and in direct evangelism, Lam also asked for missionary educators. As Lam had a great interest in education and was a firm believer in evangelism through education, he was seen to be the key driving force behind Baptist schools in Hong Kong.

In 1955, when Lam was in the midst of planning for the opening of Hong Kong Baptist College, he wrote to Crawley to ask for “missionary educators to help in administration and teaching.”\(^{469}\) To persuade Crawley of the urgent need for a Christian university in Hong Kong, Lam warned of the risk of Hong Kong young people becoming interested in Communism and said: “We have been watching hundreds of high school graduates [from Hong Kong] go into Communist China merely because of their longings for college educations [sic].”\(^ {470}\) As the College continued to expand, Lam, in 1966, wrote to Maurice Anderson, Chairman of the HKMM, for more missionary personnel and educators, including “a person with a PhD degree in English, or a M.A. degree and administrative experience, to help as head of the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature,” and “a person with a higher degree who is qualified to teach modern mathematics.”\(^ {471}\) In May 1970, he wrote to Rev. Richard Lusk, Chairman of HKMM, with a request for “more journeymen and missionary personnel to teach and serve at the various departments of the College” in areas including history, civil engineering, accounting communication, social work, and admission and registrar’s office.\(^ {472}\)

Lam never stopped asking for more missionaries. At the Special Called Session of the HKMM meeting held on October 28, 1952, the Mission, in reaction to “the letter received from the Hong Kong Baptist Association inviting (…) [missionaries] to work in Hong Kong” and “in view of the great amount of work in Hong Kong,” voted to request the FMB to send more missionaries.\(^ {473}\) Apart from the need of the College, Lam also sought help from Maurice J. Anderson “to request the FMB to send more professors with Th. D. degrees to teach at Hong Kong Baptist Theology Seminary in order to raise the academic standard of the Seminary.”\(^ {474}\) Lam asked for missionaries, educators, administrators, and teachers

\(^{470}\) Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Winston Crawley (February 21, 1955), in Daniel Tse Collection Inventory in Special Collections and Archives of Hong Kong Baptist University (DTCI of HKBU), Box 1, Folder 2.
\(^{471}\) Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Maurice Anderson, Chairman of Hong Kong Macao Baptist Mission, (June 14, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 4, Folder 1.
\(^{472}\) Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Rev. Dick Lusk, Chairman of Hong Kong Macao Baptist Mission, (May 30, 1970), DTCI of HKBU, Box 4, Folder 1.
\(^{473}\) “Special Called Session (October 28, 1952),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17.
\(^{474}\) Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Maurice J. Anderson, Chairman of Hong Kong Macao Baptist Mission, (May 16, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 4, Folder 1.
from virtually all areas. The HKMM was probably kept busy meeting Lam’s call for more missionaries.

While Lam continued to ask for more missionary personnel to be sent to Hong Kong, Richard Lusk responded in June 1970 that the FMB was considering setting up “a joint committee to deal with personnel requests for missionary help for Hong Kong Baptist Association related work and with the assignment and orientation of missionary personnel on the field and report back to the Mission.”

The HKMM which was formed under the FMB in 1952 by a group of Southern Baptist missionaries to do mission work in Hong Kong and Macau was supposed to be responsible for the work that Lusk described. However, as the number of missionaries kept on increasing, it was beyond the ability of the Mission to handle all the work. Moreover, the newly proposed committee was obviously meant to get locals involved in assignments of missionaries. Lam’s relentless effort to ask for more missionaries obviously received positive responses.

Inviting Help from American Baptists

Lam’s invitation for more missionaries was not confined to Southern Baptists, but also included American Baptists. In 1951, Kowloon City Swatow Baptist Church was in need of funds to build a permanent church. Lam, as chairman of the church deacon board, suggested seeking help from Southern Baptists. In order to get financial support, Lam “personally attested to the Southern Baptist Mission that the church had no connection with the American Baptist Mission nor was it under the control of the latter.” With the aid of Southern Baptist Mission, the church building was eventually completed in 1953. Lam knew that Swatow Baptists had long been related to American Baptists in both Hong Kong and mainland China, and was aware that Southern Baptists and American Baptists seldom worked alongside each other in Hong Kong after they split in 1845. However, as the need of Hong Kong Baptists continued to increase, Lam also invited support from the American Baptists despite the fact that they were not enthusiastic about being involved in work that Southern Baptists had partaken. Lam requested Russell Brown, Administrative Secretary of American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS), to send representatives of their missionaries to sit in as observers in the meetings of the Hong Kong Baptist Association. It could be seen from Brown’s reply that he was excited about Lam’s invitation and was grateful for Lam’s offer, and believed such a relationship would “provide a very helpful new pattern for

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475 Richard Lusk, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (June 24, 1970), DTCI of HKBU, Box 4, Folder 1.
478 Ibid.
479 Russell E. Brown, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (July 15, 1960), microfilm, DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 1.
communication and understanding.” Lam also wrote to Edward Willingham, general secretary of the ABFMS, to request support both in the way of “personnel to be assigned to the College, and some financial assistance towards the operating, scholarship and building budgets.”

Lam succeeded in soliciting help from American Baptists. When American Baptists began their work in Hong Kong after departing China, they planned to “maintain only a small staff whose main responsibility would be for relief work and assistance to the Swatow-speaking churches and leaders, as a continuation of the work [they] had carried on in Swatow.” So there was no plan for the ABFMS to put large resources in Hong Kong. Moreover, they had already been involved in Chung Chi College and it was their policy to relate to only one higher education institution in a particular area. However, Lam received positive response to his request. Marlin D. Farnum, Secretary for Overseas of ABFMS, replied to Lam’s invitation, saying:

…because of our close relationships in the Baptist Association and our interest in the total Baptist program of the College, we were very happy that Rev. Hugh W. Smith was able to give some time for teaching at Pui Ching. (…) Mrs. Loren E. Noren has accepted invitation to render some part-time service at the Hong Kong Baptist College.

Despite Hong Kong Baptists being seen as closely related to Southern Baptists, Lam succeeded in inviting American Baptists to render assistance. Although in a much smaller scale compared to Southern Baptists, donations as well as missionary personnel were provided by American Baptists. The ABFMS was seen working closely with Hong Kong Baptists alongside Southern Baptists.

As a result of Lam’s tenacious and persistent invitations for missionaries, the message that he rendered to foreign partners was very clear, just as Cauthen told Belote in his letter on May 19, 1953: “Hong Kong is requesting missionaries.” We will see how this “requesting” created tensions among Hong Kong Baptists in the following chapter.

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480 Ibid.
482 Marlin E. Farnum, Secretary for Overseas of American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (February 27, 1962), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 1. The letter was about Farnum’s reply to Lam’s request for ABFMS’s participation in the program of Hong Kong Baptist College. See also Read, “Advance Planned For Thailand, Hong Kong,” in Missions: 59.
483 Ibid.
484 There were a number of donations to Hong Kong Baptists from ABFMS, including US$10,000 from the American Baptist Mission to Hong Kong Baptist College in 1974. See Daniel Tse, Letter to Rev. Hugh W. Smith, Secretary of American Baptist Mission, (February 25, 1974), DTCI of HKBU, Box 4, Folder 5.
485 Baker Cauthen, Letter to James Belote (May 19, 1953), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
Making Overseas Trips to Solicit Foreign Support

To ensure his voice was heeded and the invitation for missionary support was effective, Lam made a number of overseas trips to Europe and America.487 As early as 1950, it had been planned for Lam and his second son, David, to attend the Eighth Baptist World Congress held in Cleveland, Ohio.488 The trip never occurred, likely due to Lam’s health concerns.489 Among his many overseas trips, the most important ones were to attend the three Baptist World Congresses held in three different continents in 1955, 1960 and 1965.

London Baptist World Congress in 1955

Lam made his first trip to Europe in 1955, to attend the Ninth Baptist World Congress held in London. He was the first Hong Kong Chinese ever present in the congress. During the congress, Lam was elected Vice-President of the Baptist World Alliance, the first Hong Kong Chinese elected to the position. In his report to the congress about Hong Kong Baptist work, Lam stressed the importance of the presence of Baptist missionaries. Lam told the congress that not a single Baptist missionary was assigned to Hong Kong before 1949, “there were only four self-supporting churches with about 4,000 members.”490 A new situation appeared after the return of Baptist missionaries. By 1955, the number of Baptists had doubled the original figure and the original four churches were increased to twelve churches plus another fourteen chapels.491 Taking the opportunity, Lam also shared the need of a Baptist university in Hong Kong, and said:

There are three Baptist high schools with a total of 6,000 students. (...) Each year over 3,000 high school graduates are faced with a hard problem, the problem of their higher education. (...) The University of Hong Kong admits mostly students from English high schools. Universities in Formosa have only limited capacity for them. Many could not go to foreign countries due to financial reasons.492

487 Lam had made four trips to Europe and the U.S. in total. Apart from his three trips to attend Baptist World Congress in 1955, 1960 and 1965, he also visited the U.S. in 1968 for eye operation.
488 *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly*, Volume 5, Issue 4 (April 15, 1950), (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Association):
10. Lam’s youngest son, Tim, thought Lam and David had made the trip. See Lam, *Lam Family Tree*, 17. See also *Hong Kong Baptist Association 20th Anniversary Commemoration 1938-1958*, 6. It tells a delegation of six people including Lam and his son David was going to attend the Baptist World Congress.
489 Lam’s second son, David, while studying in the U.S., received a letter from his father in the summer of 1950, saying that he was not well and wanted him back in Hong Kong. See Roy, *David Lam: A Biography*, 55.
490 Lam Chi-fung was elected a Vice-President of World Baptist Alliance for the term 1955-60. See *Ninth World Congress-Golden Jubilee Congress* (Baptist World Alliance, Official Report, July 16-22, 1955), 173, 321. Lam appeared to have understated the number of Baptists in Hong Kong as it should be over 5,000 in 1950. He reported a smaller figure before 1949 probably as a fundraising method to stress that “the number of Baptists in Hong Kong has doubled the original figure of 4,000” since many Baptist missionaries came.
491 Ibid., 173.
492 Ibid., 174.
Lam further said although many universities in mainland China would accept high school graduates from Hong Kong, there were a great number of those who might want to stay.\textsuperscript{493} Obviously there was a concern about studying in China: the risk of young people turning to Communism. Joel Sorenson, youth secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, raised the same concern during his trip to Hong Kong in 1955 and said: “What can the students do? Some of them go to Red China, where the opportunities to study are good. And many of those who go become Communists.”\textsuperscript{494} Being aware that most Baptists in the western world had the same concern, Lam raised the challenge to the congress: “The answer lies in our ability to give them the right kind of Christian education in Hong Kong.”\textsuperscript{495}

Lam also made use of the opportunity to bring Hong Kong Baptists to the world’s attention. In the conclusion of his report, Lam requested Baptist leaders from all over the world to visit the British colony apart from asking them to remember the need for a Baptist university in Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{496} While in London, Lam had an opportunity to meet with different people who might render support to Hong Kong Baptists. He invited Cauthen out for dinner, shared with him the needs, particularly regarding funds for Pui Ching and Pooi To schools, as well as the Baptist College which was at that time in the planning stage.\textsuperscript{497} After the London Congress, Lam made an extensive trip to Europe and North America, visiting seventeen countries and making forty two flights. While in the U.S., he visited Cauthen in Richmond, Virginia to seek his help for Baptist schools in Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{498} Lam became the ambassador of Hong Kong Baptists, bringing the attention of Baptists from all over the world to the needs in Hong Kong.

Prior to Lam’s visit to the Congress, Hong Kong Baptists were considered part of the South China Region of the Southern Baptist Mission and were little known to the West. They were often busy carrying out their mission by themselves and did not have many contacts with the wider Baptist world. However, the situation changed once Lam made Hong Kong Baptists known to the western world. Under Lam’s leadership, Hong Kong Baptist Association joined as a member of the Baptist World Alliance in 1955.\textsuperscript{499} Lam also succeeded in persuading the organization to hold the Asian Baptist Youth Conference in 1956 in Hong Kong. The venue was Pui Ching Middle School of which Lam was the principal for many years following his return from Macau after World War II.

\begin{itemize}
\item[Ibid.]
\item[\textit{Missionary Herald} (1955): 55.]
\item[\textit{Ninth World Congress-Golden Jubilee Congress}, 173-174.]
\item[Ibid., 174.]
\item[Baker Cauthen, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (September 19, 1955), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.]
\item[Baker Cauthen, Letter to James Belote (September 20, 1955), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.]
\item[Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 294.]
\end{itemize}
conference was attended by 150 delegates representing the two million Baptists from all over Asia. Dr. T. F. Adams, Baptist World Alliance president, traveled all the way from the U.S. to attend the event.\textsuperscript{500} A year later in 1957, the Baptist Far East Convention was also held in Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{501} With regard to the reason for attending the Baptist World Congress in London, Lam told the Pui Ching students that he would want “to let people in Europe and America know more about Hong Kong churches.”\textsuperscript{502} Lam had obviously achieved his goal. When it was established in 1956, Hong Kong Baptist College received assistance from different Baptist groups, including Southern Baptists, American Baptists, Conservative Baptists, and Australian Baptists.

**Brazil Baptist World Congress in 1960**

Lam’s second trip was in 1960, when he attended the Tenth Baptist World Congress in Rio de Janeiro. He was again elected vice-president of the Baptist World Alliance and delivered an opening address to the Congress.\textsuperscript{503} In his speech about the Baptist work in Hong Kong, he reported on the growth of Hong Kong Baptists. During the five years between congresses, the number of Baptists had increased from 8,000 in 1955 to over 12,500 in 1960, and the number of churches and chapels increased from twenty six to forty one.\textsuperscript{504} With excitement he said:

> The development of the Baptist Church in Hong Kong is really miraculous. (...) Chinese pastors now working in Hong Kong number 39 while missionaries of the Southern and Northern Baptist Conventions number more than 30. I am very happy to say that all these Chinese and American fellow-workers have cooperated very well in God’s work so that great achievements have been made in all directions.\textsuperscript{505}

Believing his foreign co-workers would be willing to give more when seeing evidence of life and vigor within the expansion in the program in Hong Kong, Lam once again stressed the importance of having missionary support in the colony and the successful collaboration between Hong Kong Baptists and foreign missionaries. Meanwhile, Lam was concerned about theological education in Hong Kong. In response to the needs from over ten million overseas Chinese, he said: “Hong Kong Baptist Association and the Southern Baptist Convention have, therefore, jointly established a Baptist Theological Seminary in Hong Kong to train dedicated

\textsuperscript{500} Lam Chi-fung, “Speech at the 1960 Rio Congress of Baptist World Alliance,” DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 3. See also *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention* (1957): 166-167.
\textsuperscript{501} *Hong Kong Baptist Churches Association Annual 1958* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Convention, 1958): 8.
\textsuperscript{502} Lam Chi-fung, Speech at the Farewell Party of Pui Ching Middle School Alumni (May 4, 1955), DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 8.
\textsuperscript{504} Lam, “Speech at the 1960 Rio Congress of Baptist World Alliance,” DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 3.
\textsuperscript{505} Ibid.
young people.” With regard to education, he mentioned that out of the seven thousand students in the three Baptist secondary schools in Hong Kong, there were nearly one thousand students who accepted the Christian faith every year. By pinpointing the figures to the Congress, Lam proved the impact as well as the effectiveness of evangelism through education. Lam further dove in the depths of education ministry and requested Baptists from all over the world to remember Hong Kong Baptist College in prayers and to support its need for HK$3.5 million for the first stage building fund. Hong Kong Baptist College at that moment was desperately in need of financial support for the construction of its school building.

**Miami Baptist World Congress in 1965**

Lam’s third trip was in 1965. He attended the Baptist World Congress in Miami. In his report to the Congress, Lam once again told of the tremendous growth of Hong Kong Baptists, saying the number of members increased to over 18,000 and churches to over thirty, plus another twenty-five chapels which were in the process of becoming independent churches. With regard to the education ministry, Lam again highlighted the important role of Hong Kong Baptist College which served not only Hong Kong locals, but young people from different parts of Asia, including those who fled China to the colony. In summarizing “the little achievement of Hong Kong Baptists in the past years,” Lam said:

> These are all God’s grace. He touches the hearts of home churches in the US. No matter they are from the Southern Baptists, the American Baptists or the Association of Baptists for World Evangelism, they don’t only give money, but also send people to assist our work. We need to thank them.”

Lam repeatedly recognized the importance of missionary support, and how much they contributed to the Baptist ministries in Hong Kong. When he was invited to speak at the meeting of the HKMM on March 21, 1956, his topic was “The Work of the Hong Kong Baptist Association and How Missionaries Can Make a Better Contribution To It.” He took every opportunity to tell missionaries how important they were to Hong Kong Baptists. In the Opening Message to the First Orient Missions Conference held in Hong Kong between July 26 and August 4, 1957, he reported on the increase of Baptist work in Hong Kong since the return of the Baptist missionaries, and said:

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506 Ibid.
507 Ibid.
508 Ibid.
509 Lam Chi-fung, “Speech at the 1965 Miami Congress of Baptist World Alliance,” DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 3.
510 Ibid.
511 “Seventh Session of the First Quarterly Meeting (March 21, 1956),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17.
The rapid development of the Hong Kong Baptist Association is all due to the assistance and support of the S.B.C. Foreign Mission Board and the missionaries in Hong Kong and in Macao and to the efforts of all the Baptist friends in Hong Kong and abroad.\footnote{Lam Chi-fung, Opening Message to the First Orient Missions Conference (July 26, 1957), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 390AR.}

Lam’s affirmation made missionary contributions last. Knowing that the Americans were especially concerned about the political future of the British colony, whether it would soon be taken over by Communist China, he allayed their worry and said:

You may worry about the safety of Hong Kong as it is so close to the border of the Iron Curtain and can possibly be swallowed up anytime. I share your feeling. However, since I have lived there for so long and know the situation more clearly, I can tell you boldly as long as there is a free world Hong Kong will continue to exist. It is because China can get $2.3 to 2.5 billion foreign currency every year through Hong Kong. Where can China get such large amount of foreign currency if it takes Hong Kong? Both at the present and in the foreseeable future Hong Kong will continue to prosper and be free.\footnote{Lam, “Speech at the 1965 Miami Congress of Baptist World Alliance,” DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 3.}

Lam instilled confidence in their putting mission resources in Hong Kong as he was convinced that China could benefit in the economic and political sense for letting the British keep Hong Kong. His view of why China, in the 1950s, allowed Hong Kong’s continued occupation by the British was affirmed by other Chinese thinkers and scholars in later years.\footnote{The British rule of Hong Kong ended in 1997.} Wang Gung-wu, the former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong, also believed the most logical answer to the question was that China could get huge financial and diplomatic advantages for keeping Hong Kong as it was.\footnote{Wang Gung-wu, “Talking About Changes in Hong Kong Politics,” in Twenty-First Century Bimonthly, Number 41 (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, June 1997), 76. Wang was the Vice-Chancellor of University of Hong Kong between 1986 and 1995.} Wang further said the mutual understanding was the British would not allow Hong Kong to become independent and China would not take Hong Kong back by force.\footnote{Ibid., 76.} In fact, the Chinese leaders were busy with other more urgent problems at home such as the crumbling economy of the country, and would not want to add uncertainty to its international position at that time.\footnote{Dong Ming, “The Principles and Flexibility in China’s External Relations: The Case of Hong Kong” (PhD thesis, University of London, 1991), 105-112. Dong Ming had listed a number of reasons why the Communists did not take over Hong Kong when they acquired the regime. The conclusion was more trouble would be caused than benefit if they invaded Hong Kong.} By stating how important Hong Kong was to the Chinese government, Lam hoped to alleviate concerns of the partners that the colony would be invaded by China. His tactics appeared to work, as delegates of the Miami congress accepted his...
proposal to have the next Baptist World Congress in 1970 held in Hong Kong, beating other contenders including Switzerland, Japan, Australia, Austria, and Lebanon. 518 Although the 1970 Congress was eventually held in Japan instead, due to the lack of a suitable venue which was large enough to hold 12,000 people, Lam successfully disarmed people and reduced their fear over Hong Kong’s future. By doing so he gained their confidence in allocating missionary resources in Hong Kong.

During these overseas trips, Lam met people from different Baptist groups and also attended meetings of the Southern Baptist Convention. Regarding the reason of his visits and attendance at the annual meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention, he plainly told the Pui Ching students that the most important purpose for his trips was to “seek support to establish the Hong Kong Baptist College.” 519 He further said that it was not only “a matter of Pui Ching students continuing their education,” but also “related to the future of all Hong Kong Baptists and Hong Kong youth.” 520 Lam had accomplished his objective of support for Hong Kong Baptist College. In 1966 upon the completion of the new school building of the College, he told the press:

(…) our building program has received enthusiastic support from a number of organizations, foundations, and individuals in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States of America. On three separate occasions I have made special trips on behalf of the College for fund-raising, and other Chinese and Western members of the College staff and interested friends have also actively assisted me. As a result well over HK$5,000,000 has been received from these sources. 521

Lam’s three trips were obviously successful in achieving his goals: to make Hong Kong Baptists known to greater Baptist families, to ease people’s worry that Hong Kong would soon be taken over by the Communists, to affirm the importance of having more missionaries in Hong Kong, and to gain continuous support of Hong Kong Baptist work from Baptists all over the world. Through his visits, seven U.S. universities were prepared to accept graduates from Pui Ching and Pooi To as direct entries into their schools. 522 This kind of arrangement was

518 The News about Baptist World Congress 1970 to be held in Hong Kong, in Wah Chui Yat Po (Overseas Chinese Daily), July 7, 1965. The largest venue in Hong Kong at that time was the City Hall which had a seating capacity of 2,000. The 1970 Congress was eventually held in Japan.
519 Lam, Speech at the Farewell Party of Pui Ching Middle School Alumni (May 4, 1955), DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 8.
520 Ibid.
521 Lam Chi-fung, Report on the Completion of the New College Building – Statement given to the Press at the President Hotel, Kowloon (April 22, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 8.
522 Lam Chi-fung, Speech at the School Year Opening Ceremony of Pui Ching Middle School in 1955, in A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, ed. by Lee King-sun (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 165.
especially important to Baptist schools in Hong Kong. At that time, Hong Kong University, the only university in the colony, admitted students from English secondary schools alone, not Chinese schools such as the three Baptist schools. With access to further education in these U.S. universities, bright students were attracted to Pui Ching and Pooi To schools. Lam was not complacent about the success of getting support by inviting more missionaries to come and the fruitful results of the three overseas visits to Europe and America. He was aware that he had to get ongoing foreign assistance in order to maintain sustainable growth for Hong Kong Baptists. Another strategy Lam had was building friendships with missionaries and foreign visitors.

Building Friendship with Missionaries and Visitors

“Guan-xi” (literally means “relationship”) has long been considered as one of the most powerful forces in Chinese culture. It is defined as relationships or connections between people, particularly in business life. When “guan-xi” is there, things can be done effectively and goals can be achieved. Lam, being a Chinese businessman, was well aware of the importance of “guan-xi.” He took hold of every opportunity to make friends and build relationships with people, in particular with foreign missionaries and visitors from overseas. Although he was busy with different commitments in churches, schools and community services, Lam was said to have spent as much time with missionaries as with his own business. The November 1955 issue of the U.S. Home Life Magazine said that “food, clothes, fuel, expensive gifts, and other expressions of love and appreciation have been showered on missionaries. In return the Lams would hardly accept their thanks.” George Wilson, the former president of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, testified that Lam not only always showed hospitality to missionaries and visitors passing by Hong Kong, but also built friendships with them. Lam built friendships with missionaries and foreign visitors to Hong Kong Baptists in a Chinese way – offering a small gift and inviting them to dinners. In order to appreciate what Lam did to befriend visitors and missionaries, the following are examples of notes of thanks for what he did:

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523 Guan-xi is known as relationships or connections in business life in China. It describes the basic dynamic in personalized networks of influence (which can be best described as the relationships individuals cultivate with other individuals) and is a central idea in Chinese society. See “Guanxi,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guanxi; accessed September 14, 2016. Guan-xi in the Chinese context is not bribery as is often interpreted by foreigners.

524 As a result of Lam’s skill in building “guan-xi” with people were many stories about Lam getting support for Baptist work from a wide range of people, missionaries and businessmen from local and overseas, from within and outside churches, and among the Baptists and non-Baptists. See footnote 328 of this study for examples.


526 Mary Alexander, “The Remarkable Family of Chi-Fung Lam,” in A collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung, ed. King-sun Lee (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), Pictures 21-23.

527 George Wilson, Interview by the author (April 14, 2011), Hong Kong.
• A letter from James Belote, President of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, to Lam and his wife on June 9, 1957, expressing his and his wife’s thanks to Lam for his gift of a camera.\textsuperscript{528}

• A letter from W.A. Criswell, pastor of First Baptist Church, Dallas, Texas, to Lam on April 25, 1960, stating his appreciation for the handkerchief and the jade given to his wife.\textsuperscript{529}

• A letter from Edward B. Willingham, general secretary of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, to Lam on September 6, 1960, thanking Lam and his wife for the evening jacket given to Mrs. Willingham at their first visit to Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{530}

• A letter from E. L. Davis, Jr., the president & treasurer of Atlas Supply Company in Winston-Salem, N.C., to Lam dated April 12, 1963, stating: “What a rare and delightful experience it was for Eleanor and me to be your guests in your home and to enjoy your genuine, friendly hospitality. Added to the pleniantries of enjoying your good company and feasting at your bountiful table was the pleasure of meeting and getting to know so many members of your large family (…)”.\textsuperscript{531}

• A letter from Mrs. Virginia Nicol, Kentucky, USA, on September 12, 1963, stating: “You may not remember me, but I want to wish you and your family a Happy Christmas, and God’s continued blessings through the New Year. Again I want to thank you for your beautiful gift when I met you in 1962.” (A donation of $100 to the Hong Kong Baptist College was enclosed in the letter).\textsuperscript{532}

• A letter from Charles Cowherd, a Southern Baptist missionary in Hong Kong, to Lam dated December 21, 1964, thanking him for the gift of $100 and stating that he would use it to buy a turkey to treat students.\textsuperscript{533}

• A letter from John P. Newport, professor of Philosophy of Religion in Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, to Lam on February 1, 1966, expressing his thanks to him for his hospitality throughout his visit in Hong Kong and his thoughtful gifts of the tailor-made suit, Swiss organdy hand-decorated tablecloth and napkins.\textsuperscript{534}

\textsuperscript{528} James Belote, President of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, Letter to Lam Chi-fung and his wife (June 9, 1957), DTCI of HKBU, Box 10, Folder 6.

\textsuperscript{529} W.A. Criswell, Pastor of First Baptist Church, Dallas, Texas, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (April 25, 1960), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 1.

\textsuperscript{530} Edward B. Willingham, General Secretary of American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (September 6, 1960), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.1.

\textsuperscript{531} E. L. Davis, Jr., President and Treasurer of Atlas Supply Company in Winston-Salem, N.C., Letter to Lam Chi-fung (April 12, 1963), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 1.

\textsuperscript{532} Mrs. Virginia Nicol, Kentucky, USA, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (September 12, 1963), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 1.

\textsuperscript{533} Charles Cowherd, a Southern Baptist missionary in Hong Kong, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (December 21, 1964), DTCI of HKBU, Box 21, Folder 7.

\textsuperscript{534} John P. Newport, Professor of Philosophy of Religion in Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (February 1, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 4, Folder 3.
• A letter from Lealice Dehoney, president of Southern Baptist Convention, dated April 7, 1966, thanking Lam for his hospitality while in Hong Kong for the Baptist College Commencement ceremony and his gift of the tablecloth, the brocade robes, and the sweater.\footnote{Lealice Dehoney, President of Southern Baptist Convention, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (April 7, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 3.}

• A letter from John Drakeford, professor of Psychology and Counseling, Director of Marriage and Family Counseling Center, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, to Lam on August 20, 1968, expressing his appreciation to Lam for his generous gift of a beautiful vase.\footnote{John Drakeford, Professor of Psychology and Counseling, Director of Marriage and Family Counseling Center, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (August 20, 1968), DTCI of HKBU, Box 4, Folder 3.}

• A note from McColister to Lam on September 5, 1969, thanking him for the handkerchiefs, placemats, and napkins given to him and his wife.\footnote{McColister, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (September 5, 1969), DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 16.}

• A letter from John and Nelwyn Raborn, general manager of Hong Kong Baptist Press, to Lam dated January 8, 1970, thanking him for the Christmas gift of two chickens.\footnote{John and Nelwyn Raborn, General Manager of Hong Kong Baptist Press, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (January 8, 1970), DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 3.}

• A letter from Robert E. Naylor, president of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, to Lam on July 20, 1970, thanking him for the many gifts such as a bracelet to his wife.\footnote{Robert E. Naylor, President of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (July 20, 1970), DTCI of HKBU, Box 4, Folder 3.}

• A letter from Robert P. Crawford and Mrs. Crawford to Lam on December 23, 1970, expressing their thanks to him for his hospitality and good will when they first arrived in Hong Kong, the treatment of a delightful meal at the Shatin Floating Restaurant, and a beautiful new suit.\footnote{Robert P. Crawford and Mrs. Crawford, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (December 23, 1970), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.2.}

• A letter from Alton Everest to Lam on Christmas Day 1970, thanking him for the gift of two chickens and a beautiful bouquet of asters.\footnote{Alton Everest, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (December 25, 1970), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.2.}

• A letter from Alton Everest to Lam dated December 28, 1971, stating his thanks for a new tailor-made suit.\footnote{Alton Everest, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (December 28, 1971), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.2.}

• A letter from Vella Jane Burch of Hong Kong-Macau Mission to Lam (without date), expressing her thanks to him for the gift of the Christmas check and the nice hen for Christmas dinner.\footnote{Vella Jane Burch of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (without dated), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.2. The time of the letter must be in or after 1968 since she started to work in Hong Kong beginning 1968. See Hsu, \textit{A History of Church Baptist Churches}: Vol. II, 218.}
In addition to the above, there were also letters from Lam with regard to his gifts to others, such as:

- Lam’s letter to Dr. and Mrs. A.H. Meadows on November 15, 1966, mentioning tablecloth and napkins were brought to the States by someone to them, and tea pot and cups would be brought to them soon.\(^5\)

- Lam’s letter to Dr. and Mrs. A.H. Meadows on December 14, 1966, stating that Mrs. Lam sent Mrs. Meadows an overcoat by post.\(^6\)

Most of the gifts were inexpensive in value, but the effect was far-reaching.\(^7\) Through Lam’s friendship with missionaries and Southern Baptists, he received huge support from Baptists in the U.S., in particular Southern Baptists. Tim, Lam’s youngest son, recalled that Lam often opened his house to visiting pastors and missionaries.\(^8\) During the Second Orient Missions Conference held in Hong Kong in 1962, Lam invited all sixty-six representatives, mostly missionaries from the U.S. working in ten different Asian countries, to his house for dinner.\(^9\) Mrs. Lam was reported saying to the missionaries: “When we think about what you have done, all that we can do is so little. You have given up your homes, your loved ones, everything to come to China – all for Christ’s sake.”\(^10\) Although not knowing if Lam’s act toward missionaries was merely for instigating support to his ministries, or it was his genuine appreciation to missionaries for their concern and love of Hong Kong Baptists (or most probably a mix of both), the result was that a great number of missionaries were sent and large amount of mission funding were allocated to Hong Kong in subsequent years.

**Conclusion**

The year 1950 was an important watershed for Hong Kong churches. Large numbers of refugees flooded the colony after China became a Communism nation. Unlike before, people coming to Hong Kong from China following 1950 were not going to leave but stayed. The sudden population surge immediately created a vast gospel field for churches. At the same time, a large number of missionaries were forced to leave China. While mission agencies were deciding where to go, many of

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\(^5\) Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Dr. and Mrs. A.H. Meadows (November 15, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 16.

\(^6\) Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Dr. and Mrs. A.H. Meadows (December 14, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 16.

\(^7\) Hong Kong was known as the shopping paradise in the 1960s and the early 1970s. Even tailored-made suits were relatively inexpensive in Hong Kong.


\(^10\) Alexander, “The Remarkable Family of Chi-Fung Lam,” in *A collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung*, Pictures 21-23.
them, including Baptist missionaries from the U.S., were hesitant to move to Hong Kong, fearing that it would soon be taken over by Communist China. In view of the situation and the need emerging from the changing context, Lam responded by initiating cooperation with foreign missionaries. Probably having been taught and convinced that “ye have not because ye ask not,” he asked persistently and relentlessly for missionaries to come to serve in Hong Kong. He made his requests to mission bodies in the U.S. and missionaries passing by Hong Kong, and invitations through local mission bodies and missionaries serving in Hong Kong. To ensure his request was heard, he made a number of overseas trips, visiting Baptists in Europe and America, attending Baptist World Congress meetings in three different continents, and making known Hong Kong Baptist needs to Baptists in different parts of the worlds. As a Chinese businessman, Lam understood the importance of “guan-xi,” the Chinese way of building connections with people, in order to get things done and to maintain a long-term relationship. Lam built friendships with missionaries and foreign visitors to ensure their ongoing support.

Lam’s effort to invite and build friendships with missionaries was not in vain. The number of Southern Baptist missionaries to Hong Kong increased every year – from only three actually on the field in 1952 to over eighty in 1970. The amount of mission funds allocated to Hong Kong also increased. As a result of having these resources, Hong Kong Baptists had a different landscape after 1950. Many new mission stations were opened, churches were built, and institutions such as a seminary, a publishing house, a college, a hospital, a campground, and a social center were established. We will see in the next chapter how Hong Kong Baptists changed from carrying out the mission all on their own, to extensive collaboration with foreign missionaries. We will explore how Hong Kong Baptists evolved from exclusively concentrating on direct evangelism and church missions, to an equal emphasis on indirect evangelism and establishing institutions. At the same time, we will also see the tensions created by the presence of foreign missionaries and mission funds as a result of Lam’s efforts in this endeavor. Missionaries had doubts if resources should be used in churches or institutions. Locals questioned whether foreign influence would be a hindrance to indigenization of churches. We will explore how Lam, a man of many contributions to the Hong Kong Baptists, is also a man creating tensions in the denomination he led.
**Chapter 5: A New Baptist Landscape - Contributions of Lam and Foreign Missions (1950-1970)**

**Introduction**

The year 1950 was an important turning point for Hong Kong Baptists. On one hand, the sudden population increase provided a vast mission opportunity for churches. On the other, the political uncertainty of the colony’s future deterred the interest of foreign mission bodies from investing resources in Hong Kong. Prior to 1950, Hong Kong Baptists had been mostly on their own to carry out missions after the departure of early missionaries. After 1950, when Baptist missionaries were hesitant to return and local Baptists were uncertain if they could meet the gospel needs of the city on their own, Lam Chi-fung took the initiative to seek help from foreign missionaries. It is apparently that Lam’s effort sparked an intense response. A large amount of mission resources began to arrive. After the return of Baptist missionaries, Hong Kong Baptists gradually shaped a different mission landscape. New churches and gospel stations were started, and important institutions were established.

This chapter will look at how the landscape of Hong Kong Baptists was changed as a result of Lam’s efforts to solicit large resources from the Southern Baptists. There were repercussions of his move. While Baptist missionaries were working alongside the locals, tensions were felt in areas including: indigenous vs. foreign and direct evangelism vs. indirect evangelism. Lam’s way of leadership was also questioned. As far as missionary agencies are concerned, the main focus of this chapter is on Southern Baptists as they contributed most significantly to the development of Hong Kong Baptist ministries, although there were other minor partners who also played a role in shaping Baptist life in Hong Kong.

**Increase of Missionary Resources**

After departing Hong Kong in the mid-nineteenth century, Baptist missionaries returned a century later. As a result of Lam’s efforts to invite missionary support, in particular from the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), a great number of missionary personnel and a large amount of mission funding began to arrive. The following table shows the number of Southern Baptist missionaries assigned to Hong Kong compared to the number of missionaries in the Orient and the total number of overseas missionaries, and the percentage of missionaries in Hong Kong compared to missionaries in the respective groups between 1950 and 1975:
Table 5.1: Southern Baptist Missionaries Assigned to Hong Kong from 1950 to 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Missionaries Assigned to Hong Kong</th>
<th>No. of Missionaries in the Orient</th>
<th>Total No. of Overseas Missionaries</th>
<th>% of Missionaries in H.K. compared to Missionaries in the Orient</th>
<th>% of Missionaries in H.K. compared to Total Overseas Missionaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>803</td>
<td>2.34%</td>
<td>0.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>3.81%</td>
<td>1.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>4.18%</td>
<td>1.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>5.78%</td>
<td>1.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>949</td>
<td>5.63%</td>
<td>1.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>1020</td>
<td>6.34%</td>
<td>2.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>1113</td>
<td>6.93%</td>
<td>2.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>1186</td>
<td>7.53%</td>
<td>2.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>1283</td>
<td>9.85%</td>
<td>2.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>1381</td>
<td>7.33%</td>
<td>2.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1480</td>
<td>7.60%</td>
<td>2.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>1548</td>
<td>8.19%</td>
<td>2.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td>8.57%</td>
<td>2.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>8.92%</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>8.48%</td>
<td>2.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>2070</td>
<td>8.60%</td>
<td>2.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>2208</td>
<td>8.64%</td>
<td>2.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>2277</td>
<td>8.95%</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>2371</td>
<td>9.87%</td>
<td>2.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>2490</td>
<td>10.53%</td>
<td>3.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>2501</td>
<td>10.85%</td>
<td>3.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Total Missionaries</td>
<td>Missionaries in Hong Kong</td>
<td>Percentage in H.K. to Total Missionaries</td>
<td>Percentage in H.K. to Missionaries Overseas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>2526</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>9.20%</td>
<td>2.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2507</td>
<td>753</td>
<td>9.30%</td>
<td>2.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2538</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>8.64%</td>
<td>2.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2606</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>8.56%</td>
<td>2.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2667</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>8.40%</td>
<td>2.44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1) The number of missionaries is taken from the *Annuals of Southern Baptist Convention* except the Hong Kong figure in 1950.
2) The Hong Kong figure of 1950 is based on the first seven assigned and settled in Hong Kong in 1949.\(^550\)
3) Since April 1968, the Orient has been divided into two administrative regions. The Southeast Asia region consists of Guam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. See *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention* (1969): 134. Hong Kong & Macau, Japan, Korea, Okinawa and Taiwan are under the East Asia region. Hence figures for the Orient starting from 1968 were the sum total of the Southeast Asia and the Far East.
4) Except for the years between 1962 and 1966 where Macau had its own missionary figures, the Hong Kong figures included Macau as Hong Kong and Macau were considered one region. Macau had two missionaries in 1965 and 1966.
5) The figures in the last two columns, percentage of Missionaries in H.K. compared to Missionaries in the Orient and percentage of Missionaries in H.K. compared to Total Missionaries Overseas, were calculated by the author.

Initially seven Southern Baptists decided to stay in Hong Kong in 1950. However, due to various reasons such as assignment changes and furlough schedules, only three actually arrived in the territory in May 1952.\(^551\) The beginning period was difficult. Nevertheless, the table, in general, reflects actual numbers especially when Hong Kong was found to be politically stable and mission agencies were confident enough to allocate their resources to the colony. Despite the fact that over two hundred Southern Baptist missionaries were in China, very few were later sent to Hong Kong. However, the picture changed gradually once Lam started to invite missionaries to come. The number of missionaries increased from just a handful in the early 1950s to 32 in 1960. It continued to increase in the 1960s and reached a peak of 82 in 1970.\(^552\) In addition to


\(^{551}\) *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention* (1952) (Southern Baptist Convention, 1952): 156-57.

\(^{552}\) Winston Crawley reported that there were 79 in Hong Kong and Macau by 1970. Cauthen et al, *Advance to Bold Mission Thrust*, 110. Crawley was probably referring to the figures from the *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention* (1970) which shows the 1969 data. For the names of missionaries in Hong Kong, see Princeton Hsu,
missionaries there were also journeymen who came on short term missions. For example, there were an additional ten journeymen working alongside the 71 missionaries in Hong Kong in 1968.553 Just as Tim Lam, Lam Chi-fung’s youngest son, said, when missionaries were deciding where to go after leaving China, Lam’s “advice was heeded and a large number came to the Colony to continue their work.”554

Over time the Southern Baptist Mission had the largest number of missionaries in the territory.555 During the twenty-year period between 1950 and 1970 when Lam proactively invited more missionaries, it was not only the absolute number of missionaries but also the percentage compared to the total number assigned to Asia and the total overseas missionaries that increased every year. In other words, increased resources were allocated to Hong Kong compared to other places in Asia as well as to the rest of all overseas mission fields every year. Lam’s presence appeared to have a direct influence on the number of missionaries assigned to Hong Kong.556 The number began to decline after Lam died in April 1971, and it was reduced to 65 in 1975.

Following the arrival of missionary personnel, mission funds from SBC also came. The following table shows the amount of mission funds distributed to Hong Kong and to total foreign fields, and the percentage of Hong Kong funding compared to total foreign fields:

Table 5.2: Mission Funds Distributed to Hong Kong from 1950 to 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Disbursement to Hong Kong (in US$)</th>
<th>Total Disbursement to Foreign Fields (in US$)</th>
<th>% of Disbursement to H.K. compared to Total Foreign Fields</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$5,103,162.51</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$5,687,340.30</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$6,989,507.36</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>$181,366.98</td>
<td>$8,064,052.83</td>
<td>2.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>$321,067.81</td>
<td>$9,406,287.74</td>
<td>3.41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


553 “Southern Baptist Missionaries in Hong Kong-Macau Mission (71),” Winston Crawley: Hong Kong (East Asia) 1968-70, microfilm, Archive of International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention in Richmond, Virginia (IMB of SBC), Roll 821AR.

554 Tim Lam, Lam Family Tree (Canada: Lammert Arts, 2006), 17.

555 Ying Fuk-tsang, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2004), 106.

556 Lam, Lam Family Tree, 17-18.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>$213,803.83</td>
<td>$9,467,742.81</td>
<td>2.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>$332,189.70</td>
<td>$10,539,248.78</td>
<td>3.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>$415,939.09</td>
<td>$12,436,662.84</td>
<td>3.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>$365,559.16</td>
<td>$14,176,270.57</td>
<td>2.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>$641,210.09</td>
<td>$14,159,941.06</td>
<td>4.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>$436,781.69</td>
<td>$16,146,295.59</td>
<td>2.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>$424,558.27</td>
<td>$17,005,616.82</td>
<td>2.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>$991,694.62</td>
<td>$17,729,502.84</td>
<td>5.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>$733,530.54</td>
<td>$18,061,169.40</td>
<td>4.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>$1,130,201.61</td>
<td>$20,953,634.88</td>
<td>5.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>$966,278.00</td>
<td>$21,710,797.82</td>
<td>4.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>$651,537.89</td>
<td>$24,964,210.81</td>
<td>2.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>$748,722.79</td>
<td>$25,974,390.01</td>
<td>2.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>$772,848.66</td>
<td>$26,924,796.42</td>
<td>2.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>$862,440.67</td>
<td>$29,229,304.09</td>
<td>2.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>$882,525.97</td>
<td>$30,909,585.50</td>
<td>2.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>$971,701.57</td>
<td>$29,541,368.50</td>
<td>3.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>$948,632.00</td>
<td>$31,331,423.00</td>
<td>3.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>$1,156,509.00</td>
<td>$33,952,355.00</td>
<td>3.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>$1,126,063.00</td>
<td>$37,354,923.00</td>
<td>3.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>$133,633.00</td>
<td>$40,513,674.00</td>
<td>0.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1) The amount of funds is taken from the *Annual of Southern Baptist Convention*.
2) There was no separate figure provided for Hong Kong prior to 1953 as Hong Kong was treated as part of the South China district. Hong Kong figures were available starting 1953 and shown in *Annual* (1954).
3) The figure for distribution to Hong Kong in 1975 looks strangely low as the figures in following years continued to increase from US$1.3 million in 1976 to US$2.1 million in 1981. It does not appear to be a typing mistake since the author found that total figures for the whole of East Asia add up correctly.
4) Since no separate category for the Orient is provided in the *Annual*, comparison of figures for distribution to Hong Kong can only be made with figures for total distribution to foreign fields.
5) Percentage figures are calculated for illustration by the author.
Table 5.2 shows the disbursement from the Southern Baptist Mission to Hong Kong. It started with US$181,366.98 in 1953 and increased to US$1,130,201.61 in 1964. Within that time span of eleven years, the amount increased by more than six fold. The absolute amount of disbursement increased basically every year since figures were available from 1953 onward and reached US$1,156,509.00 in 1973. The relatively high figures in 1959, 1962 and 1964 were likely due to donations towards the building fund for Hong Kong Baptist College.

Table 5.2 also shows the funds for total foreign fields and the percentage of Hong Kong Disbursement compared to Total Foreign Fields. The percentage of Hong Kong Disbursement compared to the Total Foreign Fields was 2.25% in 1953 and increased to its peak of 5.59% in 1962. The increase in percentage was more than double within a time span of nine years. That means Hong Kong Baptists received a higher percentage of financial support from Southern Baptists than other mission fields.\(^{557}\) The increase was more obvious during the period after Lam made his three trips to the West.\(^{558}\) In addition to annual allocations of funds, the Southern Baptists in 1955 also set up a revolving loan fund of US$100,000 in Hong Kong to help Baptist churches in erecting or acquiring new buildings.\(^{559}\) The interest-free loan fund from Southern Baptists was found especially important at the time when the lending interest rate was as high as 24% per annum in 1955.\(^{560}\)

During the first one hundred years after Protestant missionaries first arrived in Hong Kong, foreign mission bodies focused solely on mainland China and treated Hong Kong merely as a transitional location for missionaries. In the early 1950s, Baptists in the West worried about Hong Kong’s future and were reluctant to invest resources there. However, after they were persuaded by Lam of the importance for China to keep Hong Kong as it was, the dynamics changed. Moreover, Joel Sorenson, Youth Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, during his visit to the colony, found that the territory was “the eye of the free world into China proper” and the city was “China’s contact with the free nations.”\(^{561}\) Missionary personnel and mission funds began to flow into Hong Kong, not the least as a result of the efforts made by Lam. By the mid-1950s, Hong Kong had

\(^{557}\) Since Southern Baptists were opening up more mission fields after leaving China, distributions to Hong Kong vs. distributions to total Foreign Missions maintaining at around 3% after 1966 in fact means an increase in mission funds for Hong Kong compared with mission funds for other territories.

\(^{558}\) The figures in 1956 and 1957 increased significantly after Lam’s visit to the west in 1955. Similarly, the figure in 1962 jumped substantially after his visit to the west in 1960.

\(^{559}\) “Fifth Session of Second Quarterly Meeting (June 22, 1955),” Minutes of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17. A formal organization called Hong Kong-Macau Baptist Loan Fund Limited was formed in 1957 to manage the loan fund.

\(^{560}\) Lam Chi-fung, Letter to James Cauthen (September 28, 1955), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671R.

\(^{561}\) Missionary Herald (1955): 54.
attracted over fifty mission groups and more than three hundred missionaries. Baptists had the highest number of foreign missionaries compared with all denominations in Hong Kong and quite soon became one of the strongest Christian groups in the city.

**Missionary Support on All Fronts**

Once Baptist missionaries returned, there was almost no area in which they were not involved. Their support for Hong Kong Baptists could be seen everywhere, most noticeably in areas such as participation in direct evangelism, the opening of new churches and chapels, assistance in church ministries, establishment of Baptist institutions, and the training of Christian workers.

**Participation in Direct Evangelism**

Southern Baptists strongly believe that the work of direct evangelism lays the foundation on which church development rests. According to the Program Base Design of Hong Kong-Macau Mission (HKMM, or the Mission), the primary concern of the Mission should be evangelism, while “the scope of evangelism includes leading persons to accept Jesus Christ as personal Saviour and Lord and helping them to grow toward Christian maturity as rapidly as possible.” As a result, Baptist missionaries were heavily involved in direct evangelism after their return to Hong Kong.

The first large-scale evangelistic meetings for which Southern Baptist missionaries were responsible were held from October 8 to 14, 1950 in Kowloon City Baptist Church, where Lam was the chair of the deacon board. The missionary speakers were James Belote, the chair of the Southern Baptist Mission for the Southern China District, Duke McCall, the principal of New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, and W.A. Criswell, the senior pastor of the largest Baptist church in the United States. During the meetings that were organized over a seven-day period, over 150 converts turned to Christ. While in Hong Kong these evangelists also spoke at the three Baptist secondary schools, Pui

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563 Leung Ka-lun, “Fushi Bianyuan Qunti de Jiaohui [Churches Serving Marginalized Groups],” in *The 3rd Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China: History of Christianity in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, 2003), 2. See also Cauthen et al., *Advance to Bold Mission Thrust*, 110.
565 “Program Base Design, Effective November 19, 1973,” Hong Kong-Macau Baptist Mission, page PBD-P-21, Daniel Tse Collection Inventory in Special Collections and Archives of Hong Kong Baptist University (DTCI of HKBU), Box 6, Folder 17.
567 Ibid.
Ching, Pooi To, and Henrietta Hall Memorial School where Lam was the principal and superintendent. It was reported that “many received Christ” during the two evangelistic meetings led by McCall and Criswell in Pui Ching Middle School on October 11 and 12, 1950.\textsuperscript{569} While in Pooi To Middle School, McCall was responsible for an evangelistic meeting held on October 5, and “over fifty students were converted.”\textsuperscript{570} Among the three schools it was reported that “more than two hundred students professed their faith in Jesus Christ; about fifty of them have already followed Christ in baptism.”\textsuperscript{571} The number of student converts far exceeded the number during the seven-day meetings held in Kowloon City Baptist Church. Students were more responsive to the gospel as it was a Chinese tradition for students to listen to and submit to their teachers. Preachers arranged by schools had equal authority as their teachers.

In November 1956, three visiting speakers from the United States were in Hong Kong to carry out an evangelistic crusade. Meetings were held in eighteen centers almost every evening for two weeks. It was reported: “Schools and colleges were open for special meetings during the day. (…) The number of decisions passed the 2,600 mark.”\textsuperscript{572} Another similar evangelistic campaign was held in 1960. It was considered the main event of the year for Baptist work in Hong Kong by the Southern Baptists. The Southern Baptist Annual described:

> Dr. Charles Bowles and Dr. Elywyn Skiles were special evangelists from the United States in those campaigns. Many other preachers from Hong Kong and near-by fields also shared in the services. Decisions recorded numbered more than 2,600 (about equal to 20 per cent of the membership of the Baptist churches).\textsuperscript{573}

With the help of missionary speakers in these evangelistic campaigns, many new converts were added to Hong Kong Baptist churches. As a result, church membership increased, and new chapels and churches were opened. Schools were found to be effective platforms for gaining converts. Direct participation in evangelistic campaigns also increased Southern Baptist awareness of the situation in Hong Kong, and motivation to support the mission work there.

### The Opening of New Churches and Chapels

The core objective for the return of the Baptist mission to Hong Kong, as urged by Lam, was to assist with the start of new churches and chapels. At the time when a

\begin{footnotes}
\item[569] Ibid.
\item[570] Ibid.
\item[572] Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention (1957): 167. See also The Baptist World, Vol. 3, No. 8 (Journal of the Baptist World Alliance, February 1956): 4. It records that there were a total 75,000 persons attended more than 200 rallies of the two-week Baptist evangelistic crusade in Hong Kong.
\item[573] Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention (1961): 163.
\end{footnotes}
large number of refugees fled to Hong Kong from the mainland, several Baptist families from Kwangtung Province, also known as Canton Province, settled in Fanling, a farming village in the northern part of the New Territories of Hong Kong. Considering it as a suitable place for a chapel, the Southern Baptist Mission and Hong Kong Baptist Association jointly started Fanling Baptist Church in September 1950 with Victor Frank, a Southern Baptist missionary, as the responsible pastor and Mrs. Frank as the Sunday school superintendent.\footnote{\textit{Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention} (1951): 156. See also \textit{Hong Kong Baptist Monthly}, Volume 5, Issue 10 (October 1950): 10. Victor and Mrs. Frank were among the seven who were assigned to the Hong Kong and Macau areas in 1949.}

Fanling was only one of the many examples of joint efforts in church establishment. There were also churches started by individual Southern Baptist missionaries, such as Blanche Groves and Ruth Pettigrew who started North Point Baptist Church and Shaukeiwan Mandarin Baptist Church respectively in 1954.\footnote{For the early history of North Point Baptist Church, see “North Point Baptist Church History,” attached in Peter Tong, Letter to Winston Crawley (May 12, 1970), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 821AR. For the history of Shaukeiwan Mandarin Baptist Church, see Hsu, \textit{A History of Chinese Baptist Churches}, Vol. II, 80. The spelling of Miss Grove’s first name, Blanche, was in error spelled as Branche in the letter to Winston Crawley.} Within the first ten years between 1949 and 1959 following the return of Baptist missionaries, there were nine new churches and twenty-five new chapels started.\footnote{Hsu, \textit{A History of Chinese Baptist Churches}, Vol. II, 6-7.} Between 1959 and 1968, another nineteen churches and fourteen chapels and mission points were opened.\footnote{Ibid., 9.} Compared with only eleven churches and chapels with a total membership of around 5,000 in 1949, there were forty churches, fifteen chapels and one outstation with a total membership of 21,084 by 1970, a substantial increase of more than four fold.\footnote{Ibid., 204-205. Although only 48 churches and chapels with a total membership of 20,186 are listed by Hsu in the summary table of his book, there were in fact 40 churches, fourteen chapels and one outstation recorded in his whole book. The seven churches and chapels which were missing in the summary table of Hsu’s book had at least 898 members. In another record, there were 35 churches and fifteen chapels with total membership of 20,086. See \textit{Hong Kong Baptist Monthly}, Volume 26, Issue 2 (February 1971): 4.} Southern Baptist missionaries contributed tremendously in planting these new chapels and churches.\footnote{Kowloon City Baptist Church 70\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary Commemoration (Hong Kong: Kowloon City Baptist Church, 2009), 53.}

Since the population influx during the 1950s also brought some Mandarin-speaking people to Hong Kong, Baptist missionaries from the northern part of China, who could speak Mandarin, saw the need for a Mandarin ministry. Mandarin Baptist churches began to emerge. In 1951, Charles Culpepper started the first Baptist Mandarin ministry in Hong Kong which was known as Kowloon Mandarin Baptist Church.\footnote{\textit{Hong Kong Baptist Convention 70\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary 1938-2008} (Hong Kong: The Baptist Convention of Hong Kong, 2008), 111.} The church was subsequently helped by James Belote,
the president of the Hong Kong Baptist Seminary, and other missionaries such as Victor Frank, Mrs. Carter Morgan, Thelma Williams, and Charles Cowherd.581 Ruth Pettigrew started Shaukeiwan Mandarin Baptist Church in 1954.582 Maurice Anderson was at one time its senior pastor.583 Lucy Smith and Mrs. Carter Morgan assisted Tsimshatsui Mandarin Baptist Church in its early days since 1964.584 Charles Cowherd and Britt Towery helped respectively as consulting pastors in Shumshuipo Mandarin Baptist Church following its establishment in 1964.585

After the start of these Mandarin ministries by or with the help of foreign missionaries, Cantonese Baptist churches followed the example and started Tsuen Wan Mandarin Baptist Chapel and Kwun Tong Mandarin Baptist Chapel in 1961 and 1969 respectively as their outreach-missions.586 Although not all Mandarin Baptist churches were started by foreign missionaries, they played a crucial role in initiating the ministry and providing key Mandarin-speaking workers to get the ministry started and running.

Southern Baptists not only rendered help in providing personnel, but in financial assistance as well. While local Baptist leaders such as Lam Chi-fung and Wong Kwok-shuen continued to donate land and money for Baptist work, the majority of church funds came from the Foreign Mission Board (FMB) of the SBC.587 In October 1957, the Hong Kong-Macau Baptist Loan Fund Limited (HKMBLF) was formed. The company was financed by selling shares to the FMB and member churches.588 Out of the 5,000 shares issued by the company, 4,777

585 Ibid., 132-133. Charles Cowherd was elected the chair of the Committee for Mandarin Work in 1963, and was assigned to study the recent Hong Kong census report to find out where Mandarin-speaking people were concentrated with a view to strengthening the Mandarin work. See “Committee Meeting for Mandarin Work (July 4, 1963),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17.
587 The financial statements of the Hong Kong Baptist Association in 1971 shows that contributions from churches and chapels were HK$224,495, while contributions from FMB were HK$851,755, almost four times the local contributions. See Paul Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong” (PhD dissertation, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1974), 241.
588 Shareholders and members of the Company consisted of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention and eighteen Hong Kong Baptist churches, including thirteen Cantonese-speaking churches, four Swatow churches, and one English church. The organization was set up by the Hong Kong-Macau Mission of the FMB of the SBC to provide interest-free loans to Hong Kong and Macau Baptists for acquiring church buildings.
shares were sold to the FMB at HK$10 per share. Together with a non-interest loan of HK$816,523.65 granted by the FMB, an initial fund of HK$1.3 million was all contributed by the FMB of the SBC.\footnote{Tommy Adkins, “Report of Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Church Loan Fund Limited 1968-1969,” Hong Kong (East Asia) 1968-1970 (0812), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 821AR, 48-49.}

Many churches benefited from the mission funds and the interest-free loan money. In 1954, the Mission Board donated HK$140,000 to Tsimshatsui Baptist Church for purchasing land for a church on Cameron Road, and another HK$262,125 in construction costs for the new building.\footnote{Tam Hay-tin, “Jianshazui Jinxinhui Ershiwunian Jianshi [A Brief History of Tsimshatsui Baptist Church in Twenty-five years],” in Christian Weekly, Volume 16 (December 13, 1964) (Hong Kong: Christian Weekly): 3.} In 1961, the Mission Board donated HK$35,000 and the HKMBLF lent HK$20,000 to Western District Baptist Church for acquiring a flat above the church premises to serve as Sunday school classrooms.\footnote{Hsu, A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 97.} In 1963, when Shumshuipo Baptist Church was in need of a large fund for the construction of a new church building, the Mission Board donated one third of the total building cost of HK$800,000 and lent another one third of the cost to the church.\footnote{Ibid., 51-52. The HKMBLF also provided an interest-free loan to the Shumshuipo Baptist Church.} In 1965, when Wai Yan Baptist Church purchased a property as the minister’s quarters in order to spare space for church functions, an interest-free loan of HK$60,000 was received from the HKMBLF.\footnote{Ibid., 106.} As of April 30, 1968, roughly ten years after the company was formed, nine churches had benefited from the Loan Fund and had completely repaid the money, and nineteen other churches still enjoyed the interest-free loan with a total unpaid balance of HK$744,816.\footnote{Information is taken from Adkins, “Report of Hong Kong-Macao Baptist Church Loan Fund Limited 1968-1969,” microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 821AR, 49. A document dated in October 1970 shows that the lending fund was supporting eighteen Baptist churches with a total loan amount of HK$1,185,000. See “Statement of Financial Report (October, 1970),” DTCl of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 3.} The financial support from foreign mission bodies was indeed vital to the expansion of Hong Kong Baptist work. It continued for many years, and many church expansion projects benefited from it, such as Shumshuipo Mandarin Baptist Church which received from the HKMBLF an interest-free loan of HK$250,000 in 1982 for acquiring larger church premises.\footnote{Christ Baptist Church 35th Anniversary Commemoration (Hong Kong: Christ Baptist Church, 2011), 5.}

**Assistance in Church Ministries**

While new chapels and churches were being opened, there was a shortage of church workers. Foreign missionaries helped as interim or consulting pastors in both new mission points and existing churches. James Belote and his wife joined Kowloon City Baptist Church as members upon their arrival in Hong Kong in
1950. When Rev. Cheung Yau-kong, senior pastor of Kowloon Baptist Church, was studying in Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in the U.S. in 1953, Belote helped as the interim pastor. After North Point Baptist Church was officially formed in 1956, Belote also acted as its consulting pastor. James Hollies, one of the earliest of the seven missionaries appointed to Hong Kong by the SBC, helped as the voluntary pastor when Wanchai Baptist Church was formed in 1958. Charles Cowherd and Britt Towery were the consulting pastors of Shumshuipo Mandarin Baptist Chapel when it was formed in 1964. Ronald Fuller acted as the voluntary pastor of Shumshuipo Baptist Church in 1965. George Wilson acted as the consulting pastor in Grace Baptist Church from 1969 to 1971. Maurice Anderson, David McCormick and Jeffrey Sharp were the consulting pastors of Fanling Baptist Church in different periods. Jaxie Short helped in a number of areas including Kowloon City Baptist Church, Tsimshatsui Baptist Church, Mongkok Baptist Church, and served as the head of Religious Education of Pooi To Middle School. To summarize the rapid growth of Kowloon City Baptist Church during the 1950s and 60s, the Church’s 70th Anniversary Commemoration recorded:

Southern Baptist missionaries contributed in establishing new mission points, developing churches, and church building work; Foreign Mission Board assisted financially in rents for churches, supply of church facilities and construction of church buildings.

The Commemoration goes on to record examples of missionary participation, such as: James Belote was the pastor of both the Yuen Long and Lai Chi Kok chapels, Ronald Fuller started the Diamond Hill chapel, Ladrum McKinney served in the Tsuen Wan Cantonese ministry and acted as their choir director, Victor Frank led the Shumshuipo and Tsuen Wan church work, Ruth Pettigrew started the Tai Po chapel, and Jerry Moye taught in the Baptist Theological Seminary and served as the worship pianist. These were only some of the many examples that showcased their assistance to local churches. As experienced church workers, Baptist

597 Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 8, Issue 12 (December 1953): 5.
599 Hong Kong Baptist Convention 70th Anniversary 1938-2008, 191.
600 Hsu, A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 133. Cowherd also helped in the North Point Baptist Church. See Lam Chi-fung, Speech at the 10th Anniversary of North Point Baptist Church in 1966, DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 20.
601 Ibid., 52.
602 Hong Kong Baptist Convention 70th Anniversary 1938-2008: 152.
603 Ibid., 154.
604 Kowloon City Baptist Church 70th Anniversary Commemoration, 49.
605 Ibid., 53.
606 Ibid.
missionaries could render versatile help to ease manpower shortages and contributed their voluntary services in newly established chapels and under-developed churches. Their timely participation and service for the Hong Kong Baptists was a result of Lam’s initiatives to enlist the help of mission agencies and the missionaries.

Another unique ministry carried out by missionaries was English Sunday School. During the time when Chinese were on their own without foreign aid, all church ministries were performed in Chinese, mainly in Cantonese and some in the Swatow dialect. Following the return of foreign missionaries, English Sunday Schools began to appear. Lila Watson started the English Sunday School in Cain Road Baptist Church immediately upon her arrival in Hong Kong in early 1950. Mrs. Belote started the English Sunday School in Kowloon City Baptist Church on May 14, 1950. Victor Frank held English Bible study groups in Kowloon City Baptist Church in early 1950. Kathryn White not only took charge of the English Sunday School in Kowloon City Baptist Church, but also coordinated other missionaries to help in the ministry. Miss Jenny Cowherd, Rev. Charles Cowherd’s daughter, being a laywoman, helped in Shumshuipo Mandarin Baptist Chapel and started English Sunday School in the early 1970s and served as a voluntary female co-worker in 1975. The English ministry in Chinese-speaking churches was not meant to serve English-speaking congregations, but was an effective means to attract young people to the church who wanted to learn the English language.

Establishment of Baptist Institutions

Other than participating in direct evangelism and opening new chapels and churches, the most visible contribution of Baptist missionaries invited by Lam was to help start a number of important Baptist institutions in Hong Kong. These institutions, including a college, a hospital, a publishing house, a Christian camp and a social welfare center, were crucial platforms for indirect evangelism; many people had opportunities to hear the gospel through their services. There was also the Baptist Seminary which was an important training center for church workers. With the emergence of these institutions, Hong Kong Baptists had a completely

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607 Mandarin-speaking Baptist churches did not come to existence until after 1950, when Mandarin-speaking people from the northern part of mainland China began to move to Hong Kong.
608 *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly*, Volume 5, Issue 3 (March 1950): 9-10. It was reported that the result was good and the number of students was increasing.
611 *Kowloon City Baptist Church 70th Anniversary Commemoration*, 49. Other missionaries, such as Samuel Rankin, James Templeton, and John Raborn, also helped in Kowloon City Baptist Church’s English Sunday School.
different landscape, changing the focus on direct evangelism through churches to indirect evangelism through various institutions.

Baptist College

Hong Kong Baptist College was established in 1956 and became Hong Kong Baptist University in 1994. It is the only Christian university in Hong Kong and today is also the only Chinese Baptist University in the world. As the advocate and initiator of the school, Lam was devoted to promoting the school idea locally and internationally. One of the main objectives of his three overseas trips to Europe and America was to promote and seek support for the college. Southern Baptists were the key financial supporters of the institution. For example, immediately after Lam’s visit to them in 1960, Dr. and Mrs. William Fleming in Fort Worth, Texas, donated US$30,000 to the college and indicated they would give five hundred reference books a year to the college library. By early 1961, Hong Kong Baptist College received US$195,000 from the FMB toward the building program, which included US$55,000 from David Carver, US$50,000 from William Fleming, US$30,000 contributed from the Lottie Moon Christmas Offering, and a few other contributions of US$5,000. Other financial support was received from various individuals in the U.S. David Carver of Baltimore was one of the key donors. College News on January 1, 1962 showed that Carver pledged to contribute US$40,000 to the building fund in 1962, and his actual contributions in the end exceeded US$100,000, as the College had already received over US$60,000 from him. A report of the Hong Kong Baptist College in 1966 showed:

(...) over the past 10 years, a total donation of HK$5,907,000 from different people was received, from friends in the US HK$4,520,000, overseas Chinese in south-east Asia HK$256,000, friends in HK HK$1,130,000. The largest donation group is Southern Baptists, HK$2,157,000. The highest person[sic] donation is HK$1,428,000 from Dr. Carver of Baltimore, Maryland. In addition to donations of college funds, scholarships from Baptists in the U.S. were provided to students of the college. Carver subscribed scholarships of

613 Hong Kong Baptists initially wished to open a university instead of a college. Due to different reasons, only a college status was granted to the Baptist tertiary institution when it was established.
614 After incubating the idea for years, Lam formally made known his plan to the Hong Kong-Macau Mission and requested James Belote to write to inform Baker Cauthen that a preparation committee had been set up by the Hong Kong Baptist Association to begin the planning of Hong Kong Baptist College. See James Belote, Letter to Baker Cauthen (February 9, 1955), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671R.
615 “Hong Kong Baptist College News,” (July 12, 1960) DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12.
616 Maurice Anderson, Letter to Dr. David Carver (February 22, 1961), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 3.
617 David Wong, Chairman of the Board, and Lam Chi-fung, the principal, of Hong Kong Baptist College, Manuscript (October 21, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12.
618 “Hong Kong Baptist College News (April 24, 1958),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12. The College News reported that 170 students received scholarship assistance in one form or another out of the enrolment of 322.
US$12,000 for outstanding graduates to study abroad.\textsuperscript{619} The Southern Baptist FMB offered a grant of US$5,000 to needy students with preference given to Baptist or Christian students.\textsuperscript{620} In his letter to Maurice Anderson, vice-president of Hong Kong Baptist College dated January 24, 1966, with regard to granting more funds to Hong Kong Baptist College, Winston Crawley, Secretary for the Orient of FMB, wrote:

> The Foreign Mission Board has appropriated $250,000.00 for the needs of Hong Kong College in the past thirteen months. Of that amount $100,000.00 constituted outright grants and the remainder a loan. This is probably the largest sum ever appropriated by the Foreign Mission Board within such a short period of time for one institution.\textsuperscript{621}

Vincent Lau was probably correct in the concluding remarks of his speech on “Contribution of Southern Baptists towards Hong Kong Baptist Higher Education:” “Without the financial support of the Southern Baptists, Hong Kong Baptist Convention would not be able to start the Hong Kong Baptist College in 1956.”\textsuperscript{622} Lam played a crucial role in facilitating Southern Baptists to allocate such a significant amount of funds to Hong Kong. Despite the fact that education was not their priority, the SBC put large resources in Hong Kong Baptist schools because they were convinced that schools were both an effective platform of gaining converts and a good training ground for future Baptist leaders in Hong Kong. The example of more than two hundred students professing their faith during the one week-long evangelistic meeting period in the three Baptist secondary schools in 1950 was good proof.

In addition to financial support, the supply of educators from foreign mission bodies was also vital to the establishment of the college. During the first school term when the college was opened in 1956, faculty members consisted mainly of missionaries from among Southern Baptists. There were three full-time lecturers, nine Chinese teachers on part-time salaries, and eleven western teachers.\textsuperscript{623} Following that time, missionary educators continued to render assistance to the College. They included:

\textsuperscript{619} “Hong Kong Baptist College News (July 12, 1960),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12.
\textsuperscript{620} Richard Lusk, Chairman of HK-Macau Baptist Mission, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (June 24, 1970), DTCI of HKBU, Box 4, Folder 1.
\textsuperscript{621} Winston Crawley, Letter to Maurice Anderson (January 24, 1966), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671R.
\textsuperscript{622} Vincent Lau, “Contribution of Southern Baptists towards Hong Kong Baptist Higher Education: The Establishment of Hong Kong Baptist College – A Preliminary Study,” in Baptist Heritage Week 2010 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, 2010), 8.
\textsuperscript{623} Maurice Anderson, \textit{The Survival Strategies of A Complex Organization} (Louisiana: China Friendship House, 1972), 60. The eleven western teachers were missionaries who served without salary.
• Dr. Christine Fall, Professor of English in Baylor University, served in the college during the school term 1957/58.624

• Dr. Leonard A. Duce, Dean of the Graduate School of Baylor University, served in 1958 as special administrative advisor to study the entire academic and administrative program of the college, and to give advice on improvements.625

• Rev. and Mrs. George Carver of Carver School of Missions and Social work were on the English Faculty as Exchange Lecturers in 1959/60.626

• Mr. Gorman Beauchamp and Mr. Jerry B. Matthews, from Baylor University, both served as tutors in English in 1961/1963.627

• Rev. F.A. Marsh, former president of the Baptist Union of Australia, joined the College staff as administrative advisor since December 1962.628

• Mrs. Loren E. Noren of the American Baptists rendered part-time service at Hong Kong Baptist College.629

• Dr. Wimpee, chaplain of Baylor University and assistant to the president, served as administrative adviser and teacher of Religion, helped to organize the College’s athletic program, and Mrs. Wimpee, an accomplished musician, helped with the total musical program, including the College choir.630

• Dr. Christine Fall, professor of English, Dr. and Mrs. Leonard Duce, Dean of the Graduate School; Dr. and Mrs. W.J. Wimpee, assistant to the president, professor of English; Mr. Gorman Beauchamp, tutor in English and Mr. Jerry B. Matthews, tutor in English of Baylor University helped in Hong Kong Baptist College.631

• Dr. Vernon Davison, head of the Department of Religion, Howard College, Birmingham, Alabama, and Mrs. Davison taught in the Bible and English faculties in 1963.632

• Rev. Charles Cowherd, a Southern Baptist Missionary, joined the faculty of the College in 1964.633

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624 “Hong Kong Baptist College News (November 15, 1962),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12. Christine Fall came under the Program of Cooperation (exchange professors and administrative staff) in 1957 between Baylor University and Hong Kong Baptist College.

625 “Hong Kong Baptist College News (November 15, 1958),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12.

626 “Hong Kong Baptist College News (November 15, 1962),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12. There were also teaching staff under the American Consulate General through its program of exchange lecturers serving in the college.

627 “Hong Kong Baptist College News (November 15, 1962),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12.

628 Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Rev. G.H. Blackburn, Baptist Union of Australia, (June 17, 1963), DTCI of HKBU, Box 10, Folder 6. In the letter, Lam expressed his thanks for Rev. F.A. Marsh’s services in administrative work at Hong Kong Baptist College since December 1962, and requested the Union to extend his assignment to the college.

629 Marlin D. Farnum, Secretary for Overseas of American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (February 27, 1962), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 1. The letter is about Lam’s request for ABFMS to participate in the program of Hong Kong Baptist College.

630 “Hong Kong Baptist College News (November 15, 1962),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12.

631 Ibid.

632 Ibid.
• Dr. Francella Woods, a missionary from the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society, moved from Taiwan to Hong Kong to teach in the Biology Department of the college in October 1969. Lam was personally involved in the invitation and recruitment of staff. Faculty members and administrators, who rendered help to the College, were from a wide variety of Baptist mission agencies, including Southern Baptists, American Baptists, Conservative Baptists, and Australian Baptists. Besides those listed above, there were also others with higher degrees in music, history, English, mathematics, physics, biology, and civil engineering who helped to strengthen the faculty. They came at their own expense without cost to the college. Missionary personnel serving without charge to the college were estimated to “save approximately HK$250,000 a year.” Faculty members coming from renowned institutions, such as Baylor University, not only eased the financial tension, but also contributed to building a good reputation for the newly established college, which in turn attracted bright students to enroll. Apart from sending their professors, Baptists from the U.S., Australia, UK, and Canada also supported the college by donating books and laboratory instruments.

When Lam asked the Southern Baptists for assistance to establish Hong Kong Baptist College, Chinese Baptists in Taiwan also expressed their desire to have a Baptist university, “wanting to reproject at least a portion of the University of Shanghai probably in Formosa.” Although the reasons Southern Baptists preferred Hong Kong over Taiwan are not fully known, the well-established platform – mature Baptist life – in Hong Kong and Lam Chi-fung’s enthusiasm and determination to start the college as well as his hard work must have served as catalysts to a certain extent. The college’s effectiveness in gaining converts and training church leaders probably affirmed the decision of the Southern Baptists to support Hong Kong and Lam’s vision of using education as a tool for evangelism.

633 Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Director of Education (April 7, 1964), DTCI of HKBU, Box 13, Folder 9. Lam informed the director of education that Rev. Charles Cowherd was one of the new teachers in Hong Kong Baptist College.
635 “Hong Kong Baptist College News (November 15, 1962),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12.
636 Maurice Anderson, Letter to Winston Crawley (May 29, 1966), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671R.
637 Lam Chi-fung, Speech at Hong Kong Baptist College 8th Anniversary, DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 8.
638 Baker Cauthen, Letter to Winston Crawley (March 14, 1956), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 529AR. The University of Shanghai, also known as the Hujiang University, was established by Southern Baptists and American Baptists in the early 20th century.
639 While Crawley passed by Hong Kong in the end of 1955, Lam submitted to him the plan of Baptist College. Crawley found the plan “show evidence of much more careful study” and “fairly realistic in the estimate of expenditures.” This probably was one of the reasons for preferring the Hong Kong Baptists over the Taiwan Baptists. See Winston Crawley, Letter to Winston Crawley (February 8, 1956), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 529AR.
Baptist Hospital

Lam was also a believer in evangelism through medical services. In sharing his personal testimony in the Eleventh Baptist World Congress in Miami, Lam said he experienced a miraculous healing at the age of 35 in 1928.\textsuperscript{641} It was through that healing experience “his spiritual life had grown tremendously and he dedicated himself to God.”\textsuperscript{642} In his welcome speech to Baptist leaders from Southeast Asian countries in 1955, Lam revealed his thoughts concerning evangelism through hospitals:

In my experience, I have a feeling that evangelism is not confined within church buildings. I can say it is sometimes more effective to be done outside the church. For example, sick people in a hospital suffering illness are more prone to receive the gospel.\textsuperscript{643}

To Lam, hospitals were more effective places for evangelism than churches. As the Hong Kong government had never been interested in investing in the colony’s social welfare, the expenditure for medical and health services was inadequate. Under the circumstances, charitable and religious organizations such as churches played an important role to meet the increasing demands for aid.\textsuperscript{644} The Hong Kong Baptist Association proposed the idea of building a Baptist hospital as early as 1947. However, the application to Southern Baptists through the Leung Kwong Baptist Association for financial support of the project was rejected on the grounds that Hong Kong was not a mission station at that time.\textsuperscript{645} In 1950 when the Brotherly Love Village was built, the Hong Kong Baptist Association had the idea of setting up a clinic there and appointed Lam to be responsible to seek help from Southern Baptists for assistance.\textsuperscript{646}

As the population of Hong Kong continued to increase due to the influx of refugees after 1950, the need for a medical facility became imminent. The idea of

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\textsuperscript{641} Lam Chi-fung, Personal Testimony in the 11\textsuperscript{th} Baptist World Congress in Miami in 1965, DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 8.
\textsuperscript{642} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{643} Lee, King-sun, ed., \textit{A collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung} (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 2.
\textsuperscript{645} \textit{Hong Kong Baptist Monthly}, Volume 2, Issue 2 (October 1947): 1. The amount requested was US$110,000. See also Soo Ming-wo, “Christianity in A Colonial and Chinese Context-The Internal Organization and External Relations of the Swatow Baptist Church in Hong Kong” (PhD thesis, University of London, 1980), 187. Leung Kwong Baptist Convention covers the area of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces. Although Hong Kong was under British rule, it was considered a part of the South China Mission of the Southern Baptists.
\textsuperscript{646} \textit{Hong Kong Baptist Monthly}, Volume 6, Issue 1 (January 1951): 5. During the Ninth Committee Meeting of the Association held on January 18, 1951, a resolution was passed to have Lam to seek support from Southern Baptists to open a clinic at Brotherly Love Village. The Hong Kong Government turned down the project as they did not want to see one single denomination to have too much influence within a small place. See Michael Kam, \textit{Baptist Hospital} (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Hospital, 2015), Ch. 2, 7.
having a Baptist hospital was again brought up. Finally, in 1953, the Association passed a resolution to build a Baptist hospital in Hong Kong. After the decision was made, money and people were the next and most important concern. Taking the opportunity to meet different Baptist groups during his trip to Europe and the U.S. in 1955, Lam called for the support though funds and personnel for the hospital project. Samuel Rankin, a former medical missionary in Stout Memorial Hospital in Wuchow, China, responded to the call and went to Hong Kong later the year to take charge of the Baptist Medical Clinic. When Lam returned to Hong Kong from the U.S. trip, he brought with him donations of a couple thousand dollars and started a mobile clinic, a vehicle equipped with medical equipment going around Hong Kong to provide medical services. As people began to realize the huge demand for the services, donations began to flow in. Southern Baptists donated three quarters of the total cost of HK$49,000 for the purchase of clinic premises on Waterloo Road, Kowloon.

A permanent medical clinic was opened in 1956. Most of the medical personnel of the clinic were from among Southern Baptists: Samuel Rankin as the medical doctor in charge, Mrs. Kitty Anderson as the matron, and Thelma Williams as the assistant nurse. While the clinic work was increasing, the need for more medical personnel was also required. Southern Baptists continued to send missionary medical personnel to assist. Elaine Hanock came as the clinic nurse in 1959, Dr. Lewis Smith and his wife who was a nurse came in February 1960, and Dr. Alfred Davis arrived a month later.

As the demand for medical services increased, the need to expand the small clinic into a proper hospital was obvious and became imminent. To finance the building of a hospital, Lam once again sought help from Southern Baptists. Money

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647 Gao, A Memoir of David Lam, 84. David Lam, Lam’s second son, raised the motion in the annual meeting of the Hong Kong Baptist Association. The idea was accepted and David was appointed the chair of the medical department of the Association, responsible for the planning and construction of the hospital.

648 Baker Cauthen, Letter to James Belote (November 26, 1954), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR. In order to comply with the laws of Hong Kong for medical personnel to be eligible to practise in the colony, Rankin had to sit for an examination held in Manitoba, Canada, to get the license as both Canada and Hong Kong were part of the British Commonwealth. See also Kam, History of Baptist Hospital, 74.

649 Hong Kong Baptist Hospital 25th Anniversary Commemoration 1963-1988 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Hospital, 1988), 35.

650 Ibid., 22. See also Hong Kong Baptist Association 20th Anniversary Commemoration 1938-1958, 7.

651 Hong Kong Baptist Hospital 25th Anniversary Commemoration 1963-1988, 35; Hsu, A History of Chinese Baptist Churches, Vol. II, 146. When the Baptist Clinic was opened on January 2, 1956, these were the personnel, Dr. Rankin, Mrs. Kitty Anderson, and only one Chinese nurse plus a janitor.

652 Kam, History of Baptist Hospital, 74-75.

653 Ibid., 76.

654 Gao, A Memoir of David Lam, 190. Before the Baptists had their own hospital, Dr. Rankin could only use Catholic hospitals in the colony to perform needed operations. See James Belote, Letter to Winston Crawley (March 23, 1956), microfilm, IMB of SBC, 672AR.
and medical personnel gradually came in. The cost of building the hospital was almost three million Hong Kong dollars, and Southern Baptists sponsored more than 75% of the cost. Hong Kong Baptist Hospital was opened in 1963. George Wilson was the chair of the board of the hospital and Dr. Lewis Smith was the first medical doctor in charge. Again these missionary personnel served without charging Hong Kong Baptists.

However, the Southern Baptists never had a great interest in a medical ministry as their major emphasis was always to build more churches. Southern Baptists were involved to the least extent in medical work among the major mission bodies in China. They were not excited about medical work in Hong Kong either. During the First Orient Missions Conference held in Hong Kong in 1957, Samuel Rankin stated that the FMB did not have any plans for medical work there, and it was because “the Chinese and others kept requesting it” that they began to participate. At the same conference, Crawley also said: “The Foreign Mission Board does not put the actual medical need as a high priority, because medical need is everywhere.” Nevertheless, Southern Baptists supported the ministry and the Hong Kong Baptist Hospital turned out to be an effective mission platform for gaining converts; there were 836 patients who came to faith between July and December 1963, 1,236 in 1964, 1,063 in 1965, 1,075 in 1966, and 669 in 1967. Lam played an important role in initiating the idea of a medical ministry, and also succeeded in recruiting Southern Baptists to be the principle contributors in facilitating the establishment of the Hong Kong Baptist Hospital, the largest private hospital in Hong Kong. However, Lam’s action of drawing so many mission resources in ministries other than direct evangelism through churches was causing concern from some missionaries and native Baptists.

655 Michael Wing-hin Kam, “Christian Identity and Business Success: Lin Zifeng (1892-1971) and his Public Career in Hong Kong” (PhD dissertation, the University of Queensland, 2011), 229. The total construction cost was HK$2,678,710.58. HK$2,028,502.63 was from Southern Baptists. Another HK$189,390.12 was provided by Southern Baptists for operating funds of the hospital.

656 Hong Kong Baptist Hospital 25th Anniversary Commemoration 1963-1988, 19.

657 Ibid., 22.


659 Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Anglicans, Wesleyans, and China Inland Mission had more involvement in medical ministry than the Baptists. Southern Baptists were involved the least among different Baptist groups. See Christopher Tang, The First Hundred Years of Protestant Mission in China, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: Tao Sheng Publishing House, 1990), 594.

660 Minutes of Medical Section of the First Orient Missions Conference of Foreign Mission Board of Southern Baptist Convention held in Hong Kong (July 27, 1957), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 390AR, 10.

661 Ibid., 8. Southern Baptists were probably more interest in the soul than the body.

Baptist Theological Seminary

Before 1950 there was no Baptist seminary in Hong Kong. Baptist churches had to recruit pastors from elsewhere or send people abroad for theological training. Cantonese-speaking Chinese could go to Graves Theological Seminary situated in Canton. Others might attend China Baptist Theological Seminary situated in Shanghai, where Rev. Chung Yan-kwong, general secretary of the Hong Kong Baptist Association between 1962 and 1978, received his seminary training in 1946. However, after Grave Theological Seminary was closed by the Communists in February 1951, and China Baptist Theological Seminary in Shanghai, along with ten other seminaries of East China, was also forced to close in 1952, Hong Kong Baptists could not go anywhere for seminary training.

Facing the huge demand of church workers to meet the need of the large influx of refugees, the Hong Kong Baptist Association decided to open a Baptist seminary in Hong Kong at its council meeting of April 2, 1951. Lam was appointed to lead a team of nine committee members to start the seminary. Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary was opened in September 1951 with Lam as the chair of the board. Once again Southern Baptists rendered a lot of help, providing half of the teaching staff. James Belote was its president for an extended period of time from 1953 to 1971. Without a facility of its own, the seminary held classes in Kowloon City Baptist Church in the early days. In 1958, with the financial help from the FMB of the SBC, No. 1 Homantin Hill Road was purchased as the seminary premises.

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663 Ying, *Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong*, 122. In fact, all pastors in the early days of Hong Kong Baptist Church were either trained in the mainland or returned from the U.S. Rev. Tong Kit-hing, who was instrumental in the formal establishment of Hong Kong Baptist Church, was recruited from San Francisco in 1900. See Princeton Hsu, ed., *A History of Church Baptist Churches*, Vol. V: *Biographies of Former Leaders* (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1972), 86. Rev. Lau Yuet-sing, a prominent Chinese Baptist pastor, was also recruited from the U.S. to serve in Hong Kong Baptist Church between 1938 and 1957. See Lee Kam-keung, *Zili yu Guanhuai [Independence and Concerns]: A Hundred Year History of Hong Kong Baptist Church 1901-2001* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2001), 94.

664 *Tsimshatsui Baptist Church 50th Anniversary Special Issue 1939-1989* (Hong Kong: Tsimshatsui Baptist Church, 1989), 9. Chung went to China Baptist Theological Seminary in 1946.

665 Ibid. China Baptist Theological Seminary, along with ten other seminaries of East China, was amalgamated unto a general institution in Nanking in 1952, today known as Nanking Union Theological Seminary.


668 Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention (1952): 155. There were three Southern Baptist missionaries and three Chinese pastors in the faculty with a student enrolment of twenty-two, eight girls and fourteen boys. Rev. Lau Yuet-sing was the first president serving part time for two years and James Belote took up the post afterward.

669 Due to his health concern, Lau Yuet-sing served as the president for only two years.

Apart from serving local churches in Hong Kong, graduates of the seminary were given leadership of Chinese churches in different parts of the world.\textsuperscript{672} Among the 148 graduates by 1972, 60% remained in the locality, and the rest served in different places including the U.S., Singapore, New Zealand, Macau, Malaysia, Canada, Australia, Vietnam, Indonesia, and the UK.\textsuperscript{673} Chinese from other parts of Asia also went to Hong Kong for seminary training.\textsuperscript{674} In 1960, the Asia Baptist Graduate Theological Seminary was set up to pull resources from eight Baptist seminaries in the region to provide graduate theological training to Asians. Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary was chosen as the administrative headquarters and the first president was James Belote.\textsuperscript{675} Once again Lam was a key founding member of the seminary for which Southern Baptists provided both manpower and financial aid in starting and operations. Lam as the force behind so many new institutions earned him the nickname “Hong Kong Baptist Pope.”

Baptist Press

Publishing Christian literature has always been a core ministry of Southern Baptists, whom Lam encouraged to support Hong Kong Baptist ministries. They believed “strong churches need not only trained leaders but also literature for evangelism and religious education.”\textsuperscript{676} They also saw that “tracts can go into far places and homes where missionaries cannot go, and can remain in a field after the Christian worker must leave.”\textsuperscript{677} Due to such a belief, they helped to develop six publishing houses in the Orient during the 1950s.\textsuperscript{678} It is obvious that Lam, with his emphasis on evangelism and a Christian missionary presence, was in favor of a literature ministry. In the spring of 1950, Flora Dodson, a Southern Baptist missionary, started printing gospel tracts in Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{679} In 1955, the Chinese Baptist Press in Hong Kong was formally established and Maurice Anderson was appointed the first general manager.\textsuperscript{680} In November of the same year, the HKMM purchased premises on Prince Edward Road as headquarters for the Baptist

\textsuperscript{672} Cauthen et al., \textit{Advance to Bold Mission Thrust}, 108-109.
\textsuperscript{674} People from outside Hong Kong studying in the Seminary included: Daniel Tse, President of Hong Kong Baptist University (1971-1974), from Macau; and Peter Tuck-Soon Leong, President /Interim Executive Director of Chinese Baptist Fellowship of the U.S. & Canada (2012-2014), from Malaysia.
\textsuperscript{675} \textit{Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention} (1960): 155-156. The eight seminaries were from Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Hong Kong. See Hsu, \textit{A History of Chinese Baptist Churches}, Vol. II, 153.
\textsuperscript{676} \textit{Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention} (1960): 131.
\textsuperscript{677} \textit{Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention} (1952): 156
\textsuperscript{678} \textit{Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention} (1960): 131.
\textsuperscript{679} Hsu, \textit{A History of Chinese Baptist Churches}, Vol. II, 148. Flora Dodson was formally assigned to Hong Kong between 1952 and 1958.
\textsuperscript{680} Ibid.
Press. Within two years, Baptist Press supplied all kinds of materials for Sunday schools, fellowship groups, vacation Bible schools, and children’s programs in Hong Kong. By the autumn of 1957, different versions of the Chinese Bible and a monthly magazine were also printed and published.

In the summer of 1970, the HKMM opened the Baptist Bookstore as the retail shop of Baptist Press on Waterloo Road to supply Christian literature in both Chinese and English. Since then, Baptist Press in Hong Kong has become an important production center for Christian literature for Hong Kong, as well as other areas in East and Southeast Asia where missionaries were working among the Chinese people. Regarding the importance of the Baptist Press in Hong Kong to other Chinese Christians, James Cha, a prominent historian in Taiwan, succinctly said, “The most obvious influence of the Hong Kong churches upon the Taiwan churches in the 1950s is the contribution in Christian literatures.” Crawley accurately pinpointed that “Baptist Press was not just a Hong Kong institution but an Asia-wide organization, even a world-wide organization, as its Sunday school literature and books go to over 20 countries of the world.” In the beginning Baptist Press was solely supported by Southern Baptists, and was later joined by the local Baptist Association as well as Baptist associations in other regions in Southeast Asia. Southern Baptists pioneered Baptist literature work in Hong Kong and supplied all the required resources for establishing the Baptist Press and Baptist Bookstore.

Baptist Assembly

The idea of acquiring a campsite for outdoor activities and devotional meetings was conceived in as early as September 1953. In May 1954 the Hong Kong Baptist Association appointed Jaxie Short, a Southern Baptist missionary in Hong Kong, and David Lam, Lam’s second son, to be responsible for locating a suitable

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681 The property was purchased by Hong Kong-Macau Mission for HK$232,000. See James Belote, Letter to Baker Cauthen (December 29, 1954), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR. The ownership of the property was transferred from the FMB of the SBC to Hong Kong Baptist Association in 1996.
683 Ibid.
684 Ibid., 150.
686 James Cha Shih-chieh, “Xianggang Jiaohui dui Haiwai Huaren Jiaohui de Yingxiang [Influence of Hong Kong Churches over Overseas Chinese Churches],” in The 3rd Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China: History of Christianity in Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, 2003), 3-4. James Cha was a lecturer beginning in 1969, and was the professor of history between 1987 and 2002 of National Taiwan University.
687 “Baptist Press,” Literature Work under Sketch of Various Baptist Ministries in Hong Kong (East Asia) 1968-70 (0549), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 821AR.
site for a Baptist camp and liaison with the district office of the Hong Kong government for the land. The Association also decided the name of the campsite would be Baptist Assembly. Later it became known as Baptist Camp or Baptist Youth Camp. After the first planning committee was held in June 1954, they began to seek government land. These efforts were to no avail, thus the Association decided to find private land and finally bought a piece of land of over 500,000 square feet in Fanling, New Territories, in September 1963. The land cost HK$0.6 per square foot and the total investment including tidying up the site was about HK$400,000. To finance the project, the FMB of the SBC donated HK$150,000. In addition, the school choir of Oklahoma University of the U.S. held a concert in Hong Kong on May 31, 1967, and raised over HK$64,000. As a result of these efforts more than half of the funds were contributed by Southern Baptists.

Lam often stressed that his own children should keep healthy through exercise and recreational activities. To him, proper recreation for young people was equally as important as Christian teaching. This could be seen in his letter to Alexander Grantham: “It is important to provide youths with Christian teaching and proper recreation so that their excess energy may be diverted to the right path and they themselves may become good citizens.” To Lam, the Baptist Assembly was “an ideal place both for the worship of God and for the amenities of Baptist members, especially the young ones.” When the Assembly was opened, it was the largest Christian camp in Hong Kong. Many member churches of the Association held gospel camps there and many young people accepted the Christian faith in the Assembly.

**Other Support**

**Benevolence Ministries**

Though Lam’s focus was evangelism and mission, he believed these worthy goals must be reached not only by words but by concrete actions. He had long been...
involved in benevolence work and social services. In 1922 when Lam saw that flooding and drought occurred constantly in his home village damaging the rice fields, he “offered all his personal savings for the building of an irrigation system some twelve miles in length.”699 When the Sino-Japanese War started in 1937, many unfortunate children who lost their parents became homeless. Hong Kong Children’s Refugee Organization was established in 1939 to provide shelter and education to these orphans. Lam was the treasurer and a founding board member of the organization.700 The following year after the war commenced; widespread famine took place in Southern China. South China Baptist Relief Association was set up in 1938 and Lam was elected the chair of the twenty-one member committee to organize relief work.701

When the war continued to spread to other places in China, the South China Wartime Children Education Home Association was set up in 1940 to help children affected by the war, and Lam was again elected treasurer of the organization.702 During the war, many refugees fled to Hong Kong and lived in refugee camps. As the facilities were very primitive and living conditions were poor, a severe fire swept away four thousand homes in early 1950 in a squatter area near Kowloon City. Twenty thousand people were made homeless.703 Since a large number of Baptist members lost their homes in the fire, Lam sought help from the Hong Kong government and was granted an area of mountainside land called Tiger’s Den to build homes for the fire victims.704 With the donation of HK$30,000 by the FMB of the SBC to cover construction costs, fifty new houses were built and called the Village of Brotherly Love.705 In the midst of these Christian homes an attractive chapel was built and was dedicated on November 26 in 1950.706

Facing the continuous need and ever increasing demand for social welfare services, Hong Kong Baptist Association formed the Social Welfare (Benevolence) Department in 1964. The department membership, led by Lam’s brother, Dr. Lam

699 Roy, David Lam: A Biography, 8.
700 Lau Yuet-sing, Xianggang Jidujiaohui Shi [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1996), 264. Hong Kong Children’s Refugee Organization in Chinese is “Xianggang Nantong Gongdouyuan.”
701 Lau, Xianggang Jidujiaohui Shi [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 268. The FMB of the SBC donated US$3,000, the highest amount among all donors, to the relief work. The South China Baptist Relief Association in Chinese is “Jidujiao Huanan Jinxinhui Zhenzaihui.”
702 Lau, Xianggang Jidujiaohui Shi [History of Hong Kong Protestant Churches], 269. South China Wartime Children Education Home Association in Chinese is “Jidujiao Huanan Zhanshi Ertong Jiaoyanghui.”
704 Hong Kong Baptist Association 20th Anniversary Commemoration 1938-1958, 6.
705 Ibid. See also Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 5, Issue 12 (December 1950): 11-12.
Shu-kee, was composed of native Baptist leaders including Rev. Chung Yan-kwong, Southern Baptist missionaries including George Wilson and Mrs. Fuller, and American Baptist missionary Loren Noren. In the autumn of 1965, the Hong Kong government granted the Association the use of the entire ground floor of a resettlement building in Tzewanshan to be the Baptist Social Welfare Center. With support and donations from denominational bodies including Southern Baptists, Canadian Baptists, Dutch Baptists, and Australian Baptists, a day care center and a reading room were started. Clark Dean, a professional social worker sent by the Southern Baptists, was in charge of the center. The center also had sewing classes to help women learn a skill with which they could earn a living. With the outreach opportunity created by the center, Kowloon City Baptist Church started Sunday worship and Sunday school there. In addition, evangelistic meetings were held twice a month to reach nearby residents.

A benevolence ministry was never a high priority on the agenda of Southern Baptists, as their emphasis was always on direct evangelism. The Program Base Design of the HKMM with regard to physical resources of the Mission clearly states: “The major emphasis for the years ahead must be on land and buildings for new chapels and some aid to enlargement of present church buildings.” Despite the fact that a social welfare service was not their priority, Southern Baptists were actively involved and supportive in Hong Kong benevolence work. At least partly, this was due to Lam’s ability to carry out his vision; and also the direct and urgent needs of local people made the missionaries’ approach more flexible. It is also worth noting that Baptist denomination bodies from different parts of the world were supporting the same work. Lam made the opportunity possible for different Baptist mission agencies to work together in Hong Kong.

Training the Locals

Many foreign missionaries who came to Hong Kong were experienced workers in their respective fields. While they were serving in churches and institutions, they also helped in training local workers. Besides the Baptist seminary which provided formal training to church workers, there was other training held in church setting by missionaries. For example, Marie Conveys held classes for natives to learn how to manage libraries so as to prepare them for the Argyle Street Library ministry in

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709 A booklet in the file of Hong Kong (East Asia) 1968-1970 (0549), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 821AR, 12.  
711 Ibid.  
1964. Some natives were sent to the U.S. to receive training. When Hong Kong Baptists started the Baptist Assembly in the 1960s, Rev. Chan Chi-yiu was sent to the U.S. to learn from Southern Baptists how to operate one. To learn how to better develop Baptist ministries, a delegation of four leading pastors led by Rev. Cheung Yau-kwong, the senior pastor of Kowloon City Baptist Church, was sent to the U.S. on November 1, 1968, for three months. They visited different Baptist organizations including universities, seminaries, the Mission Department, and the Sunday School Board. Two team members stayed until the end of July 1969, to take courses in Sunday school programs and propagation technology in South Western Theological Seminary and Baylor University respectively, and to attend the Southern Baptist summer camp.

Hong Kong Baptists took these learning experiences seriously. To insure the trip was successful, a special committee headed by Lam was formed in January 1968. Two months before the delegation departed for the U.S., Lam visited U.S. churches in person in September 1968 to express his appreciation for their support of Hong Kong Baptists. For the funding of the training trip, David Wong sought help from Baker Cauthen and Winston Crawley in the U.S. Finally, Southern Baptists offered US$3,750 to cover the travel expense of the five team members and US$75 per month per person for living expense while they were in the U.S. Southern Baptists helped in training Hong Kong church workers and also provided the associated funds for the training. There were other examples of Hong Kong Baptists who were supported by Southern Baptists to receive training in the U.S., such as Rev. Cheung Yau-kwong and Rev. Paul Wong Yat-keung at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, and Lee Mang-pew at Baylor University. Most of these trained workers became key denomination leaders in Hong Kong Baptists.

Lam initiated, promoted and was heavily involved in most of the above ministries. He was seen as the driving force behind many Baptist ministries created to meet the different needs of Hong Kong Baptists. With Lam’s role in initiating the return of Baptist missionaries and the establishment of Baptist institutions, a different landscape of Hong Kong Baptists was formed.

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714 Kowloon City Baptist Church 70th Anniversary Commemoration, 49.
717 Ibid. The trip was also intended for Lam to have eye surgery in the U.S.
718 Baker Cauthen was the secretary for the Orient, FMB of SBC, in 1946, and the executive secretary in 1954. His title was later changed to executive director. Winston Crawley was the secretary for the Orient, FMB of SBC, from 1954 to 1968.
719 Ibid.
720 Lee Mang-pew later was the principal of Pui Ching Middle School after Lam Chi-fung retired from the position. See James Belote, Letter to Winston Crawley (February 20, 1956), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 672AR. The majority of these Hong Kong Baptist workers were offered scholarships, living subsidies and traveling expenses by the FMB of the SBC to receive training in the U.S.
A Different Landscape

Before 1950, for more than half a century, not a single missionary was assigned to Hong Kong by Southern Baptists as the territory was considered part of the South China Region. After 1950, the number of Southern Baptist missionaries began to grow until there were over eighty in 1970. Mission funds increased to over one million U.S. dollars in the early 1970s. This was a period of missionaries, and mission funds, returning to Hong Kong – which turned a new page in the Hong Kong Baptist story.

The Southern Baptists always put a great emphasis on direct evangelism – planting churches first and other institutions afterwards. According to James Belote, who was responsible for Southern Baptist missions in the region, the priority of funds granted to the Hong Kong mission was “Mission chapels, Churches and Sunday School buildings, Baptist Press, Seminary, Summer Assembly grounds, [and] missionary residences.” There was no mention of education institutions. However, things appeared to be different. Shortly after Baker Cauthen, secretary for the Orient of the FMB of SBC, visited Hong Kong in November 1953, James Belote wrote Cauthen, referring to his preaching at evangelistic services at Hong Kong:

(...) large numbers of the students who made decisions at Pooi Ching School, at the conclusion of your message that day, are planning to be baptized this coming Sunday. I expect we will be baptizing more than two hundred people at the Stirling Road Church alone.

Belote wanted to show Cauthen’s preaching was successful. Cauthen must have been thrilled to learn from Belote that he could contribute to evangelism so effectively and Baptist schools were such great places for evangelism. Probably due to the great success of winning converts in schools, the FMB continued to grant funds for an education ministry in Hong Kong. On top of the US$24,000 previously granted to Henrietta School for building costs in 1954, another

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721 Although there were nine missionaries appointed to Hong Kong, due to different reasons only three were actually in the field in 1952. Figures of Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong are taken from Annuals of Southern Baptist Convention from 1950 and 1975. Although the C&MA did not plan to start work in Hong Kong in the early 1950s, they had nine missionaries there in the end of 1950. See Leung Ka-leung, The Centenary History of Alliance Bible Seminary (1899-1999) (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1999), 166.

722 Figures are taken from the Annuals of Southern Baptist Convention between 1950 and 1975. Figures for Hong Kong are available only in and after 1953. Before that Hong Kong was included in the South China District.

723 James Belote, Letter to Baker Cauthen (October 7, 1953), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671R.

724 James Belote, Letter to Baker Cauthen (December 16, 1953), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671R. James Belote was among the first Southern Baptist missionaries who moved to Hong Kong after 1950 and was the president of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary at that time.
US$10,000 was given to Henrietta School. Much more was later seen being granted to the Baptist College.

In a case study of “Collaboration between Chinese and Westerners – Hong Kong” submitted to the Chinese Congress of Evangelism, Rev. Cheung Yau-kwong concluded his findings with regard to the partnership between the Hong Kong Baptist Association and the FMB of the SBC, saying:

Although Hong Kong Baptist Association and Foreign Mission Board of Southern Baptist Convention were two different independent organizations, there was beautiful collaboration between them in finance, personnel and programs. Although in most cases, Southern Baptists played an assistant role; their investment was often more than the locals.

Winston Crawley, secretary for the Orient of Southern Baptist FMB, said:

The influence of new leaders (both Chinese and missionaries) led to rapid expansion and strengthening of Baptist work. Within ten years [since the formation of Hong Kong-Macau Mission], the number of churches more than doubled. There were twenty-five new mission points, and church membership had tripled.

Crawley believed the rapid growth of Baptist work during this period was a result of the assignment of Southern Baptist missionaries to Hong Kong and “[they] have entered into partnership with the churches and Baptist leaders of Hong Kong.”

Instead of the prior situation of natives acting alone before 1950, missionaries in the 1950s and 1960s were working alongside local Baptists. Missionaries served as church planters in new mission points, advisory pastors in churches, faculty members in the university and seminary, teachers in the secondary schools, medical personnel in the hospital, social workers in the welfare center, and administrators in institutions. These missionary resources played a crucial role in developing the Hong Kong Baptist mission.

During the 1950s and 60s, Hong Kong Baptists experienced their most rapid growth. They grew from eleven churches and chapels of fewer than six thousand members in 1950 to forty-five churches and chapels with over twenty-one thousand members in 1970. They became the largest denomination in Hong Kong. In his letter to James Belote on September 20, 1955 commenting on the

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achievement of Hong Kong Baptists, Baker Cauthen wrote that Hong Kong Baptists had “done more in the last five or six years than ever in their history.” It should be more correct to say that Hong Kong Baptists together with Baptist missionaries had done more than ever in their history. Lam was the key driving force behind most of the important developments: the return of Baptist missionaries, the collaboration between locals and foreign in Baptist ministries, the soliciting of foreign support in establishing Baptist institutions, and the building of a Hong Kong Baptist enterprise.

Hong Kong Baptists had a new landscape since Lam invited and received missionary support. Prior to the return of foreign missionaries, Hong Kong Baptists were acting alone and concentrated their efforts in direct evangelism, planting churches, working mainly among Cantonese speaking Chinese, and paid little attention to other ministries apart from running a few much-needed elementary and middle schools. After the return of the missionaries, the situation changed. Hong Kong Baptists experienced rapid growth and expansion with many new churches and mission points. Cantonese and Swatow Baptists grew stronger and Mandarin Baptists began to emerge. Together they formed a big Baptist family. With large amounts of resources available from foreign mission groups, in particular the Southern Baptists, a number of important institutions were established. They included: Hong Kong Baptist College, the only Chinese Baptist tertiary education institute in the world; Hong Kong Baptist Hospital, the largest private hospital in Hong Kong; Baptist Seminary, the most established theology school in the colony at that time; Baptist Assembly, the biggest Christian campground in the territory for many years; a Baptist publishing house and bookstore; and a Baptist social welfare center. However, there were tensions created by Lam’s initiative to facilitate the return of missionaries.

Tensions Created by Lam’s Initiating the Return of Missionaries

Missionaries were everywhere working alongside locals. However, behind the beautiful scene of East and West collaboration, there were tensions created by the return of missionaries. Apart from the usual discord between two different cultural groups working together, there were people who questioned Lam’s acts of seeking

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729 Baker Cauthen, Letter to James Belote (September 20, 1955), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR. The letter also showed that Cauthen was very worried about Lam’s health as examinations which he had at the hospital in the U.S. revealed that he was in very poor condition, probably due to stress and a heavy workload.

730 There was also study center opened on Dec 27, 1964, on 21 Bonham Road with facilities including a bookstore, reading room, prayer room and membership room in the upper floor, office and sports room in the lower floor. See Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Vol. 20, Issue 1 (January 1965): 7. The Hong Kong Baptist Student Center was jointly established by the Hong Kong Baptist Association, the Hong Kong-Macau Baptist Mission, and the Hong Kong Mission of the Conservation Baptist Foreign Mission Society. See “Baptist Student Centre,” in Hong Kong (East Asia) 1968-70 (0549), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 821AR.
foreign support and his emphasis on establishing institutions, seeing them as erosion to indigenization and competition with direct evangelism. In the midst of these tensions, some local Baptists as well as foreign missionaries began to question Lam’s leadership.

Indigenous vs. Foreign

When Lam initiated the invitation for Baptist missionaries to return to Hong Kong, there were different views among local Baptist leaders concerning whether there really was a need for their return. When foreign missionaries first came to Hong Kong during the nineteenth century, they took the lead guiding the locals. After a century from the time when missionaries had withdrawn from Hong Kong, Hong Kong Baptists themselves had built a relatively strong denomination and appeared to do well on their own. Therefore, when Southern Baptists informed the Hong Kong Baptist Association of their intention to move the mission office to Hong Kong in 1949, the news appeared to arouse no excitement among local Baptists. Some local workers questioned why there was a need to require missionaries to come back. Why could they not continue the mission by themselves without foreign aid just as they had been doing for the first half of the twentieth century?

While missionaries and locals were working alongside each other to build Hong Kong Baptists during the second half of the twentieth century, there were the usual conflicts between two different cultural groups. Firstly, the language barrier was a problem. Maurice Anderson succinctly says: “[Despite that] each could speak in some fashion the language of the other. In technical conversation neither understood the other well enough to get fine meanings across.” Secondly, there were the cultural differences. Anderson also states: “Although the missionaries involved had lived and worked in China, and in Hong Kong, their basic socialization was quite alien to that of their Chinese counterparts.” Thirdly, expectation differences also created a gap between them. In the summary and concluding chapters of his book *The Survival Strategies of A Complex Organization*, Anderson admitted: “Role conflict between the western and Chinese administrators developed because the expectations which each brought to his situs in the organization were not compatible.” Paul Wong was right to note that conflict between missionaries and locals was obvious, particularly in institutions

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731 *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly*, Volume 4, Issue 12 (December, 1949): 10. The report briefly mentioned the news. The Association only assigned Lam and two others to handle the matter without further elaboration concerning how the Association would follow up with the return of Baptist missionaries. There was no further news about the return of Southern Baptists in subsequent issues of *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly*.


733 Ibid., 64.

734 Ibid., 139.
such as the Baptist College and Seminary.\footnote{Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 234.} Besides the conflicts due to differences in languages, culture, and expectation between locals and missionaries, there were other concerns.

Some locals were concerned that churches relying on foreign aid would never be able to stand on their own feet. Princeton Hsu, the senior pastor of Tsimshatsui Baptist Church and a well-respected Christian writer, was probably the first who openly raised his concern of the adverse effect of foreign aid to local Baptists. He said in the Second Orient Missions Conference held in Hong Kong on March 27, 1961: “Chinese churches for 100 years have not reached out. Why? Perhaps [it was] because of too much aid from the outside. We have a Chinese proverb: Don’t carry a baby on the back for 10 years; he will never be able to walk.”\footnote{“Report of the Second Orient Missions Conference of Foreign Mission Board of Southern Baptist Convention,” held in Hong Kong (March 20-30, 1961), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 821AR, 11.} Missionary support was seen to be a hindrance in indigenous church growth and independence.

The more acute problem for the presence of missionaries was the erosion of indigenization. In the 1920s during the height of the Anti-Christian Movement in China, the notion that all Chinese churches should be free of foreign interference had been taken on board by many Chinese Christians.\footnote{Bob Whyte,\textit{ Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity} (Pennsylvania: Morehouse Publishing, 1990), 152.} After the Communists took over China in 1949, the National Christian Council in China with the emphasis on “three-self church” (self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating) advocated that the indigenization movement should be stepped up, with all efforts to ensure that all Chinese churches were as free as possible from dependence upon foreign churches.\footnote{Jonathan Hill,\textit{ Handbook to the History of Christianity} (Grand Rapid, Michigan: Zondervan, 2006), 481.} Hong Kong Baptists appeared to be doing well independently without any foreign aid and carrying out well the indigenous principle in the first half of the twentieth century.\footnote{Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 228.}

Following the return of foreign missionaries, some local Baptists were displeased that the indigenous effort by Hong Kong Baptists in the early stage of their history was eroded. In the concluding chapter of his PhD dissertation in the early 1970s discussing future mission strategies of Hong Kong Baptists, Paul Wong found that the Hong Kong Baptist indigenous effort had been ruined since the return of Baptist missionaries.\footnote{Ibid., 229.} He strongly suggested that the “indigenous spirit should be restored and emphasized.”\footnote{Ibid., 296.} In Wong’s survey among local Baptist workers, more than ninety percent of the respondents expressed that the
Association should aim at self-support and self-propagation instead of relying on foreign resources.\textsuperscript{742} Obviously the return of foreign missionaries had caused a concern with the deterioration in indigenization.

Taking into account the above mentioned concerns, it was to be expected that while Lam requested more missionaries to be sent to Hong Kong, there was a debate if money or missionaries were needed by Hong Kong churches. According to Ya Mo Si, in Hong Kong \textit{Christian Weekly}, “Hong Kong does not need any more missionaries. Rather, Hong Kong should send missionaries overseas.”\textsuperscript{743}

If foreign mission agencies really want to help Hong Kong churches, they should not send missionaries. Instead of spending money on missionaries for their family, travel, and furlough expenses, mission groups should appropriate the same amount of money for Hong Kong development rather than sending personnel. Foreign workers may not necessarily be better than locals.\textsuperscript{744}

Apparently some local church leaders did not share Lam’s view of asking foreign mission boards to send as many missionaries as possible to Hong Kong although they did not mind receiving mission money. However, Baker Cauthen viewed it differently, “Which is needed more, money or missionaries? Quite obviously the need is for both. The needs are so parallel that it is somewhat like having to answer whether one’s right eye or one’s left eye is needed more.”\textsuperscript{745} Winston Crawley told Paul Wong in an interview that “Southern Baptists would not change their policy regarding sending personnel. They will increase the number of their missionaries overseas, because they believe the personnel represent life dedication, more than monetary offering.”\textsuperscript{746} Foreign mission agents obviously would not dispute the need for appointing more missionaries to Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{747}

To explain the phenomenon of locals rejecting the missionary presence, George Wilson, former president of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, told the author that “in general most Chinese would not want to have a large number of missionaries coming to Hong Kong, feeling that they could take places

\textsuperscript{742} Concerning Wong’s survey carried out among national Baptist workers in Hong Kong in early 1970 on the subject of “The Convention should aim at self-support and self-propagation,” the result shows 58.6% “Strongly Agree,” and 33.3% “Agree.” See ibid., 229.

\textsuperscript{743} Ya Mo Si, “Xianggang Xuyao Nayizhong Chuanjiaoshi [What Kind of Missionaries Does Hong Kong Need],” in \textit{Christian Weekly}, Volume 476 (October 7, 1973): 5. Ya Mo Si is a pen name which is a Chinese translation of the biblical name Amos. He is a frequent writer in the Hong Kong Christian magazine, \textit{Christian Weekly}.

\textsuperscript{744} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{746} Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 288-289.

\textsuperscript{747} According to Paul Wong’s survey among missionaries in Hong Kong concerning whether they would recommend to the Board that more missionaries be appointed to Hong Kong, 57.2% showed positive. See Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 289.
that should well be given to Chinese persons instead.”\textsuperscript{748} Wilson’s saying was probably valid as all important positions in Baptist churches were occupied by natives before the return of missionaries. Thus there was also tension in competing for leadership roles between natives and missionaries.

**Direct Evangelism vs. Indirect Evangelism**

There were tensions between direct evangelism and indirect evangelism. Since the return of Southern Baptists, a number of institutions were established under Lam’s leadership. Lam believed these institutions, such as the Baptist College and Baptist Hospital, were important means of indirect evangelism which would lead to many converts just as direct evangelism could. However, Princeton Hsu viewed it differently. He argued that it would not be possible for church schools to compete with government schools in terms of finances and facilities, and questioned whether it was worthwhile for churches to be investing so many resources on running schools.\textsuperscript{749} As early as 1961 during the Second Orient Missions Conference, Hsu voiced in front of foreign missionaries that “elementary and high schools should be run on a self-supporting basis only (not depending too much on churches for funds).”

\begin{quote}
I suggest that our Baptist colleges and universities don’t go into very elaborate plans. (…). Don’t aim to have big universities and colleges. (…), the aim should be chiefly and primarily to train our Baptist young people (children of Baptist families) into Christian leadership.\textsuperscript{750}
\end{quote}

Hsu worried that spending money on institutions would affect resources in churches, and said: “There is danger in too much aid to conventions and their enterprises because it will harm the churches. Local churches are more important than associations, orphanages, hospitals, schools, etc.”\textsuperscript{751} In echoing Hsu’s saying, Paul Wong believed many ideal opportunities to help build better churches were lost in the early part of the 1960’s as a result of heavy investment in institutions.\textsuperscript{752}

Paul Wong also had reservations with regard to Lam’s advocating for having a large program of institutions, stating that “the present development is beyond the capacities of a local body with some twenty thousand members, thus necessitating outside assistance.”\textsuperscript{753} In order to maintain these Baptist institutions, the call for

\textsuperscript{748} George Wilson, former principal of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, Email to the author (March 9, 2016).


\textsuperscript{750} “Report of the Second Orient Missions Conference of Foreign Mission Board of Southern Baptist Convention,” held in Hong Kong (March 20-30, 1961), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 821AR, 16.

\textsuperscript{751} Ibid., 11.

\textsuperscript{752} Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 240.

\textsuperscript{753} Ibid., 296.
missionary support was inevitable. Wong further opined due to the design of the Association’s mission projects, “self-support by the Convention and its institutions will not be achieved in the near future.”Southern Baptist institutions were seen to be causing delays in independence from foreign influence.

Southern Baptists were known to place great emphasis on direct evangelism. As early as 1954 when the FMB turned down Pui To’s request for US$10,000 for the construction of a new school building, Belote wrote to Cauthen:

[The Mission] will need to emphasize especially the building of mission chapel and church edifices, in order to strengthen the evangelistic work of this area. (...) If the funds were now available, thousands and thousands of dollars could be used to promote and project this type of evangelistic work, through the opening of other preaching points and chapels, and through the provision of much needed buildings for churches already started. (...) There is danger in a place like Hong Kong of the education work overshadowing and overpowering the evangelistic program. We would like to see the spiritual and evangelistic program of the Mission and of the Association be the supreme and primary phase of the work.755

The central objective of Southern Baptist missions in each land was clearly the development of strong churches and a strong Baptist denomination.756 The Program Base Design of Hong Kong Macau Mission with regard to physical resources of the Mission clearly states: “The major emphasis for the years ahead must be on land and buildings for new chapels and some aid to enlargement of present church buildings.”757 Paul Wong also said “the FMB, in principle, had no strong interest in ministries other than evangelism.”758 Apparently direct evangelism was the prime objective of the Southern Baptists, not building more institutions. Despite authoritative voices among Southern Baptists who doubted Lam’s vision to build institutions, there were others holding a different view.759

However, there were people among Southern Baptists who viewed the matter differently. The Carver brothers, David and George, were prominent Southern Baptists in the U.S. and keen supporters of Lam’s agenda.760 They

754 Ibid.
756 Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention (1961): 162.
758 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 240.
759 George Wilson was among those Southern Baptist missionaries who supported Lam’s way of leading Hong Kong Baptists.
760 David Carver initially had concerns about the future of Hong Kong and raised the question in the late 1950s to Maurice Anderson as to “whether or not the Reds might take over Hong Kong in the next ten years.” After his worry was removed, he became a keen supporter of Lam’s programs. See Maurice Anderson, Visiting Professor of Missions in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Letter to George Wilson of Hong Kong Baptist College (November 17, 1958), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 1.
donated the most to Hong Kong Baptist College,\textsuperscript{761} and established the Carver Scholarship to help Chinese students to study in U.S. universities.\textsuperscript{762} While the Carvers were providing huge support to the College, they found that “Dr. Cauthen and Dr. Crawley did not share [their] feeling of the importance of the College both as an opportunity to develop leadership and as an evangelistic agency.”\textsuperscript{763} David Carver wrote to Dr. Holmer G. Lindsay, president of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board, on January 3, 1963, stating, “Now the main purpose of this letter is to let you know that I have recently been waging a battle to have the Board do more for the College.”\textsuperscript{764} Carver further said in his letter:

I called him [Crawley] on New Year’s Day. The result of this conversation was that I was confirmed in my feeling that they did not share my sense of urgency about the College. (...) I am forced to the conclusion that unless the Board will make a new appraisal of the value of the College to our work out there, and do more than they have done, and give me permission to try to raise funds – which Dr. Cauthen declined to approve two years ago – I may as well forge my dream for the College.\textsuperscript{765}

Apart from Crawley and Cauthen’s reservations about the College in Hong Kong, Maurice Anderson, the founding vice-president of Hong Kong Baptist College, also revealed that “some missionary trustees helped to develop the college which they thought should not exist and about the functioning of which they had negative feelings. In the mission and in private they had opposed the founding of the College.”\textsuperscript{766} Anderson also questioned: “To what extent would the college project affect adversely provision of funds for building of churches?”\textsuperscript{767} Despite being the vice president of the College, Anderson obviously had doubts about creating the school. While Leonard Duce and George Wilson were helping to solicit support for the College, Wilson felt that “a number of the missionaries were happy to see us have a difficult road ahead.”\textsuperscript{768}

Clearly, there were tensions between direct evangelism and indirect evangelism – investing in churches versus establishing institutions. While Lam

\textsuperscript{761} David Wong, Chairman of the Board and Lam Chi-fung, the principal, of Hong Kong Baptist College, Manuscript regarding a brief history of the College (October 21, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12. Up to 1966, the Carvers had donated HK$1,428,000 to Hong Kong Baptists, the highest single donor. To show appreciation for Carver’s support to the College, the science faculty facility, including the laboratories, classrooms, and faculty rooms, was named David J. Carver Science Building. See Lam Chi-fung, Letter to David Carver (November 23, 1964), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 3.
\textsuperscript{762} A cover note without title and date, DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 1.
\textsuperscript{763} David Carver, Letter to Dr. Holmer G. Lindsay, President of Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board (January 3, 1963), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 3.
\textsuperscript{764} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{765} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{766} Anderson, The survival Strategies of A Complex Organization, 64.
\textsuperscript{767} Ibid., 49.
\textsuperscript{768} George Wilson, Letter to Maurice Anderson (January 7, 1959), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 2.
continued to push forward his agenda for mission support and building institutions, he did not have unanimous support from Southern Baptist mission representatives. In addition, he had to deal with another challenge: his leadership was questioned by some local pastors and leaders as well as a number of Southern Baptist missionaries.

**Displeasure with Lam’s Leadership**

When summarizing the work of the Hong Kong Baptist Association in recent decades before 1970, Paul Wong said, “The Convention itself lacks overall and long-range planning. (…) Only good and efficient leadership can stop the centrifugal trend which has existed in the recent decade.” Although no name was mentioned in Wong’s writing, obviously he was pointing at Lam and criticizing his leadership. Wong further said: “The churches and institutions have experienced better leadership of an adequate quality. Thus, the improvement of the Convention leadership should not be difficult.” Regarding “better leadership of an adequate quality,” Wong was probably referring to Daniel Tse who replaced Lam as the president of Hong Kong Baptist College since 1971, Samuel Tang assuming the presidency of Hong Kong Baptist Seminary beginning in 1971, and Wong himself replacing Lam as the president of Hong Kong Baptist Association in 1971. Wong’s comments were made known in his PhD dissertation in 1974, a few years after Lam passed away. It is in Chinese culture that authorities are rarely criticized, especially when the person in question is still alive.

Lam served twenty-six terms as the president of the Hong Kong Baptist denominational body until he died in 1971. There were probably voices criticizing Lam occupying the position for too long. A document, most likely written by Lam, titled “My Opinion on the Draft Review of the Constitution of Hong Kong Baptist Churches Association” revealed that its author was defending Lam’s extended length of service in the Association. With regard to Clauses 23 and 27 of the Constitution concerning the length of service of elected officials, the document states:

(...) unlike ordinary welfare organizations officials of the Association have obligations, but no authority. It is a heavenly calling for Christians to dedicate themselves to live and work for the Lord, and should have no time limit of service. The most important point is whether the one elected has the ability, is worthy, and

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769 Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 296. Wong did not elaborate on what he meant by “the centrifugal trend which has existed in the recent decade,” the author believes he was referring to some Baptist pastors who were displeased with the leadership of the denomination body and left Hong Kong Baptists to join other denominations or ministries.

770 Ibid.
willing to dedicate his ability to serve. There should not be any limitation and restriction to the length of service.\textsuperscript{771}

During Lam’s time, there was no limitation to the length of service for officials of the Association. Lam’s defense of an unrestricted length of service term was believed to be a response to the people who challenged his leadership and requested a new denomination leader. Likely there were people who felt that Lam had served his purpose and now it was necessary for a change of leadership and strategy.

There was also concern about the efficiency of the Association under Lam’s leadership. A survey related to the concern was carried out by Paul Wong among Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong in the early 1970s. \textsuperscript{772} 42% of respondents ranked it poor and 28.6% as fair, while only 11.5% as good.\textsuperscript{772} The majority of the missionaries did not think Lam had led the Association effectively. Maurice Anderson probably was the most outspoken in criticizing Lam’s leadership. Having worked closely with Lam in Hong Kong Baptist College, Maurice Anderson complained Lam wasted the time of other group-members of the College by “reiterating familiar information about his plans or wishes for procurement of funds, government contacts and the like.”\textsuperscript{773} He further said Lam “blocked business which was recognized as useful” to the College when “sensing a threat to his position” by others.\textsuperscript{774} With regard to employment of new staff, Maurice complained that it was done “on the basis of family connections and friendship rather than skill and efficiency.”\textsuperscript{775}

There were other criticisms of Lam, but each seemingly had a different reason for the opposition. Some could be seen as valid. There were people who were critical about a lot of things and were opposed to Lam. George Wilson was probably right in saying: “The opposition was due to not being included in Lam’s camp, they did not like authority, and due to more ideological reasons, money was seen as power, and some people don’t like to see Lam’s power with money.”\textsuperscript{776} Some others as emerging leaders might be seeking leadership with a desire to have a part of the “leadership pie” for themselves and perhaps their own different goals or agendas. At times, Lam pushed his ideas without sensitivity to teamwork. David, Lam’s second son, once said about his father: “When he said so, it was like

\textsuperscript{771} “My Opinion on the Draft Review of the Constitution of Hong Kong Baptist Churches Association,” DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 17. Although no author was given in the document, its handwriting shows it was likely to have been written by Lam.

\textsuperscript{772} Wong commented that it was worth noting that missionaries who were usually very polite on the mission field gave such a blunt criticism. See Wong, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong,” 237.


\textsuperscript{774} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{775} Ibid., 133.

\textsuperscript{776} George Wilson, Interview by the author (April 15, 2014).
Chairman Mao – end of discussion.” Lam’s dominant personality and strong leadership style might have caused people to be reluctant to voice different opinions especially those not in agreement with his. Those who held different views from Lam would likely have been marginalized and even hurt under the circumstances. Obviously, there were people, both local and foreign Baptist leaders, displeased with Lam’s leadership.

**Conclusion**

Lam Chi-fung initiated the invitation of the return of missionaries. He was the driving force behind most Baptist ministries created to meet the different needs of Hong Kong Baptists. In response to Lam’s call to meet the needs of Hong Kong, missionaries began to arrive in the 1950s. Initially seven were assigned to the territory, though only three were actually on the site in 1952. By 1970, the number had grown to eighty-two. Large amounts of mission funds were also allocated to Hong Kong. The support grew from zero before 1953, to over US$1 million in 1970. With the available resources in both missionary personnel and mission funds, new churches and mission stations were opened, church membership increased, and many institutions were established. The mission support was not confined to mainline Cantonese-speaking Baptist churches, but also Swatow Baptist churches as well as Mandarin work. As a result of these mission resources, Hong Kong Baptists rapidly expanded to be the largest denomination in the colony with the highest number of churches and membership, and many important institutions. Lam’s background and the then unusual environment and need propelled him to recruit mission agencies and missionaries to commence diversified ministries for Hong Kong Baptists. As a result, the denomination had a different landscape once Lam’s efforts were successful.

While missionaries were working alongside the locals in churches and institutions, there were tensions created by the return of missionaries. Apart from the usual difficulties of two different cultural groups, some locals doubted if they really needed their return and worried that their own indigenous effort would be eroded. Hence there was created tension between foreign versus indigenous Baptists. With Lam’s introduction of a large scheme of institutions, both natives and foreign missionaries were concerned whether resources should be used in churches instead of in institutions. Thus, there was also the tension of direct evangelism versus indirect evangelism. While Lam proactively requested more mission resources and fervently pursued establishing institutions, some of his co-workers began to question his leadership.

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777 Roy, *David Lam: A Biography*, 12
Despite all these tensions, Lam succeeded in partnering with foreign mission agencies, in particular the Southern Baptists, to build a large Hong Kong Baptist establishment. However, damage (albeit insignificant) caused by these tensions were also done as people were not given the opportunities to voice different opinions and occupy leadership positions because they were silenced or even controlled by the dominant and monopolizing Lam who kept pushing his own agenda; anything he set his mind to do, he wanted to have accomplished. On the surface, he was trying his best to help the Hong Kong Baptists develop, whether he had other motives to do so, we do not have sufficient data to speculate.

Under Lam’s leadership, Hong Kong Baptists had a large program of institutions. In order to maintain denomination growth, Lam sought help from the government in addition to aid from the mission. While accepting government subsidies, there was a concern of the breach of the Baptist teaching of separation of church and state. In the following chapters, we will look at the century-long relationship between Baptists and the Hong Kong government before 1950, and see how Lam befriended and collaborated with the government after 1950, and his pragmatic way of handling the issue of separation of church and state while seeking government assistance in land grants and other support. We will also discuss how his efforts in this respect caused other kinds of tension and controversies.
Chapter 6: Baptist Cooperation with the Hong Kong Government (1950-1970): Lam’s Collaboration with Governor Grantham

Introduction

Hong Kong Baptists experienced rapid growth between 1950 and 1970, since Lam Chi-fung’s invitation succeeded in securing considerable mission resources from foreign mission agencies, in particular the Southern Baptists. Many new churches and chapels were built and a number of institutions were established. Besides mission support, Baptist collaboration with the Hong Kong government was also an important factor leading to the expansion of Hong Kong Baptists during this period. Beginning at the time Hong Kong became a British colony, Baptists cooperated with the Hong Kong government to provide education and social services to meet the needs of local residents. As the political situation changed following the takeover of China by the Communist party, a large number of refugees flooded Hong Kong. The population increase gave rise to escalated social needs. Baptist involvement in serving social needs also increased. As a result, the relationship between Baptists and the government became closer. Lam was the catalyst helping to form the collaboration of the denomination with the government and obtaining government aid for Baptist work during the period from 1950 to 1970.

This chapter will first look at the Baptist tradition of cooperating with the government before 1950, which was of a considerable length of time. It will then analyze why Hong Kong Baptists became the government’s most favorable partner in education between 1950 and 1970. It will explore and illustrate how Lam Chi-fung successfully collaborated with the government to build and expand Hong Kong Baptist ministries, and how Alexander Grantham, the Hong Kong governor between 1947 and 1957, helped Lam build the Hong Kong Baptist enterprise during the 1950s. This chapter will also look into whether the relationship between Lam and Grantham was merely as contractual partners or was a genuine friendship, or both, and if their friendship played a part in the expansion of Baptist ministries in Hong Kong. Tensions and repercussions of Hong Kong Baptist collaboration with the government initiated by Lam will be discussed in the next chapter.

Long Tradition of Baptist Cooperation with the Government (1842-1950)

Since Hong Kong was ceded to the United Kingdom (UK), the entire territory was treated as a valued naval base for the British government and a convenient port for
British traders. W.E. Gladstone, a British statesman of the Liberal Party who served as a prime minister of the UK for four terms (1868-1893), plainly said: “No one ever imagined that Hongkong was occupied for any other purpose than to protect the British trade with China.” The British government took Hong Kong simply for the purpose of trade. It had no strong desire to invest in the welfare of the colony.

At the time of British occupation in early 1841, there were only a few thousand people on the island. Following the occupation, British merchants began to move their business establishments from Macau and Canton to Hong Kong. At the same time Chinese traders, artisans, and laborers also flocked in from all the neighboring districts. The population grew as business flourished. In October 1841, the total population of Hong Kong, including both the troops and residents of all nationalities, was estimated to amount to 15,000, an increase of almost three times the figure six months earlier. The population continued to expand and reached a total of 19,000 Chinese in April 1844. In 1847, it further increased to 23,872.

The demand for social welfare services increased as a result of the continuous growth of population. With few resources from the UK government, the colonial administration relied on missionaries and charitable bodies to open schools and provide services to meet these needs. Churches, hoping to play the role of Good Samaritan and to share their faith through education and social services, were pleased to assist the government to provide the needed services. Chinese elites and community leaders were also keen to form charitable organizations to provide needed services, partly out of a genuine concern for the wellbeing of their countrymen and partly because of their desire to gain social prestige. Due to British tradition and policies, churches were seen to be the more favorable partners of the government, particularly in the realm of education. Sir James Stephen, then

778 Sir Henry Pottinger, the first Hong Kong Governor, saw the place as “a mere naval station for careening and refitting British ships.” E.J. Eitel, *Europe in China: The History of Hongkong: From the Beginning to the Year 1882* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh Ld., 1895), 292.
780 “The Hongkong Gazette,” in *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 10, No. 5 (May 1841): 280. Hong Kong Government Gazette says there were 7,450, but Ying argues that the correct figure should be 5,650. See Ying Fuk-tang, *Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2004), 30.
781 Eitel, *Europe in China*, 183. Another record says: “The number of Chinese now on the island is said to be no less than 15,000, three times what it was twelve months ago.” See “Journal of Occurrences: Hong Kong,” in *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 10, No. 10 (October 1841): 592.
782 Eitel, *Europe in China*, 191. Eitel recorded that the population included “even a sprinkling of some 1,000 women and children.” Another account shows that the population of Hong Kong was 13,380 in December 1845. See “Houses and Revenue of Hongkong,” in *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (March 1846): 135.
784 Baptists, the London Mission, and the Anglicans were the key church groups providing welfare services in the early days Hong Kong.
the permanent under-secretary at the Colonial Office, was known to be in favor of assisting the missionary societies which were to him the most effective and almost indispensable auxiliaries for education in the colonies.\textsuperscript{785} To enhance reasons mission bodies would be willing to establish their services in the colony, the Hong Kong government granted land to churches and mission-related institutions to build their facilities.\textsuperscript{786}

As churches were considered to be the preferred partners by the British, they began to work with the government to establish schools and provide other social services. While the government intended to use churches to meet the education needs of the colony, Baptists had as their agenda to use schools as platforms of reaching out to people and their families. Regardless of differences in motives and expectations, Baptists and the government formed a partnership, with churches starting and operating schools while the state providing land and financial aid. A long history of cooperation between the government and Hong Kong Baptists in education ministry thus began, and a church and state relationship was built. The cooperation during the first one hundred years of the presence of Baptists in Hong Kong also paved the way for a close collaboration with the government to expand Baptist ventures in education after 1950.

With this background in mind, we can understand why Hong Kong Baptists in the twentieth century, seeking government support through land grant and financial aid, were not practicing something totally new, nor were these practices exclusively an innovation of Lam Chi-fung. He simply followed the practice of early missionaries and sought help from the government when he actively expanded the Baptist role in Hong Kong. Lam, being an eyewitness of and also an active participant in some of the Baptist schools before 1949, was seen as able to further strengthen the relationship with the government to develop the Hong Kong Baptist mission between 1950 and 1970. However, the scope of his project and the wide vision he carried out in doing so was extraordinary indeed. When cooperation between Baptists and the government was initially formed, the subject of separation of church and state did not appear to be an issue nor cause any concern to Hong Kong Baptists during the first century of their presence in the colony but

\textsuperscript{785} Ng Lun Ngai-ha, \textit{Interactions of East and West: Development of Public Education in Early Hong Kong} (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1984), 26. James Stephen was the British Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies between 1836 and 1847. He was also known to be instrumental in implementing the Slavery Abolition Act.

\textsuperscript{786} Jehu Shuck built the first Baptist church and church school in Hong Kong with a free grant of land by Pottinger, the first Hong Kong governor. Pottinger also subscribed fifty dollars to the construction cost. See Henrietta Shuck, Letter to her father Mr. Hall (May 2, 1842), in J. B. Jeter, \textit{A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck: The First American Female Missionary to China} (Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1850), 179.
Lam’s collaboration with the government to obtain support to Hong Kong Baptists after 1950, raised the issue of church-state relationships.

**Baptist Cooperation with the Hong Kong Government (1950-1970)**

Once China was overtaken by the Communist regime in 1949, there was a new political situation in Hong Kong. The colony became a political haven for many Chinese. Unlike before, this time people came to stay and were not planning to leave. While the UK government continued to hold a laissez faire attitude toward Hong Kong’s social needs, the Hong Kong colonial government resorted to churches and charitable organizations to offer education, medical and social services to the poor and destitute. As mentioned before, the British tradition and policies made churches the more favorable government partners. Among different church groups, Baptists were seen to be the most trustworthy partner for providing the needed services, in particular education.

**A New Political Situation**

Hong Kong had a new political milieu after 1949. Before that, the British government maintained a peaceful relationship with the Chinese government so that Hong Kong could serve as a shop window of British products in the Asian market. Similarly, through a stable Hong Kong, the Chinese government could access western goods as well as foreign exchange. The relationship between the British colonial administration and the Chinese government was amicable, if not cordial. Chinese people were free to cross the Shenzhen border entering or leaving Hong Kong. After China fell into the hands of the Communists, the situation took a sharp down turn. Large numbers of refugees fled China for Hong Kong. The sudden increase of population caused a series of social problems: shortage of housing, not enough schools, inadequate medical facilities, and the lack of social welfare services. The Hong Kong government had to impose border control in the middle of 1950, to restrict people from entering the territory. The relationship between the British government and Communist China was not as friendly as it had been previously with the other ruling government. Many people, including the British government and foreign mission bodies, were worried that the Chinese Liberation Army would soon cross the border into Hong Kong.

Hong Kong was considered one of the last British colonies in the world. When the decolonization trend began after World War II, some felt skeptical...
about British’s motive to keep Hong Kong. It did not have natural resources, a
dlarge number of manual laborers, military strategic value, or even enough space for
housing. The only value that Hong Kong had for the British was its strategic
location to do business with China. Alexander Grantham, the former governor of
Hong Kong, plainly said, “The fact that Britain acquired, and remains in, Hong
Kong [is] for her own purpose – principally trade.”

Grantham told the British reinforcement that Hong Kong was:

> a super Oriental shop-window for British goods. To have such a shop-window
several thousand miles from home is something which not even the U.S.A. or the
U.S.S.R. can claim (…). Without processing Hong Kong we would at the present
time have no means of displaying our products to the Chinese.

Grantham warned: “(…) Hong Kong as the Asiatic mart to the extent which British
could export her goods in the Far East (…). If we lose any of the markets we have
succeeded in developing since the war the result will be large scale unemployment
in Britain.”

Hong Kong was an important business channel for Britain to promote its goods in Southeast Asia.

In a similar sense, Hong Kong was also important to China, just as it had
been for more than a century, as a window to the outside world and a base for
importing goods that China could not produce. More importantly, remittances from
overseas Chinese would provide valuable foreign exchange to help rebuild China’s
war-torn economy after 1949.

Peng Zhen, a Politburo Member of the Central Committee of China, said in 1951, that it would be better to maintain Hong Kong’s
_Status quo_ and to use the colony for rebuilding China’s economy.

Lam was right when he reported to the Baptist World Congress in 1965, in Miami that China
would not take over Hong Kong because “China can get $2.3 to 2.5 billion foreign
currency every year through Hong Kong.”

Shortly after the outbreak of the Korea War, Zhou Enlai, Premier of China, was said to have ordered Huang
Zuomei, head of the New China News Agency in Hong Kong, to leave Hong Kong
alone and use the city to counteract United States and United Nations embargoes
and to divide Britain and the U.S. in their China policies.

Thus, one may argue, both Britain and China would want to keep Hong Kong as it was. The _Status quo_

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788 Alexander Grantham, *Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965: reprint 2012), 108. Grantham was governor of Hong Kong from July 25, 1947 to December 31, 1957.


790 Grantham, *Why Hong Kong*, 34.


792 Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, 137.

793 Lam Chi-fung, Speech at the 1965 Miami Congress of Baptist World Alliance, Daniel Tse Collection Inventory in Special Collections and Archives of Hong Kong Baptist University (DTCI of HKBU), Box 6, Folder 3.

794 Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, 137.
was beneficial for both, at least for the time being. However, being somewhat assured that China would not take over Hong Kong by force, the colonial government still had a fear of Communist infiltration into the colony. Also, Hong Kong officials were facing all sorts of social needs as a result of the large influx of refugees.

Social Problems Escalated as Population Increased

Hong Kong’s population continued to increase after World War II, from 600,000 before the end of the War in 1945, to 1.6 million in 1946, after the War.\(^{795}\) It then increased to 1.8 million by the end of 1947;\(^{796}\) 2.24 million in April 1950;\(^{797}\) 3 million in 1960;\(^{798}\) and 4 million in 1970.\(^{799}\) These figures illustrate that Hong Kong’s population tripled between 1945 and 1950, and doubled between 1950 and 1970.\(^{800}\) As the population expanded social needs also increased. The colonial government, however, was not interested in the creation of a welfare state just as in the prewar days. Its priority was on economic growth. Expenditures in education, medical, and social services were grossly inadequate. As a result, many severe social problems surfaced after 1949. For example, there was serious shortage of schools. In 1950, the Anglican Bishop in Hong Kong, Bishop R.O. Hall, estimated that 50,000 children were not attending school; the Hong Kong government also admitted that the figure was probably correct.\(^{801}\) Three years later, the number of children between the age of five and fourteen not attending schools surged to

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\(^{795}\) Ying Fuk-tsang, *Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 2004), 34.

\(^{796}\) Fan Shuh Ching, *The Population of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Department of Statistics, University of Hong Kong, 1974), 2.

\(^{797}\) The average population was 2.2 million as some of the refugees pouring into Hong Kong had departed for Taiwan, Latin American and other distant places. Paul Wong Yat-keung, “The History of Baptist Missions in Hong Kong” (PhD dissertation, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1974), 130. The figure estimated by the Hong Kong Government for the mid-year of 1950 is 2,237,000. See *Hong Kong Statistics 1947-1967* (Hong Kong: Census & Statistics Department, 1969), 14.

\(^{798}\) The exact figure is 3,959,000. See “Hong Kong: Population Growth of the Whole Country,” [http://www.populstat.info/Asia/hongkong.htm](http://www.populstat.info/Asia/hongkong.htm); accessed September 8, 2016.


\(^{800}\) “Notes of the Meeting with the Governor of Hong Kong on 21st June, 1950,” microfilm, Hong Kong Public Record Office, original in the National Archives of UK, Ref.: CO 537/6070. Anthony Sweeting believed the figure of 50,000 unschooled children might have been an under-estimate and the actual figure should be more. See Anthony Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong, 1941 to 2001* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 143.
175,000 due to the large influx of refugees.\textsuperscript{802} Lam’s vision to operate Baptist schools would help to ease the shortage.

Apart from insufficient schools, an internal meeting on Social Policy held in the Secretary of State Office in Britain on June 30, 1950, revealed other problems, such as the lack of housing and inadequate hospital accommodation in Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{803} A report from the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, a Chinese charitable organization in Hong Kong,\textsuperscript{804} showed that during the period of 1945 to 1958 “it was not uncommon to find two patients sharing a bed. A maximum record showed that even five patients shared a bed, which was of course not only against the principles of medical treatment but was also absolutely inhuman.”\textsuperscript{805} The challenges of insufficient schools and inadequate welfare services which existed before 1950 persisted. The Baptist Hospital later started by Lam was the first Christian hospital providing for medical needs.

As the population pressure increased, meager housing was another major problem. Many people were forced to live in primitive shacks in squatter areas. By the end of 1949, the estimated number of squatters increased to 300,000.\textsuperscript{806} People living in those poor and overcrowded dwellings not only caused hygiene concerns but also were vulnerable to fires and other disasters. Between 1949 and 1954, there were 33 recorded major fires with a total number of over 100,000 victims. The following table shows the number of fires and the number of victims in each year between 1949 and 1954:\textsuperscript{807}

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Number of Fires \\
\hline
1949 & 7 \\
1950 & 8 \\
1951 & 9 \\
1952 & 10 \\
1953 & 11 \\
1954 & 15 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Number of Victims \\
\hline
1949 & 10,000 \\
1950 & 12,000 \\
1951 & 13,000 \\
1952 & 14,000 \\
1953 & 15,000 \\
1954 & 17,000 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{802} Ying, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong, 154. The baby boom after World War II was also one of the reasons for the surge in the number of unschooled children.

\textsuperscript{803} “Notes of a Meeting in the Secretary of State’s Office on 30th June, 1950,” microfilm, Hong Kong Public Record Office, original in the National Archives of UK, Ref.: CO 537/6070.

\textsuperscript{804} Tung Wah Group of Hospitals was originated as a small temple built on the Hong Kong Island in 1851 for people to house the spirit-tablets of their ancestors. Over the years the Group has developed into a well-established charitable organization to provide a wide range of social welfare services including the building and management of cemeteries, burial services, provision of alms, involvement in relief work, provision of free food and clothing to the needy, and operation of primary and secondary schools.


\textsuperscript{806} Alan Smart, The Shek Kip Mei Myth: Squatters, Fires and Colonial Rule in Hong Kong, 1950-1963 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), 48.

\textsuperscript{807} The figures are from “Hong Kong Social Welfare Department: Department Report, 1948/1954,” referred to in Chan, Social Security Policy in Hong Kong, 97.
Table 6.1: Squatter Fires and Fire Victims in Hong Kong from 1949 to 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Fires</th>
<th>No. of Victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949-1950</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1951</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1952</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8,576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-1953</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953-1954</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>60,262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
<td><strong>123,105</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1) The figures are from Hong Kong Social Welfare Department: Department Report, 1948/1954.\(^ {808} \)
2) The Total number of Fires and the total number of Fire Victims are calculated by the author.

The most severe fire was the one in Shekkipmei which took place on Christmas Day of 1953, destroying 10,000 wooden shacks and resulting in 53,000 people homeless.\(^ {809} \) Public displeasure with the social situation of the city began to accumulate. Large scale demonstrations against the colonial government finally broke out in October 1956. The incident was originally caused by the escalating provocations between pro-Nationalist and pro-Communist factions in Hong Kong during Double Ten Day, October 10, 1956, the National Day of Republic of China.\(^ {810} \) The tension later turned into widespread riots against the government due to dissatisfaction with colonial rule. In order to crack down on the riot, British force was called in to reinforce the police. In total, there were 59 deaths and approximately 500 injuries in the conflict. Property damage was estimated at US$ 1,000,000.\(^ {811} \) Before the Shekkipmei fire in 1953, and the riot in 1956, Hong Kong government had no long-term plan for settling refugees.\(^ {812} \)

When Arthur Creech-Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, visited Hong Kong in December 1949, he made a comment in frustration: “Am I right in assuming that there is no social policy in Hong Kong at all (…)?” the Housing

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\(^{808}\) “Hong Kong Social Welfare Department: Department Report, 1948/1954,” referred to in Chan, *Social Security Policy in Hong Kong*, 97. The Report quoted by Chan provides figures from 1948 to 1954. For the purpose of this study, only the figures for 1949 to 1954 are listed.

\(^{809}\) An emergency meeting was held in the Government House one day following the fire, and a decision was made to build low cost housing to resettle the fire victims. See Smart, *The Shek Kip Mei Myth*, 101.

\(^{810}\) ‘Double Ten Day’ is a common saying for the National Day of Republic of China which is on the tenth day in the tenth month of a year.


\(^{812}\) Alexander Grantham ordered the establishment of the Resettlement Department in 1954 which became the Housing Authority today. Shekkipmei Estate was the first of the 25 public housing estates built by the government between 1954 and 1973.
Policy seems non-existent. Why has the Department allowed this drift to go on?" In fact, Britain and Europe were in their recovery period from World War II, hence incapable of sparing resources to tackle the social problems in Hong Kong. In view of the situation, the colonial government had to seek help from elsewhere other than London to meet the social needs. The Kowloon Wall City fire, which took place January 1950, was one of the squatter fires listed in Table 6.1. Lam initiated an application to seek a land grant from the government and requested construction funds from Southern Baptists to build the first resettlement housing in Hong Kong – the Brotherly Love Village.

Government Seeking Help

Facing the tremendous needs in education, medical, social services, and housing, the colonial government sought help from churches and charitable organizations. Alexander Grantham was claimed to be “keenly interested in social welfare work.” He hoped to get financial support from the UK government. However, with much frustration, he said: “I requested financial assistance from H.M.G. I begged, I pleaded, I wrote despatches [sic], I wrote letters, I spoke to officials, I spoke to ministers. But all in vain, we got nothing.” After failing to get anything from the UK government, Grantham decided that “the best way in which he could do was by giving public encouragement and showing that the Governor was in favour of it.” The outcome was overwhelming, and in his excitement he told:

The work of the voluntary agencies, local and overseas, religious and non-religious, was amazing. They provided funds for, or built, cottage-type dwellings for refugees. They established schools, they distributed free food, they ran clinics,

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813 Arthur Creech-Jones was questioned about the Hong Kong housing policy by the Archbishop of Canterbury and was frustrated to see the situation in his Hong Kong visit. Creech-Jones’ saying was referred to in Gavin Ure, Governors, Politics and the Colonial Office: Public Policy in Hong Kong, 1918-58 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 135. Ure believes it was the government’s intention to make most squatters return to China by trying to make conditions in Hong Kong too unpleasant to remain. See Ure, Governors, Politics and the Colonial Office, 187.
815 Ure, Governors, Politics and the Colonial Office, 199.
816 Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 5, Issue 12 (December 1950): 12. Further details about the fire and the Brotherly Love Village are discussed in the latter part of this chapter.
817 Grantham, Via Ports, 119.
818 Ibid., 158. H.M.G. means Her Majesty’s Government. Lo Lung-kwong believes the British were like most European countries busy re-building their own homes after World War II, hence having no resources for their colonies. See Lo, “Social Aspects of Hong Kong Protestant Churches’ Mission 1949-1984,” 1-2.
819 Grantham, Via Ports, 119.
and) they opened youth clubs. In no sphere of relief work were they not actively and efficiently engaged.\footnote{Ibid., 157.}

As a result of Grantham’s policy of promoting public participation, both churches and local charitable organizations became government agents in providing education and other social welfare services in Hong Kong.\footnote{Vincent Lau sees that the Hong Kong community was recruited by the British colonial government as one of its agents of education and social services. See Vincent Lau, “From Periphery to Partnership: A Critical Analysis of the Relationship of Baptists in Hong Kong with the Colonial Government in the Post-World War II Era” (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2005), 142.} Besides the continuous support from Chinese charitable organizations, traditional filial piety in Chinese culture also played a role to relieve the welfare burden. Allowing the Chinese elites to look after their less well-off compatriots was seen to be a cost-effective and desirable measure from the point of view of the government.\footnote{Steve Tsang, Modern History of Hong Kong (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2004), 69.} For instance in November 1949, instead of the government taking care of a group of 148 allegedly Nationalist soldiers and their refugee families, the Social Welfare Officer directed them to seek assistance from a charitable organization, the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals.\footnote{Chan, Social Security Policy in Hong Kong, 91.} Because the colonial government was not prepared to allocate its own meager resources for these welfare services, charitable organizations, such as the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals and Po Leung Kuk, were able to fill the void by performing many functions neglected by the government.\footnote{Po Leung Kuk was founded in 1880 as the Society for the Protection of Women and the Children. It has grown its coverage to include residential care, day care, and education, rehabilitation of the mentally challenged, recreational services, holiday camp, and elderly care in recent years.} As the colonial government continued to rely on these charitable groups to provide welfare services, other similar voluntary organizations joined the league after World War II. The most noticeable one was Kaifong Associations.\footnote{Kaifong Associations were traditional mutual aid organizations mainly aimed at serving the residents of specific neighborhoods. The main purpose was to provide low cost or free services in areas such as education and health care for the many refugees from China. After 1958 the government tried to use the kaifong associations to communicate with the local population.} Lam was one of the founding members of the Kowloon City Kaifong Association and was its honorable president at its inception in 1950.\footnote{Tang Chi-ching, Social Leaders in Hongkong & Macao 1959 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Associated Press, 1959), 9-10.} With the government counting on churches and voluntary organizations to provide education, medical and social services, these charitable organizations shouldered the government’s financial and administrative responsibilities. Voluntary organizations were pleased to participate both out of their genuine concern for the well-being of their countrymen and for the social prestige their leaders could gain in being involved in social services. Churches were also willing to help as these
services were found to be an effective means to carry out their missions, either as a Good Samaritan or to gain converts.

**Baptists Becoming a Favorable Partner in Education**

Among the education and social services providers, Grantham found Baptists the most trustworthy partner. As the government had no clear social goals it even more so than before relied heavily on religious organizations, international philanthropies, and local charities to meet the ever increasing social needs. This basic approach was true in the pre-World War II period and continued in the 1950s. However, when seeking partners to share the burden of education, the government found it could trust churches more than other entities because most churches were seen to have common socio-cultural roots and shared the government’s anti-Communist ideology.\(^{827}\)

Concerns about Communism were widespread among the British who held quite differing beliefs about two groups in Hong Kong and ultimately influenced their choice of a trustworthy partner. Many British believed only religion could resist Communism.\(^{828}\) On the other, they had doubts about the trustworthiness of many local Chinese charity organizations and traditional associations, and their loyalty to the colonial government, fearing they might become sympathetic to the mainland Communist Party on the grounds of Chinese patriotism.\(^{829}\) Communist infiltration into Hong Kong was indeed one of the government’s top concerns in those days. Alexander Grantham’s letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on November 30, 1948, showed his concern as he wrote: “A potential greater danger than any of those mentioned in your telegrams (...) is presented by the increasing Communist infiltration into schools.”\(^{830}\) In a speech at the opening ceremony of a new school in December 1948, Grantham warned:

> There are those, and to my mind they are the most evil, who wish to use schools as a means of propaganda and poison the minds of their young pupils (...). This deforming and twisting of youthful minds is most wicked and the Hong Kong government will tolerate no political propaganda in schools.\(^{831}\)

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\(^{827}\) Leung et al., *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong*, 26.

\(^{828}\) Bishop R.O. Hall said: “The government both in the UK and in its colonial policy recognizes (...) only religion can resist Communism (...).” See Bishop R.O. Hall, Letter to the Secretary of the Board of Education (September 16, 1950), Hong Kong Record Series, 147 2/2 (1), 119, referred to in Leung et al., *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong*, 26-27.

\(^{829}\) Leung et al., *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong*, 26.

\(^{830}\) Alexander Grantham, Letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (November 30, 1948), referred to in Leung et al., *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong*, 25.

\(^{831}\) South China Morning Post (December 16, 1948), referred to in Leung et al., *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong*, 25.
Grantham’s concern was found to be valid. According to a government internal paper in March 1949, 34 schools were classified as being controlled by Communists and another 32 had leftist elements, including staff, teachers, and students.832 Another confidential government document in November 1949, showed that Grantham had to terminate the employment of Mr. Baker, the Labor Officer of the Hong Kong Government, for allegations of Communist sympathies, fearing that his encouragement of “the formation of properly constituted Trade Unions (...) liable to come under communist influence.”833 Grantham openly admitted that there were two dangers threatening local charitable organizations such as the Kaifongs: “that they will be penetrated by subversive elements and that they will be used as a means of self-advertisement by seekers after public acclaim.”834 As a result, the government preferred to partner with churches, as churches and church leaders such as Lam normally had no communist sympathies or interest in seeking after public acclaim.

Among different church groups, the Catholics consisting of mostly Italian and Irish were seen receiving less attention than the Protestants. Italians were considered to have been “allies of Hitler during World War II,” and though they “dominated the Hong Kong Catholics (...),” the British “viewed the Italians with contempt.”835 Irish were not a better choice as “the one senior expatriate civil servant who voluntarily worked with the Japanese during the war was Irish and was dismissed from the civil services.”836 Prejudices spoiled the atmosphere. Apart from that, anti-Catholicism had been “central to British culture since the 16th century Protestant Reformation.”837 Protestant churches were thus preferred. With the government policy favoring schools begun and operated by Protestant churches in the 1950s, many Protestant denominations came to Hong Kong to start their mission work and were involved in education ministries. Churches of both large and small denominations opened schools during the 1950s. In 1959, there were 135 church-run schools. The number increased to 225 in 1966.838 Churches became government agents in providing education in the colony.

832 Leung et al., Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong, 26.
833 “Mr. Baker, Labour Officer, Hong Kong, Allegations of Communist Sympathies (November 4, 1949),” microfilm, Hong Kong Public Record Office, original in the National Archives of UK, Ref.: CO 967/72.
834 Grantham, Via Ports, 118.
835 Leung et al., Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong, 27.
836 Ibid.
838 The word Comes to the East (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Bible Society, 2007), 25. These church schools included kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools. The number of church schools in 1949-1950 was not known, but according to Ying’s findings, the estimated number would be less than thirty including the seven Anglican schools. See Ying, Introduction to Christian Church History of Hong Kong, 159.
With a status which was almost on the par with an imperial church, the Anglican Church should have enjoyed a privilege as a favored partner with the government among different Protestant denominations. The Anglican bishop ranked fifth in public ceremonial events, only next to the Governor, Chief Judge, Chief Secretary, and Chief Commander. Moreover, most expatriate members of the British Hong Kong government belonged to Church of England. The Anglicans should be the logical partner. However, Grantham was skeptical about Bishop R.O. Hall, the Anglican Bishop in Hong Kong at that time, and even referred him as “the Red Bishop” because of his critical attitude to the government and leniency toward the Communist China. Hall was the first person from the Hong Kong church to visit China since 1949, and met with Zhou Enlai, Premier of China. Hall was considered a maverick, and had interest in the social conditions of Chinese workers and in trade unions. Hong Kong government officials acknowledged he was years ahead of his time on social reform. He had helped in setting up a number of Workers’ Schools. Nevertheless, the government was worried that the Communist ideology would influence Hong Kong educational system by the teaching in patriotic schools. Hall was not a “safe” case.

To contain the spread of radical pedagogy, the Hong Kong government took a repressive measure and amended the Education Bill in December 1948. The bill prohibited schools from using pernicious textbooks. Half a year later in June 1949, the man who was the director of education canceled the registration of thirteen schools maintained by the Educational Advancement Society for Workers’ Children (EASWC), which was considered a pro-Communist organization, on the grounds that the premises of these schools were unsatisfactory. Because of the government’s intention to curb Communism and the Baptists’ established tradition

839 Agatha Wong, ed., Christian Faith and The Development of Hong Kong Society (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute, 1995), 142.
840 Fung Yee Wang and Chan-Yeung Mo Wah Moira, To Serve and to Lead: History of the Diocesan Boys’ School in Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 16. R.O. Hall was appointed the Bishop of Victoria in 1931, and then the smaller diocese of Hong Kong and Macau between 1951 and 1966.
841 Lo, “Social Aspects of Hong Kong Protestant Churches Mission 1949-1984,” 11. Hall served as Bishop from 1932-1966 and as such was the longest serving Bishop in Hong Kong. He visited China in 1956.
842 David M. Paton, The Life and Times of Bishop Ronald Hall of Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Diocesan Association, 1985), 75.
844 Robin Hutchison, High-rise Society: The First 50 Years of the Hong Kong Housing Society (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Housing Society, 1998), 52.
845 The use of the term “patriotic schools” instead of “pro-China schools” and “leftist schools” is generally preferred. See Sweeting, Education in Hong Kong, 8-9.
846 Wong Ting-hong, Hegemonies Compared: State Formation and Chinese School Politics in Postwar Singapore and Hong Kong (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2001), 208. The Education Department also accused these schools of having low standards, although both accusations were debatable as Sweeting saw that the school premises had obtained permission from the Education Department and the Health Department before opening. See Sweeting, Education in Hong Kong, 13.
of setting up schools, which were, at least, politically neutral. Baptists continued to be the government’s favored partner in education after 1949. Unlike the Anglicans, Hong Kong Baptists under Lam’s leadership showed no interest in political matters. They were committed in setting up schools to carry out their mission – evangelizing people through education – without interfering with government policies. Thus, when the Hong Kong government looked for partners for providing social needs, in particular for setting up schools, churches were found to be more reliable than Chinese charitable organizations; Protestants were preferable to Roman Catholics; and the Baptists were favored over the Anglicans.

**Lam’s Collaboration with Government**

Following the century-long history of Baptist cooperation with the government, Lam continued the tradition and fostered an even tighter collaboration with the Hong Kong government after 1950. Lam had extensive contacts with government officials which could be traced back to his early days since arriving in Hong Kong. His experience in dealing with governments of different places probably helped him to build a relationship with Alexander Grantham, the Hong Kong governor. He needed Lam to support the government in providing education and social services. Lam needed Grantham to provide Baptists the required land and financial help to build his Baptist ministries. Lam and Grantham were seen as forming a partnership. More than only contractual partners they built a friendship. The collaboration between Lam and Grantham did not exist between Lam and subsequent Hong Kong governors.

**Lam’s Experience in Dealing with Governments**

Long before forming a close collaboration with Grantham during the 1950s, Lam had extensive experience in dealing with various governments. Shortly after arriving in Hong Kong, he was actively involved in the Chinese YMCA of Hong Kong (YMCA, or the Association) and was the president in the period 1933-1934, and 1939-1955, and president emeritus from 1956 to 1961, serving the longest period of presidency in its history. While with the YMCA of Hong Kong, Lam had many opportunities of working with both the Hong Kong government and the Chinese government in the mainland.

In 1937, after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Lam formed a Refugee Relief Section in the Association to unite six major Protestant denominations in Hong Kong to raise funds to support the Chinese government for

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refugees in the war district. In 1940, a campaign was launched by the Chinese government to encourage buying coupons to aid the country in war. Since the YMCA was in active participation in the campaign, Lam was appointed the chair of the Hong Kong Team supporting the China Nationalist government. In 1941, when the Pacific War was about to begin and while food and basic necessities were scarce in the colony, Lam led the YMCA to help the Hong Kong government ration the supply of rice and firewood. During the Japanese occupation in 1942, Lam, who continued to serve as its president, requested the Japanese authority to allow the YMCA to resume activities in the territories through the assistance of Hiraoka Jung, a Japanese national who was a long time member of the Association. After the War was ended in 1945, the British government took over the Association’s Kowloon Branch building from the hands of the Japanese who had confiscated the building during the War. The colonial government immediately turned it into a police academy. At that time while Lam was shouldering up the roles of both president and general secretary of the Association, he liaised with the colonial administrative government for the return of the building. After “Lam’s proactive negotiations with various government departments in person” for two years, the YMCA building was eventually returned to the Association on June 14, 1948. In his remaining tenure with the YMCA, Lam continued to deal with the government to open a number of schools and social services works. The YMCA in Hong Kong served as a useful platform for Lam to gain experience of dealing with government officials.

Apart from his service in the Chinese YMCA of Hong Kong, Lam also had considerable experience working with governments in different circumstances. Not long after moving to Hong Kong from China, Lam set up his own company called the Sze Wai Company which engaged in the importation and distribution of

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848 *Chinese Y.M.C.A. of Hong Kong 90th Anniversary Commemoration 1901-1991*, 62, 167. The year 1936 as shown in page 168 is incorrect. It should be 1937 as the Sino-Japanese War broke out on July 7, 1937. Lam also acted as the chair of the Relief Section.
849 Ibid., 64, 168.
850 Ibid., 65.
851 Ibid., 67. Although Lam had moved to Macau during the war, he continued to be present in board meetings and help the Association’s functions in Hong Kong.
852 Ibid., 68-69, 72. The Kowloon Branch building was taken over by the Japanese during the war and was occupied by the British force after the war. Lam acted also as the general secretary of the Association in 1946-1948.
853 Ibid., 69, 171.
854 Lam was instrumental in establishing a number of schools including: an evening school in Shamshuipo for the under-privileged in March 1949; Chi-Yin Middle School, an English evening school, at the Kowloon Branch in September, 1949; Vocational Training School of Commerce in 1950; Special Subject School in 1951; The Chinese YMCA College, an English middle school, in 1952; and two schools, one in Wanchai in 1954 and one in Kowloon City in 1956, for under-privileged children. Lam also helped to establish the Mau Wu Shan Youth Camp in Junk Bay with ten acres of land granted by the Government. Under Lam’s leadership the Association helped the government in relief work for fire victims, including those suffering from the fire in Rennis Mill in 1952 and the fire in Shamshuipo Village in 1954. See ibid., 81, 171-174.
anthracite coal from Haiphong in French Indochina. Because of his business dealings, Lam built a relationship with Vietnamese government officials. In 1938, when the trade relations between French owned Vietnam and China was about to break down, he gathered data on China-Vietnam trade figures and submitted the information to the Chinese government. His lobbying with supporting data eventually led to a successful signing of the Sino-French commercial treaty in Vietnam. As a result of this, Lam was conferred a Dragon Seal Medal by the French government to honor his contribution.

In addition, while in Macau during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, Lam was appointed a member of the Food Control Committee by the Macau governor, and worked with Macau officials to supply low priced rice to teachers of Pui Ching and Pooi To schools during the time of extreme food shortage. When the War was over in 1945, Lam was invited by Cecil Harcourt, the British Naval Officer and the de facto Hong Kong governor at that time, to return to Hong Kong to help tackle the problem of fuel rationing. The school premise of Pui Ching Middle School which was once overtaken by the Japanese during the war was occupied by the British force in 1946. Lam negotiated with the government and got the property back. Shortly after Grantham came to Hong Kong in 1947, Lam helped the Hong Kong government to resolve the food shortage problem during the early years after World War II. Because of his connection with the Vietnamese government, Lam managed to import rice from Vietnam to ease the crisis in Hong Kong.

Lam had extensive experience in liaisons with different governments, and though some Baptist ministers would have reservations about such close cooperation with political powers, Lam, who carried as part of his being a business ethos, was open to these partnerships.

During the mid-nineteenth century when Baptists were building the first churches, schools and hospitals, there were frequent interactions between western

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856 “Linzifeng Boshi Xingzhuang [Obituary of Dr. Lam Chi-fung],” (April 24, 1971), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 10. See also Tim Lam, *Lam Family Tree* (Canada: Lammett Arts, 2006), 19.
857 “Biographic Sketch of Dr. and Mrs. Lam Chi-fung,” (on their 50th Anniversary, December, 1970), DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 3, 6.
858 Lam Chi-fung, “Involvement in Pui Ching and Pooi To Schools in Macau,” (In the Special Issue of Pui Ching’s 70th Anniversary) in Lee King-sun, ed., *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1965), 245.
859 “Biographic Sketch of Dr. and Mrs. Lam Chi-fung” (on their 50th Anniversary, December 29, 1970), DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 3, 6. Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt was the head of the military administration at the time of when the Japanese surrendered Hong Kong to the British.
860 *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly*, Volume 1, Issue 1 (Resume Printing, June 1946) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Association): 33-36.
861 George Wilson, Former President of Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, Interview by the author (April 15, 2014), Hong Kong (Hand Recording).
preachers and the colonial government as both shared similar backgrounds and the same language. However, in the one hundred years of this Baptist presence in Hong Kong seldom were there local leaders, either lay or ordained pastors, who had a lot of interaction with government entities. Apart from the language barrier and cultural differences, Chinese Baptists were busy taking care of church matters, leaving no time to be involved with the government. Lam, however, enjoyed a unique advantage from his extensive liaisons with government officials of different states: the mainland China government, the Japanese authority in Hong Kong, the French Vietnam government, the Portuguese Macau government, and the British Hong Kong government. In most of his negotiations with them, he was able to achieve his goals and their collaboration usually turned out to be mutually beneficial to all parties concerned. Lam’s successful experience probably strengthened his confidence to continue working closely with the Grantham administration. Also, his extensive liaison and connections with governments would have caught Grantham’s attention and made him willing to partner with Lam. Early in Grantham’s governorship, he already collaborated with and assisted Lam, who had as an aim to build Baptist institutions and churches in Hong Kong.

**Lam and Grantham’s Collaboration**

Lam and Grantham had a close collaborative effort during the 1950s in education and other social service works – providing homes for fire victims, establishing schools of secondary and tertiary education, and building a hospital to meet the needs. The collaboration between Lam and Grantham is evident in the building of Brotherly Love Village. On January 11, 1950, a fire broke out in a squatter area in Kowloon Walled City, destroying over 2,500 huts, affecting 3,500 families, and making over 17,000 people homeless. The people were registered as “dispossessed and frequently destitute victims.”

Grantham had a vivid description of the Kowloon Walled City and the fire in his letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

> An encampment of closely packed squatters’ huts about 60 acres in extent, of which about 20 acres were affected by the fire. Such huts are constructed of wood, matting and tarred felt, and are thus particularly vulnerable to fire (...). The affected area in some ways resembled a miniature town, comprising not only dwelling huts but huts in which small industries were carried on and stores of various materials were kept. It included also certain Chinese film studios. Stocks of firecrackers and chemicals and stacks of timber added to the intensity of the blaze.  

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Since a large number of Baptist members lived in the area and many lost their homes in the fire, Lam approached Grantham for help. He was granted an area of mountainside land called Tiger’s Den to build homes for the fire victims. With the donation of HK$300,000 given by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention to cover the construction cost, fifty new houses were built. The place was called the Brotherly Love Village. It was also reported that “an attractive chapel was built in the midst of these Christian homes and was dedicated on November 26” in 1950.

When World War II was over, Lam and others who were involved in the Pooi To School in Macau hoped to start a branch school in Hong Kong with the purpose of enlarging the scale of Christian education there. The Hong Kong branch school opened in October 1945, and was the very first school to open in the colony after the surrender of the Japanese. In 1951, Lam, being the principal of Pooi To Girls’ School, sought help from Grantham for the school expansion. A year later an area of 74,130 square feet of land in Kowloon City plus an interest free loan of HK$300,000 were granted by the government. In October 1953, Mr. Crozier, Director of Education, laid the foundation stone. Mrs. Maurine Grantham inaugurated the new school building in June 1954.

In 1952, while Lam was the principal of Pui Ching Middle School, he again approached Grantham for land and funds to expand this school as well. Within the same year the school was granted land of 120,000 square feet in a prime location in Kowloon City along Waterloo Road plus an interest free loan of HK$300,000. When the building was completed, Grantham attended the opening ceremony on October 14, 1953, “using a gold key” he “formally opened the doors of this building.” According to Ho Chung-yee, Lam’s deputy in Pui Ching Middle School between 1954 and 1961, the Hong Kong government following World War

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867 *Pooi To Middle School 5th Anniversary Memorial Issue* (Hong Kong: Wai Hing Press, 1950), 35.
868 Ibid.
869 “Peidao Gangjiao zhi Zhuangda [The Growth of Hong Kong Pooi To],” DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 17; *Pooi To Middle School, 115th Anniversary Commemorate Issue* (Hong Kong: Pooi To Middle School, 2003), 23.
870 *Pooi To Middle School 115th Anniversary Commemorate Issue*, 23.
871 Ibid., 24.
872 *Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School 75th Anniversary Special Memorial Issue* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Pui Ching Middle School, 1964), 4-5.
873 “Twenty Years History of the Hong Kong Baptist Association,” in *Hong Kong Baptist Association 20th Anniversary Commemoration 1938-1958*, English Section 10.
II had never before granted such a big piece of land in the urban area. To further show his support, Grantham personally donated HK$250 to the school. In 1954, when the school celebrated its 65th anniversary, another government loan of HK$150,000 was granted as building funds for a gymnasium, chapel, and religious hall.

Henrietta School was formally established in 1951, to commemorate Henrietta Shuck. A couple years later a plan was made for expanding the school’s facilities. Mrs. Grantham visited the school in 1954, and was impressed with the new building plan. A year after her visit, the government granted a piece of land of over 12,000 square feet on Park Road on Hong Kong Island and a ten-year interest free loan of HK$200,000 for the new school building. In the following year in 1956, Mrs. Grantham laid the school foundation stone. Mrs. Grantham was also seen supporting Lam’s ministries.

Lam was considered the prime driving force for the founding of Hong Kong Baptist College. In early 1955, the Hong Kong Baptist Association under Lam’s leadership decided to open a Baptist college. When the college opened in 1956, it was without its own premises so classes were hold in Pui Ching Middle School.

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874 “Qian Xiaozhang Linzifeng Chenggong Zhengde [Success in Obtaining Land by Former Principal, Lam Chi-fung],” in Hong Kong Apple Daily (January 25, 2014), http://hk.apple.nextmedia.com/news/art/20140125/18604962; assessed February 9, 2016. Ho Chung-yee was one of the Planning Committee members of the Hong Kong Baptist College and later became the mathematics teacher when the college was founded. See Wong Yin-lei, *A History of the Hong Kong Baptist University* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, 1996), 7, 30. See also “Xianxian Xiaozhuan [A Short Story of Respectable Ancestors],” in Peizheng Tongxuehui [Pui Ching Alumni], http://www.puiching.org/homecom-con%E5%85%88%E8%B3%A2%E5%B0%8F%E5%82%B3/; accessed February 14, 2017.


876 Lam Chi-fung, “A Speech at the 65th Anniversary of Pui Ching Middle School in 1954,” in Lee, *A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung*, 152.

877 *Henrietta Secondary School: School History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, no date). Princeton Hsu, *A History of Chinese Baptist Churches*, Vol. II: *Hong Kong and Macau Area* (Hong Kong: Baptist Press, 1971), 166-167. Soo Ming-wo said the amount was HK$300,000, but there was no reference in his writing to indicate where he obtained the figure. See Soo Ming-wo, “Christianity in A Colonial and Chinese Context: The Internal Organization and External Relations of the Swatow Baptist Church in Hong Kong” (PhD thesis, University of London, 1980), 276.

878 Denise Austin describes Lam as “an extremely devoted Christian” and considered him to be “instrumental in founding the prestigious Hong Kong Baptist College.” See Austin, *Kingdom-Minded* People, 112. Michael Kam says Lam played a significant role in facilitating the establishment of the college. See Michael Kam, “Christian Identity and Business Success: Lin Zifeng (1892-1971) and his Public Career in Hong Kong” (PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 2011), 168.

879 Wong, *A History of the Hong Kong Baptist University*, 32. The arrangement was seen as logical as Lam was the principal of Pui Ching School and the president of the college at the same time. The school moved to its own facility on Waterloo Road in 1966.
While the temporary measure of having classes in Pui Ching Middle School met the urgent need, a facility of its own was deemed to be indispensable. Although huge support was received from the Southern Baptists in both financial aid and supply of personnel such as faculty members and college administrators, getting the required land was the most challenging. Meanwhile, David, Lam Chi-fung’s second son and the head of the Medical Department of the Hong Kong Baptist Association, was looking for a land on which to build the Hong Kong Baptist Hospital. Through David’s personal friend, Tony Petty, a piece of government land was identified as a suitable site.  

However, there was no guarantee that the land would be granted to the Baptists or allowed to be used for hospitals or schools. On New Year’s Day in 1957, David accompanied his father to the Government House in Hong Kong to receive the medal of Member of the Order of the British Empire from the Governor. Taking the opportunity, David told Grantham about his plan for a hospital and his need for a specific area of crown land, and described to him what he had in mind. As recalled by David, the story went on like this:

He concluded by handing the governor a piece of paper with the description of the property on it. The governor, dressed in his official uniform, had no pocket in which to put it. Instead he borrowed David’s pen and wrote on his shirt cuff the information he needed. In due course the property was set aside for hospital use.

After Lam Chi-fung made several visits to see Grantham, the land initially requested by David was granted to the Hong Kong Baptists in 1958. The land of 170,000 square feet was situated at the city exit of the Lion’s Rock Tunnel, spacious enough for the hospital as well as the college.

The advantage of the strategic location was well explained in Lam’s letter to the Director of Public Works on February 26, 1957, that the site “may be reached by city bus from every section of the Colony (...). Transportation by bus to this

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880 Roy, David Lam, 86. See also Gao Shan-ching, Linsiqi Chuan [A Memoir of David Lam] (Hong Kong: Mingpao Publishing House, 1995), 92. Tony Petty was a young Englishman working in the Land Department of the Hong Kong government.

881 Tim Lam, Lam Chi-fung’s youngest son, Email to the author (May 10, 2011). According to Tim: “LCF [Lam Chi-fung] did a lot of social and charitable work before 1957, but received no official recognition until New Year’s Day 1957 (...). LCF was voted a VP [Vice President] of the WBA [World Baptist Alliance] during their 5-yearly convention held in London. QE2 [Queen Elizabeth II] read about the news during breakfast the next morning and called Alex Grantham and questioned why she had never heard of the Chinaman. Hurriedly Lam was awarded an OBE the next year [as] the 1956 quota was already filled.” See also “Linzifeng Boshi Xingzhuang [Obituary of Dr. Lam Chi-fung].”

882 Roy, David Lam, 86.

area is comparatively rapid and frequent (…)". The rent was HK$3,810 per year which was basically no different from a free grant. As a result of all these efforts, Hong Kong Baptists had a large scheme of high quality Christian schools including the first Christian tertiary education institution and the largest Christian hospital in the colony, while it was also experiencing a rapid church growth during the 1950s. The Hong Kong Baptists were enjoying increased support from the government in comparison to other church groups.

**Grantham and Lam’s Need for One Another**

Lam needed Grantham’s support, in particular for land grants, to build his Baptist ministry. Land has always been an expensive and scarce resource in Hong Kong. Soon after Pottinger, the first Governor, arrived in Hong Kong in 1842, he immediately imposed a tight control of land and prohibited granting land to general applicants. Governor Sir John Davis was known for his ingenuity in manufacturing schemes to raise money. Upon his arrival in Hong Kong on May 7, 1844, Davis was seen “developing the roads so as to open up new sites for building.” His answer to the problem of the shortage of colonial revenue was to create land and levy land rents as his main source of revenue.

The practice of selling and leasing of land as one of the important sources of colonial income continued for a long time. In theory all land in Hong Kong belonged to the government. The colonial authority was able to vary considerably the conditions of the lease and had the power to either auction it publically or to grant it privately at a price agreed with voluntary organizations and social welfare services providers under the Private Treaty Grants of Land. As the highest authority in the colony, the Governor could influence government decisions in granting land. Just as Grantham said, “In a crown colony the Governor is next to the almighty. Everyone stands up when he enters a room. He is deferred to on all

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884 Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Director of Public Works, Crown Land Department of Hong Kong, titled “Application for Site for HKB” (February 26, 1957),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 13, Folder 9.
885 Wong, *A History of the Hong Kong Baptist University*, 57. When the Chinese University of Hong Kong was established in 1963, the site for the University was only available on the other side of the Lion’s Rock Tunnel which was far away from the city.
886 E.J. Eitel, *Europe in China: The History of Hongkong from the Beginning to the Year 1882* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, 1895), 181.
887 Nigel Cameron, *An Illustrated History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1991), 47.
888 Nigel, *An Illustrated History of Hong Kong*, 46-47. Out of the total revenue of £22,242 of the colony of Hong Kong in 1845, £12,067 or 54% was from rent on land for buildings. See “Houses and Revenue of Hongkong,” in *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (March 1846): 139.
889 Soo, “Christianity in A Colonial and Chinese Context: The Internal Organization and External Relations of the Swatow Baptist Church in Hong Kong,” 230. Private Treaty Grants of land also applied to certain community purposes such as bus terminals and power stations. The price of land so granted was normally lower than the land for residential and commercial purposes.
occasions. It is always ‘Yes, Sir’, ‘Certainly, Your Excellency’. "890 Grantham had the necessary authority which Lam needed in order to acquire land for his Baptist missions.

A church which was willing to operate a school or other social welfare services at her premises was considered as a welfare organization and could secure land under the Private Treaty Grants of Land. Under such circumstances, the church was normally required to pay two thirds of the full market value of the land which it purchased from the government. "891 It is important to note that the lands which Lam got for Baptist schools were all free grant. "892 Moreover, the lands were all at prime locations. He deserved credit for the land grants which were the foundation for the schools, college, and hospital with which these institutions came into existence.

Having the land is important, but is not the end of the story. It is equally important to obtain government permissions to use the land for the desired purpose. The Catholic Church in Hong Kong had hoped to open a tertiary school in the colony after World War II. In 1961, its bishop proposed a plan to erect “a tertiary education institute that would offer a liberal arts program including social sciences and languages, designed to enhance ‘whole person development’ as advocated by Cardinal John Henry Newman, a distinguished Oxford scholar in the nineteenth century.” "893 However, the proposal was turned down by the government. The reason for not sanctioning the plan was because the government did not think it fit into its tertiary education plan. "894 Not everyone who was willing to help in providing education was able to receive government blessings. Even if an organization had the money to purchase land in the open market at a more expensive price for setting up a church, a school, a hospital, or providing social welfare service, the government might not necessarily grant permission to register the building. "895 It was important to maintain a good relationship with the government. Lam needed Grantham’s help to secure lands in good locations and

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890 Grantham, Via Ports, 107.
891 Soo, “Christianity in A Colonial and Chinese Context: The Internal Organization and External Relations of the Swatow Baptist Church in Hong Kong.” 230. Some churches made use of the scheme to get land from the government for operating schools or social welfare services such as day care centers, and used the facility to hold religious meetings when it was unoccupied on Sundays. Schools or social services so established under the government subsidy would normally have restricted freedom in their management. Hong Kong Baptists in general were reluctant to participate in the scheme, worrying there might be government influence on church autonomy.
892 Unlike most church schools such as those of the Anglicans and the Church of Christ in China was that theirs were government subsidized schools and could get free land grants, Baptist schools, which were all private and had the autonomy of school administration, normally could not get free land grants.
893 Leung et al., Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong, 33.
894 Ibid.
with favorable financial terms (basically free of charge), and the permission to build and operate schools, hospitals, and relief work.

The colonial government governed Hong Kong as an outside political power, and it was therefore difficult to win recognition and acceptance from the local people. To overcome such a politically inherent problem and the innate deficiency of colonial reality, the British Government recruited the participation and support of local elites in government policies.\textsuperscript{896} Grantham recruited Lam for help, since Lam fulfilled the requirements of being a local elite. He was a successful businessman, a well-respected philanthropist, an experienced educator, a prominent Baptist leader, and one who had no particular sympathy to Communist China. George Wilson, from the Southern Baptists, who was Lam’s close co-worker, believed the reason for Grantham’s need for Lam was because:

Dr. Lam was recognized for his personal contributions in having had the rice monopoly during the War from Macau, and by the French Government in dealing with coal and energy matters during difficult times. Governor Grantham genuinely needed Chinese leadership to help make his tenure successful and his friendship with Dr. Lam would be of great help. Thus in Dr. Lam coming with a request on his own behalf plus Baptist whom he helped and led would make for a positive way to reinforce government needs by rewarding in colonial ways a friend who could profit by it.\textsuperscript{897}

To Grantham, Lam was an ideal partner to be recruited to support his agenda of having churches met the colony’s social need. Moreover, Lam’s Baptist faith which included the teaching of church-state separation was probably an added advantage for Grantham to collaborate with him. Lam would refrain from questioning or criticizing government policies. As a result, Lam was recruited by the Hong Kong government as a member of the Hong Kong Senior Education Consultation Committee and the vice-president of the Chinese Committee of Hong Kong University in 1951, chairman of Hong Kong Teachers Association in 1952, and member of Hong Kong Education Committee in 1954.\textsuperscript{898}

In 1950, when the Education Department wanted to register the number of unschooled children, Lam rendered his assistance. Pui Ching Middle School, which was a private institution under Lam’s leadership, organized and began a station in the school to help the government complete the registration.\textsuperscript{899} During the 1950s, the government was skeptical about school teachers’ involvement in

\textsuperscript{896}Lee Pang-kwong, \textit{Governing Hong Kong: Insights from the British Declassified Files} (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press (China) Limited, 2012), 17.

\textsuperscript{897}George Wilson, Email to the author (March 9, 2016).

\textsuperscript{898}Tang, \textit{Social Leaders in Hong Kong & Macao}, 10. Lam, \textit{Lam Family Tree}, 17. Lam was the first Chinese to assume the chairmanship of the Hong Kong Teachers Association.

\textsuperscript{899}\textit{Hong Kong Baptist Monthly}, Volume 5, Issue 10 (October 1950): 19. The registration was carried out free for the government between September 18 and 22, 1950.
political activities connected to either the Communists in mainland China or the Kuomintang in Taiwan, and suspected that five teachers in Pui Ching Middle School were alleged to have such a connection. Lam assisted with the investigation and reported to D.J.S. Crozier, Director of Education, that the teachers would be expelled from the school if they were found involved. Lam was a faithful supporter of Grantham’s administration. Unlike the outspoken Anglican Bishop, R.O. Hall, or churches which stressed their prophetic roles of rebuking and criticizing the government for being unjust, Lam played the role of an obedient servant serving the government and a faithful priest praying for the one in authority.

Lam’s support of the government was not because of self-advertisement after public acclaim. Before Grantham became the governor of Hong Kong, Lam was well-known in the Hong Kong community. Among a number of key positions, he had been the president of the Chinese YMCA since 1933, president of the Hong Kong Chaozhou Chamber of Commerce since 1937, and the president of Hong Kong Baptist Association since 1941. Grantham knew well that Lam was not after prestige in his partnership role with the government, this was revealed in his letter to Lam when he praised Lam’s contribution: “What a lot of good you have done in the world, without any thought of reward.” Even if it was a polite way of expressing appreciation, there was a grain of truth in it – Lam’s main focus was on developing Baptist structures in Hong Kong. Grantham, who most probably shared Lam’s vision, also considered Lam as his faithful and trustworthy supporter, perhaps even ally.

Lam and Grantham: Genuine Friends or Contractual Partners?

Lam and Grantham were interdependent. It was to the benefit of both Hong Kong Baptists and the colonial government that they collaborated with each other. However, there has been an ongoing debate concerning whether Lam received support from the government mainly due to the policy of the colonial government forming a contractual relationship with churches to provide education, medical and social services, or it was because of the personal friendship between Lam and

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900 Lam Chi-fung, Letter to D.J.S. Crozier, Director of Education of Hong Kong (October 8, 1957), DTCI of HKBU, Box 4, Folder 17.
901 Ibid.
902 Bishop Hall criticized the British Government for lack of housing and insufficient schools in Hong Kong, and brought to the attention of the Archbishop of Canterbury the need to put pressure on Creech Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies. See “Notes of a Meeting in the Secretary of State’s Office on 30th June, 1950,” microfilm, Hong Kong Public Record Office, original in the National Archives of UK, Ref.: CO 537/6070.
903 Many Christian socialists criticize that churches in Hong Kong lost their role of a prophet and acted only in the role of a priest. Wong, Christian Faith and The Development of Hong Kong Society, 142-143.
904 Tang, Social Leaders in Hongkong & Macao 1959, 9-10.
905 Alexander Grantham, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (January 2, 1971), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.1.
Grantham that the Baptists could obtain so much support from the government, in particular the free grants of land, to develop their ministries in Hong Kong. Were they just contractual partners each taking what they needed while each contributing their part? Vincent Lau of the Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary believes a personal relationship between Lam and Grantham was an important factor:

Lam’s success in acquiring grants of land and financial subsidy from the government was largely the result of his close relationship with Grantham, the governor of Hong Kong (1947-1957). Apparently, the relationship between the Baptists denomination and the government was to a large extent a reflection of the personal relationship between Lam and Grantham. It is no exaggeration to say that the development of the Baptist institutions was a joint-venture between Lam and Grantham.\textsuperscript{906}

Michael Kam of Hong Kong Baptist University had a different view of the Lam and Grantham relationship, and claimed his study “refutes Lau’s argument that Lin [Lam] had obtained land grants and interest-free loans from the Hong Kong government because of his personal friendship with Sir Alexander Grantham.”\textsuperscript{907} To Kam, it was due to the government-church partnership already in place. Also, Lam, being a Chinese Christian leader, facilitated the government’s support. Kam argues, with a place like Hong Kong where the bureaucratic system was well-established, that:

\begin{quote}
(…), the existence of a government-church partnership in colonial governance was the main reason why the Hong Kong government provided such substantial support for Lin’s [Lam’s] projects. Lin’s [Lam’s] status as an important Chinese Christian leader made the Hong Kong government believe that he could be a trusted partner of the government due to his innate anti-communism.\textsuperscript{908}
\end{quote}

Was it the friendship between Lam and Grantham, or the long established government-church partnership together with Lam’s unique leadership that played a major role in their collaboration, or both? It is true that there are people who doubt if a colonial governor would build a friendship with a native person and show favoritism, or at least genuine support, to an individual or a particular group in the colony. Grantham in fact had made it very clear that:

\begin{quote}
As the Queen’s representative, the Governor has to behave and be treated as such. He should be dignified without being pompous, approachable and friendly without being intimate, because if he is intimate with any one individual or any particular group, he will be accused, rightly or wrongly, of favouritism (…).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{906} Lau, “From Periphery to Partnership,” 82.
\textsuperscript{907} Kam, “Christian Identity and Business Success: Lin Zifeng (1892-1971) and his Public Career in Hong Kong,” 250.
\textsuperscript{908} Ibid.
Many governors, and I was one of them, made it a rule not to accept private invitations of hospitality.\(^{909}\)

Despite what Grantham said, the fact that Hong Kong Baptists got his generous land grants to Baptist schools, such as Pui Ching, Pooi To, and Henrietta School in prime locations, was a cause of jealousy and tensions. Pui Ching and Pooi To were the first two private schools which received free grants of government land under Grantham’s governorship.\(^{910}\) In the inauguration speech of the new Pui Ching School building in 1953, Grantham openly said Pui Ching was the first private school in Hong Kong which was able to receive an interest-free loan from the government.\(^{911}\) In the case of the land granted to the Hong Kong Baptists for building the hospital and the college, Grantham’s decision caused dissatisfaction among government officials who were making plans for the development of Kowloon Tong area near the city exit of the Lion’s Rock Tunnel. George Wilson said government officials under Grantham expressed dismay that he made the ‘gift’ of lands to Lam and considered such a pre-mature decision would definitely affect government planning.\(^{912}\) Other religious groups would likely complain that the government was unfair to them. The Anglicans, being the state church of the UK and supposed to be given preferential treatment, did not receive such a ‘gift’. Indeed, it was not easy for the Hong Kong government to grant land in the city, especially such a large piece of land, to any church as the demand for land increased due to the increase in population in Hong Kong. One would appreciate more of the prime location given to Baptist College if it is compared with Chinese University of Hong Kong, a government university established in 1963 that is located at Ma Liu Shui in the New Territories which is far away from the city. Obviously Grantham showed favoritism to Lam.

After Grantham finished his tenure as Hong Kong Governor and returned to London in 1957, he continued to show concern and support for Lam’s Baptist ministry in Hong Kong. In November 1962, Lam wrote to Grantham to request his help to speak to Robert Black, the then Hong Kong Governor, during Black’s visit to London concerning the inclusion of Baptist College in the Chinese University scheme in Hong Kong.\(^{913}\) Grantham replied to him a month later saying that he was not able to talk to Sir Robert Black about the matter and expressed his disappointment “that the college has not, so far, been included with the other three

\(^{909}\) Grantham, *Via Ports*, 107.
\(^{912}\) George Wilson, Email to the author (March 9, 2016). Wilson believes there was a genuine friendship between Lam and Grantham.
\(^{913}\) Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Alexander Grantham (November 5, 1962), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.1.
colleges as part of the new Chinese University.” 914 Without giving up, Grantham continued to look for opportunities to help Lam to find out why the college was not included. About a year later in January 1964, Grantham wrote to Lam again:

Dr. Li, the Vice-chancellor of the new Chinese University, has been in England for a few days this week; I asked him why the Baptist College was not included in the university. He said that when the Fulton Commission, of which he was a member, was in Hong Kong, the board of the Baptist College said that they did not wish to be part of the university (…). In view of what you wrote to me some time ago, it seems that there was misunderstanding somewhere. 915

Putting aside the miscommunication between the college and the Fulton Commission, it was unthinkable and simply inappropriate for a retired governor to speak to officials who were in positions for matters related to a colony. Why would Grantham do that if not for a friend? Even seven years after Grantham had left his position as the governor of Hong Kong, Lam still remembered what Grantham had done for the Hong Kong Baptists. On October 22, 1964, Lam wrote Grantham saying:

I must thank you for the many kindness you showed to all the institutions of the Hong Kong Baptist Association, especially in connection with the grant of Crown land for the promotion of education and health service, while you were Governor of Hong Kong. Pui Ching Middle School and Pui To Girls’ School are the two schools you have greatly helped to obtain the grant of land from the government (…). You were so gracious enough to grant to the Hong Kong Baptist College a piece of land at the end of Waterloo Road, Kowloon Tong, for the site of the College building. 916

Apart from these letters concerning ‘official matters’, there were other letters on personal issues between Lam and Grantham. On Christmas Day in 1964, Grantham wrote Lam and claimed to be Lam’s old friend:

On behalf of my wife and myself, I write to thank you for your thoughtful and welcome Christmas gift of tea, cloth, napkins and handkerchiefs. You don’t forget old friends, do you? This Christmas gift is much appreciated. 917

They called each other old friends and just like old friends they often wrote to each other. 918 As it could be seen in Lam’s letter to Grantham on January 19, 1965, Lam

914 Alexander Grantham, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (December 9, 1962), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.1.
915 Alexander Grantham, Letter Lam Chi-fung (January 31, 1964), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 1. Fulton Commission was formed in 1962, and headed by Mr. John Fulton to advice on the creation of a federal-type Chinese University in Hong Kong.
916 Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Alexander Grantham (October 22, 1964), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.1.
917 Alexander Grantham, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (December 25, 1964), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.1.
918 The author has located eight letters between Lam and Grantham in Daniel Tse Collection Inventory, Special Collections and Archives of Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong, four letters from Lam to Grantham and four letters from Grantham to Lam. Lam’s four letters were dated November 5, 1962, October 22, 1964, January 19, 1965, and January 11, 1971. Grantham’s four letters were dated December 9, 1962, January 31, 1964,
wrote: “Thank you very much for your letter. You have been very kind indeed to write to me so often and tell me so many things about yourself and other friends of mine in England.” Just like one sharing with his old friend one’s excitement, Lam told Grantham how happy he was when he could secure land for the Baptist Camp:

(…) a large garden measuring more than 500,000 sq. ft. in Sheung Shui, New Territories, to be used as Baptist Youth Camp. The Hong Kong Baptist Association was prepared to spend a large amount of money to make it into an ideal place both for the worship of God and for the amenities of Baptist members, especially the young ones (…), it is important to provide youths with Christian teaching and proper recreation so that their excess energy may be diverted to the right path and they themselves may become good citizens.

In a letter to Lam on January 2, 1971, Grantham once again called Lam his friend:

It was indeed kind of you to remember me yet again. It is nice when one’s friends remember us, even though we have not seen them for some years (…). What a lot of good you have done in the world, without any thought of reward.

Lam’s last letter to Grantham was on January 11, 1971, three months before Lam died in April 1971. Lam shared with Grantham his excitement about the college’s plan to build a HK$3 million auditorium. Lam wrote:

The completion of the Chapel as planned will also allow us to make a greater contribution to our community as well since there is no place of comparable size (seating 1500) and quality on the Kowloon side (...). As you can see we do have great dreams for many ways in which Baptist can serve the large community, as well as its own people, and witness more effectively to Christ.

From the material in Daniel Tse Chi-wai Collection Inventory kept in the Special Collections and Archives of the Hong Kong Baptist University, the number of letters between Lam and Grantham was found to be far more than between Lam and any other individuals. The quantity of this correspondence clearly demonstrates that they were indeed friends. It is plausible that their friendship must have started while Grantham was in Hong Kong as governor. In 1955, when Lam traveled to the UK to attend the Ninth Baptist World Congress held in London, Grantham made the effort to take public transportation to see him. According to Tim, Lam’s youngest son: “Alex [Grantham], who became good friends with my

December 25, 1964, and January 2, 1971. All these letters were in 1962, 1964, 1965 and 1971. There are probably other letters between Lam and Grantham which are not found in Daniel Tse’s collection between 1957 after Grantham finished his governorship in Hong Kong and 1971 when Lam died.

Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Alexander Grantham (January 19, 1965), DTCl of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.1. The author was unable to find any letter from Grantham to Lam mentioning Lam’s friends in England.

Lam, Letter to Alexander Grantham (January 19, 1965), DTCl of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.1.

Grantham, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (January 2, 1971), DTCl of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.1.

Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Alexander Grantham (January 11, 1971), DTCl of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 4.1.
father (...). When LCF [abbreviation for Lam Chi-fung] was in London at one time, Alex came to visit him, riding a bus.”

The personal contact and communication clearly revealed that what Lam and Grantham shared was more than a contractual relationship, but a genuine friendship instead. While Grantham was in his term, Lam’s pleading for government land and money never failed. Grantham gave Lam support ranging from free land grants at favorable locations to interest free loans and personal patronage, the friendship between them played an essential part in the expansion of Baptist ministries in Hong Kong.

**Lam and Subsequent Governors**

Lam’s friendship with Grantham was unique and did not extend to the subsequent governors. Sir Robin Black succeeded Grantham as the Governor of Hong Kong from January 23, 1958, until March 31, 1964. Before coming to Hong Kong, Black was the Governor of Singapore. While considering whether to take up the position of the Hong Kong Governor, Black appeared to be not excited about the new assignment and was concerned that “he would not retain his own self-respect if he went to Hong Kong and would always feel he had walked out on the people he had persuaded to carry on” in Singapore.  

Black was perceived to have “the authoritarian background” for his previous experience. Sir Jock Macpherson, Head of Colonial Office, had doubts whether Black would take up the position. In his letter to Sir John Martin, Principal Private Secretary to the prime minister, Macpherson wrote: “Sir R. Black may not be very anxious to take on another tough assignment. He has had a very grueling time in Singapore. And his wife is not very fit.” Nevertheless, Black eventually did. Unlike Grantham who was very much liked by the community, Black had an inherent disadvantage as he was little known to Hong Kong natives. Mrs. Black was not as physically fit as Mrs. Grantham.

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923 Tim Lam, Email to the author (May 10, 2011).
924 J.B. Johnson, Letter to Sir Jock Macpherson, Head of Colonial Office (May 1, 1957), microfilm, Hong Kong Public Record Office, original in the National Archives of UK, Ref.: CO 967/314.
925 John Millar Martin, Principal Private Secretary, Letter to the Prime Minister (May 2, 1957), microfilm, Hong Kong Public Record Office, original in the National Archives of UK, Ref.: CO 967/314.
926 Sir Jock Macpherson, Head of Colonial Office, Letter to Sir John Martin, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister (February 13, 1957), microfilm, Hong Kong Public Record Office, original in the National Archives of UK, Ref.: CO 967/314. Macpherson believed that the Hong Kong governor had to have a tough character as “toughness will be needed in Hong Kong even more in the future than in the past.” J.B. Johnson’s letter to Macpherson said if Sir R. Black was not taking up the Hong Kong Governor post, Sir R. Gray would be an attractive candidate, but it was not sure whether “he would have that Olympian detachment and almost aloofness which Hong Kong post seems to call for.” See Johnson, Letter to Sir Jock Macpherson, Head of Colonial Office (May 1, 1957), microfilm, Hong Kong Public Record Office, original in the National Archives of UK, Ref.: CO 967/314. Apparently Black was considered to have the required tough character for the Hong Kong post.
927 Alan Lennox-Boyd, Letter to Alexander Grantham (June 6, 1957), microfilm, Hong Kong Public Record Office, original in the National Archives of UK, Ref.: CO 967/314. Lennox-Boyd mentioned in his letter that there was a mammoth petition for the extension of Grantham’s governorship in Hong Kong. For the petition letter, see Hong
who could attend many social activities in the colony and served as the governor’s ambassador to the Chinese people.

In 1961, when the Hong Kong Baptist College was short of funds for the construction of its new facility in Kowloon Tong, Lam sought an interest-free loan from the Hong Kong government. This time, unlike in Grantham’s time, Lam’s request was turned down. When Lam invited Black to visit Pui Ching Middle School and be present at the Hong Kong Baptist College Commencement Service to be held on July 11, 1961, Black turned down the invitations. When the colonial government discussed grants for the three private colleges in 1959, Hong Kong Baptist College was “not informed, approached nor consulted” although it was believed that the college was of the same caliber as the three schools concerned. In 1962, when the Hong Kong government decided to bring the three private colleges into University College status, again Black made the decision “apparently without consideration being given to [the Baptist College].” In 1964, while the construction of the Baptist College was underway, Lam asked Black for his “favorable consideration of an application made by [Lam], on behalf of the College, for rebate of cost of road formation on the line of the new College site,” Black rejected his request. The support of the previous government, which Baptists enjoyed while Grantham was the governor, did not continue in Black’s tenure. It appears the pendulum was moving to the other side and the government kept a distance from Baptist activities and their leader Lam.

Following Black, Sir David Trench accepted the governorship of Hong Kong between April 1964 and October 1971. Trench was known to be “critical to Christian groups.” When some churches became more outspoken and started to ask the Government for more to be done on Hong Kong social welfare, Trench was...
“downright rude to religious leaders” and warned a gathering of twenty Christian groups in 1970, that he believed their religious principles disqualified them from commenting on the government’s activities. Among his comments was the claim:

We are all familiar with – and often admire – people of strong religious conviction whose hearts are so full of love that it unfortunately impairs their judgment in practical situations (...); with great respect, church government does not have a very happy history and your cloth gives you no special expertise in the detailed solution of governmental problems.\(^\text{935}\)

Obviously Trench was not as friendly to churches as Grantham had been neither did he have the same close relationship with Lam as Grantham. When Lam invited him and his wife to be present at the formal opening ceremony of the new Baptist College building on October 22, 1966,\(^\text{936}\) they declined the invitation.\(^\text{937}\) Lam then changed the event one day earlier to suit Trench’s schedule.\(^\text{938}\) Trench finally agreed to attend but refused to speak in the ceremony, and his wife would not be present.\(^\text{939}\) Despite Lam’s stating in advance that “the ceremony [lasted] no longer than an hour and then followed by a reception,”\(^\text{940}\) Trench was at the ceremony for only fifteen minutes to perform a symbolic opening of the building and then left.\(^\text{941}\) Even on a scale of local politics, this conveyed a message. Obviously the warm relationship that had existed between Grantham and Lam did not exist between Lam and Trench. More noteworthy, the position of the Baptist presence and mission was re-evaluated by the colonial government in the 1960s. The recurrent visits to Baptist schools by Mrs. Grantham were also not seen in Mrs. Trench’s case. Unlike frequent letter exchanges between Lam and Grantham, there was no correspondence found between Lam and other governors after their retirement from Hong Kong office.

The reasons Lam did not build up friendship with Black and Trench could be many besides the different characters of the governors. Firstly, the Baptists were no longer singled out as the government’s preferred partners during the 1960s. While most mission bodies were hesitant whether to station missionaries in Hong Kong after leaving China in 1949, Lam had succeeded to persuade the Southern Baptists to put their resources in the colony, hence beginning a large education


\(^{936}\) Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Sir David Trench (May 4, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 18.

\(^{937}\) David Trench, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (May 13, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 18.

\(^{938}\) Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Sir David Trench (June 21, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 18. Lam inquired if there was a time more convenient to Trench and asked if he could reconsider the request.

\(^{939}\) David Trench, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (June 23, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 18.

\(^{940}\) Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Sir David Trench (June 28, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 18.

\(^{941}\) Mayor, Royal Artillery, A.D.C. to H.E. the Governor, Letter to Lam Chi-fung (September 5, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 18.
program during the 1950s. However, as the Hong Kong political situation became stable, the Church of Christ in China and the Anglican Church were active in cooperating with the government to open subsidized schools and became key players in Hong Kong education. Since the 1960s, the Church of Christ in China had started over sixty schools including kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools.\textsuperscript{942} The Anglicans which used to be interested in running small number of elite schools expanded to thirty-one primary schools and fourteen secondary schools between 1950 and 1974.\textsuperscript{943} Relatively speaking, the Baptists became less important in Hong Kong education.

Secondly, after the 1967 pro-China riot was over, the threat of Communist infiltration was no longer an issue as the underground Chinese Communist Party network was almost completely annihilated;\textsuperscript{944} the value of Christian churches as instruments to curb Communist infiltration was diminished. Instead, local charitable organizations began to take a more important role in providing social services.\textsuperscript{945} As such the Baptists together with other church groups were no longer the preferred or primary providers of education.

Thirdly, there were concerns about the Hong Kong Baptists working so closely with the government and whether getting government land and funds to operate church schools would breach the church-state separation principle. The emphasis of the separation of church and state was a concern of the Southern Baptists and that concern was also shared by local Baptist leaders. As a result, the relationship between Lam and the governors, as well as with other officials, in the 1960s was not as close as in Grantham’s time in the 1950s. Lastly, what George Wilson said to the author was probably true: “Black and Trench had likely received and heard from various Government servants regarding Dr. Lam and Gov. Grantham’s close relationship and Lam getting especially concerning the grant of land and were likely hoping to maintain their distance away from him to avoid people’s criticism.”\textsuperscript{946}

As the general situation changed and the Baptists’ position was in transition in the 1960s, Hong Kong Baptists were no longer able to acquire land from the

\textsuperscript{942} Leung Ka-lun, “Fushi Bianyuan Qunti de Jiaohui [Churches Serving Marginalized Groups],” in \textit{The 3rd Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China “History of Christianity in Hong Kong”} (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, 2003), 12.
\textsuperscript{944} The 1967 pro-China riot was a large scale confrontation between the pro-communists and the colonial government in Hong Kong. The incident was started initially by labor disputes. It then developed into large scale demonstrations and violent confrontations with the police eventually. The riot resulted in 51 killed, 832 injuries, 4,979 were arrested, and 1,936 were convicted.
\textsuperscript{945} Leung et al., \textit{Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong}, 28.
\textsuperscript{946} Wilson, Email to the author (March 9, 2016).
government on favorable terms. David Wong, a prominent Hong Kong Baptist leader, during the 1964 annual executive meeting of the Hong Kong Baptist Association thus suggested going ahead and buying land and properties in the open market for future church use. Although it would be difficult to quantify to what extent the friendship between Lam and Grantham helped the Hong Kong Baptists, it certainly contributed to their collaboration, and helped Hong Kong Baptists to build their structures and develop their mission in the society.

**Conclusion**

As social needs increased with the population expansion due to the large influx of refugees after 1949, Grantham, the Hong Kong governor, needed churches and charitable organizations to help in providing education, medical and social services. Since churches shared common socio-cultural roots and anti-Communist ideology with the colonial government, they were preferred partners rather than Chinese philanthropies whose loyalty was questioned by the British colonial government. Due to the historically marked anti-Catholic tendencies in the Church of England and several events, which – at least mentally – tended to associate Roman Catholics with Italy’s political choices during the World War II, the British administration in Hong Kong paid less attention to the Roman Catholic efforts in the colony. As a result, Protestants were favored over Catholics. Among the major Protestant denominations, the Baptists were seen as the more desirable partner. Besides, the Hong Kong Baptists had a long history of operating schools. Lam was a Baptist leader, an experienced educator, and a successful businessman with extensive experience in liaisons with various governments. When Grantham served his term, Lam was considered his favorable partner for providing the needed services.

As Lam succeeded in his invitation to Southern Baptists to put their resources in Hong Kong after leaving China, he needed Grantham’s help to provide land grants and government subsidies to carry out the mission. Thus, Lam and Grantham formed a mutual cooperation. Their relationship was beyond the government-church partnership which had long been existed. They developed a genuine friendship and their friendship played a part in expanding the ministries of Hong Kong Baptists. The close relationship was not found with subsequent governors due to a number of reasons. However, Lam’s partnership with the government in education brought to the attention of Southern Baptists that such close collaboration might cause a conflict concerning a sensitive issue – the separation of church and state. How would the Southern Baptists react when they

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947 *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly*, Volume 20, Issue 2 (February 1965): 10. David Wong was Lam’s close co-worker and was the president of the Baptist World Alliance 1975-1980.
noticed that the Hong Kong Baptists sought government aid for their mission? The next chapter will look at how the Baptists in the U.S. understood and practiced separation of church and state – a core Baptist belief, how the separation principle was applied in other places, and how the Southern Baptists as well as the Hong Kong Baptists saw and interpreted it in the Hong Kong context. Another acute question to be tackled in the next chapter is how Lam would look at the issue when he solicited so much support from the Southern Baptists while seeking government aid for the Baptist mission. As local views and the U.S. mission perspectives were not fully unanimous, we will also see how Lam handled the tensions and opposition he instigated because of this issue.
Chapter 7: Hong Kong Situation when Lam was the Leader: Church State Separation From Non-Issue to Becoming a Concern

Introduction

Baptists in Hong Kong had a long tradition of cooperating with the government in providing education and social welfare services. After World War II, the British government and local Baptists intensified this cooperation, especially in the field of education. The interest was mutual. The Baptists assisting the colonial government in carrying out educational work was as they saw it an effective means of evangelism. The government granted land and financial aid to the Baptists to do the work which should have been the government’s duty. The partnership, which had a long history tracing back to the nineteen century, flourished when Lam and Grantham built a close collaboration, in particular during the 1950s. The idea of separation of church and state did not affect the Baptists during the early days in Hong Kong. Both the Baptist missionaries and the local Baptists were fully committed to their efforts whose chief goal was saving more souls. Thus they were not aware or concern if the practice of accepting government aid was in line with the principle of church and state separation. Mission practice overshadowed doctrinal concerns and discussions. However, as the Hong Kong Baptists began to receive large amounts of support from Southern Baptists and worked closely with the government to obtain land grants and financial aid at the same time, the issue surfaced and needed to be faced.

In order to fully appreciate how the church-state separation principle affected Hong Kong Baptists, it is helpful to know how the principle was understood and interpreted by the Baptists in the U.S. Despite the fact that the separation principle was cherished and upheld by many Baptists, Southern Baptists were indecisive about whether their own colleges within the United States should receive federal aid. There were more problems when the principle of church-state separation was applied in places outside the States. The main focus of this chapter is to study how the principle was applied in Hong Kong. As a comparison we will therefore look at how Baptists practiced it in India and Nigeria which were British colonies similar to Hong Kong. We will discuss the stance of the Foreign Mission Board (FMB) of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) and study how the Hong Kong-Macau Mission (the Mission), which was the local representative of the FMB in the Hong Kong and Macau region, interpreted the separation principle, and also the stance of the Hong Kong Baptists to see how they practiced it. Finally, we will look at how Lam Chi-fung handled it. The author argues that Lam handled
it in such a pragmatic way that he was able to get government aid without breaching the Mission’s understanding of the separation principle.

**Baptist Understanding of Church and State Relationship**

Baptists in the U.S., in particular Southern Baptists, were the key Baptist group who rendered support to Hong Kong Baptists. Their theology also played a part in the relationship of the two groups. While Hong Kong Baptists were eager to carry out their mission work and expand their ministries, they would not want their collaboration with the government to infringe the Baptist understanding of separation of church and state as it risked losing support from Baptists in the U.S.

In order to appreciate how the principle of separation of church and state affected the Hong Kong Baptists, it is important to know how Southern Baptists understood and interpreted it. Jimmy Carter, the 39th President of the United States and a devoted Baptist, said: “If there’s one thing about Baptists that sets us aside from any other denomination, it’s our total and complete commitment to the separation of church and state.” Charles Evans Hughes, former U.S. Supreme Court chief justice, once expressed the commitment to religious freedom and separation of church and state being “the glory of the Baptist heritage, more distinctive than any other characteristic of belief or practice.” Religious freedom always goes hand in hand with the principle of separation of church and state. They are two sides of one and the same coin. James Leo Garrett Jr., Professor Emeritus at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, pointed out: “In order to achieve religious liberty, churches had to be separated from the State.” Baptists in the U.S. wanted to be free from the influence of the state such that the church could maintain religious freedom and keep a prophetic voice against unjust deeds of the society.

Church and state separation was an important doctrine among the Baptist founders. Religious freedom is central to Baptist identity. Concerning religious liberty, one of the earliest Baptist statements, and certainly one of the finest as seen by a Southern Baptist historian, H. Leon McBeth, was made by John Smyth. According to John Smyth:

> The magistrate is not by virtue of his office to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, to force and compel men to this or that form of religion, or doctrine;

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but to leave Christian religion free, to every man’s conscience, and to handle only civil transgressions.\textsuperscript{952}

Thomas Helwys, Roger Williams, Isaac Besson, and other Baptist founders were also advocates of religious freedom.\textsuperscript{953} Helwys was considered to be ahead of his time concerning religious liberty for all people.\textsuperscript{954} Helwys said: “Let them be heretikes [sic], Turcks [sic], Jews, or whatsoever it apperteynes [sic] not to the earthly power to punish them in the least measure” in religious matters.\textsuperscript{955} John Murton also insisted upon separation of civil and spiritual spheres, and said: “Earthly authority belongeth to earthly kings; but spiritual authority belongeth to that one spiritual King who is KING OF KINGS.”\textsuperscript{956}

Religious freedom and separation of church and state were also seen as a constitutional principle of the United States. Thomas Jefferson, an American founding Father and the principal author of the Declaration of Independence who later served as the third President of the United States from 1801 to 1809, explained his understanding of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution and mentioned the often quoted ‘wall of separation’ statement to the Danbury Baptist Association on January 1, 1802:

Believing with you that religion lies solely between man and his God, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legislative powers of government reach action only, and not opinions, I contemplate with solemn reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should ‘make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof’, thus building a wall of separation between Church and State.\textsuperscript{957}

Separation of church and state is generally recognized in history as a matter of choosing freely one’s religion without fear of punishment. The main emphasis of the separation principle was to ensure church autonomy and church practice not be interfered by the state. C. Stanley Lowell referring to Thomas Jefferson expressed: “The religious enterprise was to be entirely on its own. It would have from the state nothing but freedom – freedom to produce whatever it could produce. If it failed to produce anything, if it could not on its own attract adherents and support, it would just have to die.”\textsuperscript{958} Benjamin Franklin, one of the founding fathers of the

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{952} William Lumpkin, ed., \textit{Baptist Confessions of Faith} (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1959), 140.
\textsuperscript{953} Garrett Jr., \textit{We Baptists}, 31.
\textsuperscript{954} McBeth, \textit{The Baptist Heritage}, 103.
\textsuperscript{956} Edward Underhill, ed., \textit{Tracts on Liberty of Conscience and Persecution 1614-1661} (London: J. Haddon, 1846), 134.
\textsuperscript{958} C. Stanley Lowell, \textit{The Great Church-State Fraud} (New York: Robert B. Luce, 1973), 192.
\end{footnotes}
United States who was given the title of ‘the First American’ for his indefatigable campaigning for colonial unity, said: “When a religion is good (…), it will support itself and when it cannot support itself and God does not care to support it, so that professors are obliged to call for help of the civil power, it is the sign (…) of its being a bad one.”\textsuperscript{959} It is clear among the early Baptists in the U.S. that the church should get nothing from the state except freedom to practice her faith. A church should be self-supporting and not rely on government money to support her ministry. If a church is unable to support her work, it may as well close her door.

The principle of separation of church and state was upheld by the majority of Baptists in the U.S. In 1939, a statement on ‘A Pronouncement on Religious Liberty’ was unanimously adopted by the three largest Baptist denominations in the U.S. at that time, the National Baptist Convention, the Northern Baptist Convention, and the Southern Baptist Convention. The document expresses that church and state separation is championed by Baptists everywhere.\textsuperscript{960} The Baptist belief of separation of church and state was interpreted in a way that emphasized governments should not interfere with church matters and vice versa, and churches should not seek government help.

The distinctiveness of the doctrine of separation of church and state not only forbids receiving government aid for religious work, Nigel Wright sees that it is necessary “to maintain a critical distance in order that it might remain faithful to its own calling and identity and not become inappropriately entangled. It is inappropriate for the church to be in partnership with the state.”\textsuperscript{961} James M. Dunn simply wrote, “Neither church nor state should be caught in the bear hug of the other.”\textsuperscript{962} Thus, church and state should not partner but separate from each other and maintain a distance between the two parties. As an ideal, this approach was expected to help the church maintain a prophetic voice in the society and make decisions free from direct or indirect pressure from the state.

Despite the fact that most American people expect the separation of church and state to be championed by Baptists everywhere, sometimes this principle is not easy to apply in a real life situation. Southern Baptists held a strict view of the separation principle but found it difficult when applying it in their colleges in the U.S. during the mid-twentieth century when it became increasingly costly to operate tertiary education institutions. Whether Baptist colleges in the U.S. should

\textsuperscript{959} Lowell, The Great Church-State Fraud, 192.
\textsuperscript{961} Nigel G. Wright, Free Church, Free State: The Positive Baptist Vision (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2005), 213.
receive federal aid, or what federal aid could be received, raised a dilemma. Southern Baptists in the U.S. were challenged from time to time concerning the precise definition of the separation principle. We will see in the latter part of this chapter that the same question became an issue in Hong Kong when Lam sought government aid for Baptist schools.

**Southern Baptists’ Perplexity in the 1960s: Colleges in the U.S. Accepting Federal Aid**

During the 1960s, Southern Baptists in the U.S. were perplexed with regard to what government aid could be received by Baptist schools in their own land, or whether no government aid should be received at all. Leon McBeth described the situation: “Perhaps the most crucial question facing Baptist colleges in the present era [in the 1960s] concerns federal aid.”  

As the cost of tertiary education was running high, the subject of whether to accept federal aid was hotly debated and taken to vote at several of the 1965 state conventions. Without exception the non-acceptance policy was voted every time the subject matter was brought up. However, McBeth believed: “[M]any observers insist that convictions on the question are not so definite as the convention votes would indicate.” He further indicated that at any rate the question was not finally settled.

A Study Task Force in 1965-1967 to look at issues of Baptist education was formed by the SBC. One concern was the critical financial problem confronting their colleges and the issues relating to federal aid for the church-related institutions. Discussion of whether Baptist colleges should accept government aid came to the top of the agenda. Three groups were formed to study the issue. The outcome was: Group 1 did not have a definite answer and suggested having a thorough study of what part of federal aid could be accepted; Group 2 felt that federal money for Baptist colleges should be sought; and Group 3 concluded: “If Baptists really want Christian higher education, they are able to pay the price necessary to get it, irrespective of what they decide to do about federal aid.” There was no consensus with regard to the issue. However, the three groups had a list of suggestions, including: cooperate to assure students and faculty members of their right to receive loans, scholarships, research grants, assistantships, etc., as individuals, and such forms of assistance do not affect the policies under which the colleges are administered; accept government assistance for which a direct service is performed

964 Ibid.
by the colleges in areas where the colleges and the government share the same objectives; and accept direct grants for libraries, science buildings and other nonreligious buildings where there is no restriction to the colleges of their autonomy.\textsuperscript{966} In the conclusion of the study, it suggested:

That the Board of Trustees of each institution shall be recognized as having discretion in accepting or rejecting government aid, including loans and grants, provided that those accepted be free of unreasonable restrictions which would limit the operation of the institution as a church-related school.\textsuperscript{967}

The main concern obviously was to ensure that school autonomy would not be affected. The study also revealed that among different causes of the problem the first one was the “unclear and inarticulate doctrine of the separation of church and state.”\textsuperscript{968}

In another section of the ‘SBC: Baptist Study Task 1965-67’ concerning financing Christian Higher Education, the issue of accepting federal aid was also a major concern. With regard to church and state separation, the report on one hand said: “Traditionally the emphasis had not been ‘seperation’ but concern that neither one – the church or state – should control the other. In the long view of history the church has exercised the greater control.” On the other, it said: “The answer to this complex problem is not easy. Historically Baptists have paid a price for the concept of separation of church and state. This must not be forgotten.” The report also questioned: “Have we earnestly talked with our God about our financial difficulties? Do we have sufficient faith to believe that He, rather than government, can save us?”\textsuperscript{969} Finally in the conclusion of the report, it suggested that the SBC request the Baptist Joint Committee on World Affairs to make a detailed study of church-state relations. Despite all these studies, the issue was not even a step closer to resolution.

More studies were launched and more special task forces were commissioned. The debate on Baptist schools accepting government aid continued. The subject matter was unresolved in the U.S. even after so many efforts were made. The issue was found to be more complicated in places outside the U.S. The Baptists were concerned with how it could be applied in other countries. The

\textsuperscript{966} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{967} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{968} Ibid.
controversy was repeated in the Hong Kong context when native Hong Kong Baptists debated whether to accept government aid for their schools. As we will see the way Lam handled the issue of government aid was basically in line with the conclusion of the Study Task Force in 1965-1967 which was to accept government support for students, faculty members, and building facilities as long as there was no restriction to the school autonomy.

**Baptist Schools Accepting Government Subsidies: Examples from India and Nigeria**

The issue of Baptist institutions receiving aid was not exclusive to the U.S. or Hong Kong. American Baptists, as well as Southern Baptists, faced the same question in Asia and Africa as part of their missionary endeavors. How should these British colonies practice separation of church and state? Baptists in different parts of the world interpret the application of this principle in varying ways. James Garrett Jr. thinks: “Baptists affirm the need to preserve freedom of conscience and therefore accept some differences among Baptists.”

This difference becomes clearer when one compares Baptist work on the American continent with other parts of the world.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, American Baptists had discussed whether mission schools in India, Assam, and Burma should take government aid. Rev. Alvah Hovey, who was the chairman of the committee appointed to study the relation of schools and higher education to Baptist missionary operations of the American Baptist Missionary Union, submitted his report to the union in 1894. Hovey described the situation that since these places were under the British flag, grants-in-aid had been “thankfully received” by the local Baptists. In his report, he recommended:

> That the reception of “grants in aid” from the British government is possible defensible in view of the nature of that government and of the relation which our missionaries hold to it (…), most of these missionaries, believing that the state ought to do something for secular education and knowing that it will do nothing except by way of “grants in aid,” are convinced that in pure justice to an impoverished people, government aid to their secular school work ought to be received.

Hovey was sensitive to the local context. Not every Baptist missionary official from North America was. The recommendation was clear that government

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970 Garrett Jr., *We Baptists*, 47-48.
972 Ibid.: 199.
aid could be received on certain conditions. Hovey said that the assistance of the government in erecting schoolhouses should only be accepted with “the special approval of the Executive Committee of the Union, though the conditions on which such assistance is furnished are perfectly honorable.” 973 Hovey’s position, as reflected in his report, was rather flexible, though he allowed the maintenance of control to be in the hands of the sending missionary agency.

Southern Baptists also had the experience of loosening the policy when they were in a mission field. In the case of Baptist schools in Nigeria, Southern Baptists allowed the Nigerian Baptist Convention to take government aid for running schools in the early twentieth century when a system of public schools did not exist. Mission schools received government aid under the condition that they met the standard fixed by the Nigerian government. The Baptists were aware that by giving up mission schools, Muslim, Roman Catholic and non-religious agencies would qualify for the grants and operate schools. It was why the Foreign Mission Board in 1926 allowed the Nigerian Baptist Convention to receive grants-in-aid for Baptist schools in Nigeria. However, the Nigerian Baptists were warned “that vigilance shall be exercised in guarding the principles which Southern Baptists hold dear, and that if any time there should be an impingement of these, the necessary steps to protect them shall be taken.” 974 Although there was no elaboration of what “the principles” were which Nigerian Baptists were requested to guard and protect, they were allowed to receive government aid.

The issue was brought up again in 1950, and discussed seriously in the Ibadan Convention in 1951. The decision was that “the Nigerian Baptist Convention would continue to receive grants-in-aid for its primary and secondary schools, but not for institutions meant for training future Baptist leaders.” 975 A line between ministerial and general education was drawn. Lam in Hong Kong appeared to follow the same practice that he only sought government support for Baptist institutions such as schools, hospital, and social center, but not churches or seminary buildings and work.

Regardless of the fact that the separation of church and state was so paramount in the mind of Baptists, the principle could be interpreted and applied differently under different circumstances. While Baptists unanimously agree on separation of church and state, Walter Shurden, a prominent Baptist historian, was right in saying: “In practice, however, Baptists in different parts of the world

973 Ibid.
975 Korieh et al., Religion, History, and Politics in Nigeria, 106.
interpret the application of this principle in varying ways."\textsuperscript{976} Despite the previous cases of finding a way between principle and pragmatism, receiving government aid for Baptist schools in Hong Kong did not go smoothly. There were different views among the Hong Kong Baptists as well as the Southern Baptist missionaries in the colony.

**Hong Kong Situation when Lam was the Leader: From Non-Issue to Becoming a Concern**

One of the crucial questions for Hong Kong Baptists was, in words of Shurden, who stated this in a different context by precisely expressing the particular situation: “How much and what kind of state financial aid can be offered to and received by church related schools?”\textsuperscript{977} The Hong Kong-Macau Mission, the representative organization responsible for mission affairs of Southern Baptists in Hong Kong and Macau, tried repeatedly to define its stance, but it could never come up with a clear answer. There was no consensus among Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong regarding this issue.

The locals were more open to concessions. With the exception of a few local pastors and church leaders who questioned if government money should be used for church work, most Hong Kong Baptists desired taking government aid to operate schools so long as the government would not interfere in their autonomy. Before the Southern Baptists returned, on an irregular basis Hong Kong Baptists had gotten government help for their ministries, such as land grants and subsidy of funds for churches and church schools.

Shortly after the return of Baptist missionaries to Hong Kong in the 1950s, Lam attempted to combine Southern Baptist and government support for advancing the Hong Kong Baptist mission. In 1950, Lam initiated a proposal to build fifty houses for fire victims in Brotherly Love Village with the land granted by the government and building funds received from Southern Baptists.\textsuperscript{978} A few years later in 1955, classrooms for the Associational First Primary School were built on government land in Brotherly Love Village with money provided by the Hong Kong-Macau Mission.\textsuperscript{979} In 1952, as the principal of the Pooi To Girls’ School, Lam obtained from the government 74,140 square feet of land for the school expansion. Regarding construction expenses, money was collected in

\textsuperscript{976} Shurden, *The Baptist Identity*, 76.
\textsuperscript{977} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{978} Hong Kong Baptist Association 20\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary Commemoration 1938-1958 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Association, 1958), 6. For more details of the incident, see the section “Lam and Grantham’s Collaboration” in chapter 6 of this study.
\textsuperscript{979} “Fourth Session of Second Quarterly Meeting (June 22, 1955),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 22. US$2,750 in total was provided by the Hong Kong-Macau Mission.
various ways. “Some came from the Foreign Mission Board (…), [and] some was borrowed from the government.” An interest-free loan of HK$300,000 was received from the government. In 1958, when Pooi To Girls’ School celebrated its 70th anniversary and required money for a building expansion project, another HK$300,000 government loan was received. In 1962, when the school had a new extension, the government granted HK$542,400 for the building and $40,000 for equipment, and an interest-free loan of $384,000.

Similar government support was received by Pui Ching Middle School. In 1952, Lam, at that time principal of Pui Ching School, obtained 120,000 square feet of land and an interest-free loan of HK$300,000 from the government for a new school building. “The Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board gave a large sum to help with the construction of this building, too.” In 1955, when Pui Ching celebrated its 65th anniversary and needed money for its religious education building, “the Foreign Mission Board gave $10,000 (U.S.) to help build the chapel in the Religious Education building.” When the Hong Kong Baptist College was seeking land for its campus in 1957, Maurice Anderson, a Southern Baptist missionary in Hong Kong and the vice-president of the college, wrote to Winston Crawley, Secretary of Orient for the FMB of the SBC, on August 17, 1957, and said: “[W]e will definitely try to get a grant of land [from the government] so that all money available may be put into buildings and equipment.” Eventually the land was granted by the government and the money for building construction was mostly provided by Southern Baptists.

The case was also similar for the Baptist Hospital. Hong Kong Baptists were getting both mission and government help at the same time; the government provided land and low-interest or interest-free loans, and Southern Baptists helped

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980 *Hong Kong Baptist Association 20th Anniversary Commemoration 1938-1958*, English 8. As early as 1949, the Foreign Mission Board of the American Southern Baptist Convention had already given a lot of apparatus to Pooi To School and promised to give more. See *Pooi To Middle School 5th Anniversary Memorial Issue* (Hong Kong: Wai Hing Press, 1950), 33. For more information about Pooi To getting government aid, see the section “Lam and Grantham’s Collaboration” in chapter 6 of this study.

981 *Pooi To Middle School 115th Anniversary Commemorate Issue* (Hong Kong: Pooi To Middle School, 2003), 23.


983 Director of Education, Hong Kong, Letter to Lam Chi-fung, Chairman of United HK Christian Baptist Churches Association (July 8, 1966), kept in Daniel Tse Collection Inventory in Special Collections and Archives of Hong Kong Baptist University (DTCI of HKBU), Box 4, Folder 17.

984 *Hong Kong Baptist Association 20th Anniversary Commemoration 1938-1958*, English 10. For more information about Pui Ching getting government aid, see the section “Lam and Grantham’s Collaboration” in chapter 6 of this study.

985 Ibid.

986 Maurice Anderson, Letter to Winston Crawley (August 17, 1956), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 672AR.

987 By 1966, the Southern Baptists had donated HK$2,157,000 to the college. See David Wong, Chairman of the Board of Hong Kong Baptist College, Manuscript Issued to Lam Chi-fung, Principal of Hong Kong Baptist College (October 21, 1966), DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12.
with the construction fees. Despite that practice, which was used in the 1950s, the perception of these steps was not fully straightforward. Theological arguments, perhaps even ideological arguments, came to play a more visible role in the process.

Hong Kong Baptists and the colonial government had long been working as partners in providing social services in Hong Kong, in particular education. Because of limited resources, the Hong Kong government wanted to share the responsibility for education with churches and voluntary organizations. Governor Alexander Grantham once spoke to the students of Pui Ching Middle School:

[I]t is difficult for the government to undertake everything with its budgets. (…) There are other tasks which are no less important than education, such as medical spending. Currently, government schools are not sufficient to meet education need. Private schools are required to assist achieving the goal.  

Due to its budget limitations, the Hong Kong government required private organizations to help with education. Seeing churches as the preferred partner, the Hong Kong government was willing to render support to churches to operate schools. Seeing education as an effective means of evangelism, churches were ready to receive government aid to provide education. Like a Chinese proverb says, “each plays his proper role and each gets his due.” However, there was a strong third party – Southern Baptists – who raised a theological question about how appropriate the government subsidies were. Such a third party was not an outsider but also took up an influential role with a strong voice because a considerable portion of the money came from them. As the involvement of the Southern Baptists increased, and while government subsidies became more desired by the Hong Kong Baptists, the issue of separation of church and state became a concern of both the missionaries and local Baptists. Lam’s success in obtaining support from Southern Baptists and the government at the same time created tension here.

Stance of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission in 1960s: No Government Subsidy but Definition Indeterminate

While Lam continued to promote and develop Baptist ministries, Southern Baptists were increasingly concerned about Hong Kong Baptists receiving government subsidies. The voice of Southern Baptists was mainly channeled through the Hong Kong-Macau Mission (the Mission). A committee was set up by the Mission on April 6, 1961, to investigate the issue.  

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989 “Executive Committee Meeting (April 6, 1961),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 44.
Semi-Annual Meeting held on June 16, 1961, passed a resolution to clarify its position and recommended:

(...), that all Baptist Association and Church-operated schools only seek and accept funds made available by private non-government agencies or individuals for their capital or operating expenses (...), the Mission goes on record as not being willing to request Foreign Mission Board funds for schools which receive government subsidies (...).

The Mission’s decision seemed to be clear that Hong Kong Baptists were not allowed to receive government subsidies if they expected to receive mission support from the U.S. The Mission also decided that the Hong Kong Baptist Association would be “informed by letter regarding this action of the Mission.”

Winston Crawley, Secretary of Orient of the FMB of the SBC, was in Hong Kong at that time and attended the Semi-Annual Meeting. The Mission’s position, probably following Crawley’s stance, was that churches could receive only private funding but not government subsidies. Adhering strictly to the decision, the Mission immediately passed a resolution during the same Semi-Annual Meeting in 1961, to stop granting money to Ebenezer Home and School for the Blind as they were receiving government funding for its operation.

Despite the action which had been taken, the exact meaning of ‘government subsidies’ remained unclear and its exact meaning had to be defined. For example, would a government land grant be acceptable, or would only financial aid for operation expenses be considered as a government subsidy? A year later in June 1962, the Mission discussed the issue again and decided:

That we request confirmation from each Institution, Church, or Chapel to which we give Capital or Operating Funds that they do not intend to receive Government Subsidy. This is to be done after clarification of the word “subsidy” is received from the Foreign Mission Board.

The Mission reiterated its position that Baptist schools should refrain from accepting government subsidies if they desired to continue to receive support from the Mission. Although the meeting resolution was quite clear, the Mission’s action to request confirmation from local Baptists that they did not intend to receive

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990 “Ninth Session of First Semi-Annual Meeting (June 16, 1961),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 15.
991 Ibid.
992 “Sixth Session of First Semi-Annual Meeting (June 14, 1961),” Minutes of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 10. Ebenezer Home and School for the Blind was started by Ebenezer of Hildesheim Mission of Germany in 1897, in Hong Kong. The school began to receive funds from the Hong Kong government beginning in 1956. Prior to 1959, Hildesheim Mission to the Blind in Germany provided most of the funding for the school.
993 “Tenth Session of Semi-Annual Meeting (June 15, 1962),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 23.
government subsidy was held up until the FMB’s position on subsidy was clarified. Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong were probably aware that what was considered a subsidy and what not was remained unclear. They wanted to have a clear definition from their sending agency as there were articulated disagreements among missionaries concerning the issue. To learn the FMB’s position on government subsidies, a letter was issued to Crawley by the Mission for clarification on different types of subsidies, such as land grants, teacher’s supplement, scholarship for pupils, classroom subsidies, and grants involving U.S. funds.\(^{994}\)

Crawley replied to the Mission at once on June 28, 1962. He re-iterated that the Southern Baptists had a strong conviction on separation of church and state which the FMB would not want to compromise; and that a policy of acceptance of direct government subsidies on the part of the schools operated by the Baptists of Hong Kong would make it difficult for the FMB to continue financial aid to the Baptist schools there. In short, Crawley’s answer to each of the five points raised by the Hong Kong-Macau Mission was: \(^{995}\)

1. Land Grants: With basic laws and policies in Hong Kong regarding land ownership being what they are, we [FMB] have felt that land grants would not be considered prohibitive.

2. Teacher’s Supplement: The problem of church-state separation is not necessarily raised by supplements to teachers or scholarships for pupils. These are grants for the profit of individuals and do not involve direct interrelating of the functions of church and state.

3. Pupil’s Scholarship: (Crawley’s answer is included in point two above)

4. Classroom subsidy: I [Crawley] am not sure just what is meant by “classroom subsidies,” but it would seem to be a direct subsidy from government to schools which meet certain standards. That sort of subsidy would involve a compromise of the principle of separation of church and state.

5. Grants involving U.S. Funds: I [Crawley] am not sure what type of grants may be involved in funds originating from the United States Government. In principle we [FMB] would look to the question whether there is in fact a direct payment of subsidy from a government agency to a church related school.

Regardless of the fact that Crawley’s stance appeared to be clear that a direct subsidy to schools was a problem while land grant and indirect aid to teachers and students would be acceptable, he admitted:

\(^{994}\) Ibid.

\(^{995}\) Winston Crawley, Letter to James Belote (June 28, 1962), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
there are possible variations of interpretations or opinions as to the extent to which the principle of church-state separation would be compromised. (…). Of course, this is not intended as a definitive statement of Baptist position since there are many areas in the church-state problem on which Baptists do not fully agree.\textsuperscript{996}

Crawley, supposedly representing the FMB’s position, was unable to confirm that his answer reflected a definitive Baptist view. The discussion of Baptist schools receiving government aid continued.

In summer 1962, local Baptists were also involved in the discussion. In less than a month after Crawley’s reply to the Mission, a joint committee meeting, in the presence of representatives from the Mission and others appointed by the Hong Kong Baptist Association including principals of Baptist schools, was held on July 19, 1962. Ronald Fuller who represented the Mission attended the meeting and submitted a report to the Hong Kong-Macau Mission on this special joint committee meeting:

[T]he Association members were quite in favor of accepting whatever funds and other help the government was prepared to give Baptists in the operation of schools (…). My feeling was that the missionaries opposed receiving government subsidy (…). It was also mentioned that to justify receipt of money because Baptists had already received free land for educational institutions was a mistake (…).\textsuperscript{997}

Fuller did not think it was right to receive any government subsidy. As a matter of fact, Fuller always had the feeling that Hong Kong Baptists were not adhering strictly to the Baptist practice of church and state separation. A few years back he had reported in the first Orient Missions Conference held in Hong Kong on July 30, 1957: “[W]hen missionaries stopped off on the way out of China in H.K., we found Baptists here who were very much influenced by Anglican and Roman Catholic ideas, but didn’t know it.”\textsuperscript{998} What Fuller probably meant here was that native Baptists were like Anglicans and Roman Catholics, working too closely with the government in operating schools. In his report submitted to the Hong Kong-Macau Mission in 1962, Fuller further quoted cases in the U.S. that land grants by governments were deemed to be a form of government subsidy:

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\textsuperscript{996} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{998} Ronald Fuller, “Report from Hong Kong (July 30, 1957),” in the First Orient Missions Conference held in Hong Kong, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 390AR.
\end{flushleft}
Fuller believed that churches should not acquire any form of government aid, not even land grants. He felt that his viewpoint was shared by other Southern Baptist missionaries who were present in the committee meeting. There was a strong view that the Southern Baptist approach was possible to import and apply in an Asian cultural and ecclesial context.

Irrespective of what Fuller said, Hong Kong-Macau Mission in fact had a history of approaching the government either directly or through the Association for land before 1962. Back in 1955, the Mission hoped to open a clinic in Hong Kong and made a resolution in its meeting to recommend to the Association “making a formal request to the Hongkong Government for land for a clinic.” Two years later, Samuel Rankin reported in the First Orient Mission Conference in 1957, that they “almost got land in a resettlement area,” but the idea was turned down as the “government restrict[ed] the treatment of the sick to that one area.”

When Hong Kong Baptist College was looking for land for the school, the Mission supported the Association as it sought a government land grant so that all money available could be used in building construction and equipment expenses. In 1960, the Mission passed a resolution that: “[T]he Chairman of the Mission in talking with the Hong Kong Government officials state[d] the [need] (…) of a Camp-site for the Hong Kong Baptist Association (…) .” Another example was rooftop schools where voluntary organizations obtained space from the government to operate schools. The Mission “approved as a pilot project, the establishment of the Wong Tai Sin Roof-Top School” in 1961, and “urged the Association to consider with the Mission the opening of Roof-Top Schools in resettlement areas as a means of extending the evangelistic outreach of our

999 Fuller, “Report of Special Committee to Study Government Subsidy for Baptist Schools in Hong Kong,” referred to in Lau, “From Periphery to Partnership,” 101-102.
1000 “Third Session of the First Quarterly Meeting (March 23, 1955),” Minutes of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 2.
1001 “Minutes of Medical Section (July 27, 1957),” in the First Orient Missions Conference held in Hong Kong, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 390AR.
1002 Maurice Anderson, Letter to Winston Crawley (August 17, 1956), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 672AR.
1003 “Religious Education and Student Committee Meeting (November 3, 1960),” Minutes of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 65. Back in 1954, the Hong Kong Baptist Association had passed a resolution to have Lam Chi-fung, Rev. Chung Yan-kwong, and Rev. James Hollis, a Southern Baptist missionary, in the planning committee to seek land from the government for a Baptist camp. So Southern Baptist missionaries had long been involved in seeking land from the government. See Jinxinhui Zhihua Yibai Wushi Zhounian Jinhuan Tekan [Baptists in China 150th Anniversary Special Memorial Issue] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Association, 1986), 114.
Association.” There were a number of examples of the Mission seeking land grants from the government.

Until 1961, land grants from the government obviously were not an issue as far as the Mission in Hong Kong was concerned. However, Fuller’s report to the Mission in 1962, viewed it differently – land grants were deemed to be a form of government subsidy. It is not known if it was only because of Fuller’s personal conviction – churches should take nothing from the government – which he brought up as an issue, or that the Mission position changed in 1962. As the Mission found itself in an awkward situation, and tensions between local needs and the sending agency’s ideal intensified, the executive committee decided once again in its meeting on December 18, 1962, to request “the Mission representative on the Committee to study the problem of subsidized schools to write a letter to Dr. Crawley informing him of recent developments concerning separation of church and state and to ask for his clarification on the points in question.” George Wilson and Ronald Fuller wrote to Crawley separately after the meeting to seek advice from the FMB. It appears that there were also tensions, or at least varied views, among Baptist missionaries.

Wilson wrote to Crawley, explaining to him that Pooi To Middle School was about to accept a piece of property and a one-off capital subsidy towards the building and equipment needs and said:

It was Ronald’s [Ronald Fuller’s] feeling that a further statement from you is needed in view of the fact that David Wong and others have quoted you as agreeing with the principle that this type of help might be accepted as opposed to regular recurring subvention for operating expenses. (…) As you realize, this is a very complicated and involved matter. (…) The reasoning of those who have favored the capital subsidy idea is as follows: What is the difference between accepting land without trees as opposed to accepting land with trees on it, which trees are beneficial to the intended use of the property?

Wilson further pointed out that local Association leaders believed the school would still be free from a religious standpoint to carry out its instructional program according to its own plan after accepting government aid. Although without being explicit, Wilson, a supporter of Lam’s agenda for Baptist schools, was obviously sympathetic to local Baptists.

1004 “Sixth Session of First Semi-Annual Meeting (June 14, 1961),” Minutes of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 10.
1005 “Executive Committee Meeting (December 18, 1964),” Minutes of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 62. Ronald Fuller was present in the meeting. So the resolution to write to Crawley for further clarification was likely a result of Fuller’s report on the Hong Kong Baptists’ stance of subsidized schools.
1006 George Wilson, Letter to Winston Crawley (December 28, 1964), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
1007 Ibid.
Fuller also wrote to Crawley on December 22, 1964, to seek Crawley’s clarification. Crawley’s reply on December 30, 1964, defended that some of the local Baptist leaders might have interpreted his “hesitation to give a definite offhand answer to specific questions as implying Foreign Mission Board approval.” Crawley again emphasized that “any acceptance of direct government subsidy on the part of schools operated by the Baptists of Hong Kong would make it difficult for the Foreign Mission Board to continue to financial aid to the Baptist schools there,” and “the grant for construction costs would create difficulties for the Foreign Mission Board in considering future grants for Baptist Schools there.”

The discussion of separation of church and state never reached a definite conclusion even though it was put on the table time and again.

Five years later in November 1969, while the Hong Kong Baptist Association was considering whether to accept the government’s offer to operate a government subsidized school, the Mission once again discussed the matter and restated the policy of the FMB that direct financial aid would not be provided for any institution, such as a hospital or a school, when such institution was receiving a government subsidy. The Mission was only repeating its position that no government subsidy should be accepted, but did not define clearly what constituted a government subsidy.

There was no unified stance among Southern Baptist missionaries concerning the definition of government subsidy. Crawley, in his letter dated June 28, 1962, stated that land grants were fine. Fuller, however, in his report in July the same year, claimed that he shared the view of other missionaries and that land grants were deemed to be a form of government subsidy. In his interview with the author, George Wilson expressed that land grants and interest-free loans would be acceptable as long as there was no direct money grant. As a matter of fact, Crawley’s position changed after forty years and became more flexible. He was reported to have further elaborated his position on government subsidy in 2002, and said that: land grants in Hong Kong would likely cause no problem as land was basically controlled by the government; government loans would be no problem, but interest-free loans would be a borderline issue; Baptist institutions owned and operated by other Baptist conventions would not be bound by Southern Baptist views or FMB policies; and the issue of accepting government funding for

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1008 Winston Crawley, Letter to Ronald Fuller (December 30, 1964), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 671AR.
1009 “Executive Committee Meeting (November 19, 1969),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 46. The school about which there was concern was Pui Oi Primary School.
1010 George Wilson, Interview by the author (April 15, 2014).
ongoing operating expenses for Baptist schools would be for Hong Kong Baptists to decide.  

The precise meaning of a government subsidy was never fully clarified. There were still ambiguities with regard to Crawley’s explanations. For example, why was a land grant acceptable and not seen as a government subsidy? Although the Hong Kong government controlled most of the land, people could acquire land from the government at the market price. There were many examples of Hong Kong Baptists buying land from the open market. When Henrietta School was first started in 1950, the FMB took out US$50,000 from the Lottie Moon Christmas Offering to purchase a property for the school.  

The Association paid HK$300,000 to acquire the land for the Baptist Assembly from a private owner in 1963. Baptist churches in Hong Kong often purchased land and property from either the government or private owners for their church premises. Should interest-free loans be a borderline issue, what about low-interest government loans? What about free gifts of books and laboratory equipment by the government? 

Although the Southern Baptists held so firmly and cherished so dearly the principle of separation of church and state, it was often uncertain where to draw the line between acceptable and prohibitive. Even if principles and practices worked well in the U.S., they might not always work in other places. Life is more complicated than principles. Lam, being familiar with the local situations and motivated by his mission vision, tended to find solutions that pursued the “middle way.” However, striking a compromise was not easy.

**Stance of Hong Kong Baptists under Lam’s Leadership: the Pragmatic Approach Prevailed**

While missionaries from the Southern Baptists were having a hard time unifying their stance on what constituted a government subsidy, Hong Kong Baptists had the same discussion among themselves of what their position should be. Before the Southern Baptists returned, receiving government aid was never a concern of the

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1011 The points listed here are the author’s summary of what Crawley told Vincent Lau on December 12, 2002. See Lau, “From Periphery to Partnership,” 110.
1012 “Annual Meeting (July 13, 1950),” Minutes of the South China Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 11.
1014 There were many examples of buying properties with the Mission fund. One example was the use of HK$150,000 for the purchase of the premises for Shaukiwan Mandarin Baptist Church in 1965. See “Executive Committee Meeting (October 29, 1965),” Minutes of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 52.
1015 Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Sir Robert Black, the Governor of Hong Kong (October 28, 1961), DTCI of HKBU, Box 21, Folder 7. Lam requested that the governor donate books and laboratory equipment to the Hong Kong Baptist College.
Hong Kong Baptists. Even after their return the issue did not receive so much attention by either the missionaries or the locals during the early years of the 1950s. As more collaboration with the government was taken under Lam’s leadership and more resources were expected from the Southern Baptists, Hong Kong Baptists were forced to face the issue and re-define their stance. During the 1960s, two important meetings were held and a number of articles written by Hong Kong Baptists leaders relating to the issue of Baptist schools accepting government subsidies.

Two Meetings

The first official meeting to discuss the topic of Baptist schools receiving government aid was held on April 3, 1965, during the 26th Annual Meeting of the Hong Kong Baptist Association. The immediate cause of the meeting was Pooi To School accepting government aid for a land grant of 20,000 square feet and a money grant for construction cost of HK$600,000 to set up an elementary school in Mautauchung which greatly concerned the Mission. The meeting was chaired by David Lam, Lam Chi-fung’s second son. David began by first introducing the meeting’s purpose which was to solicit views from those in attendance on Baptist schools accepting government subsidies. The meeting then defined the scope of ‘government subsidies’ which included: free land grants, subsidies for construction fees, and low-interest or interest-free loan for building construction and facilities. Subsidy of operating expenses was not considered in the meeting. After that, pros and cons of taking government subsidies were tabled.

Arguments for accepting government subsidies were as follows: more schools can be set up as means of evangelism; tuition fees can be reduced to make education more accessible to the general public; no breach of separation of church and state principle is noticed in terms of self-autonomy, as autonomy of school administration is not affected according to past experience; regardless of whether taking government subsidies or not, all schools are subject to government education policies in any case; and if a land grant is not a problem, then a government subsidy for the construction of buildings should also be acceptable since superstructure built on the land should be considered part of the property. The viewpoint to support taking government subsidies was clearly based on the practical side of the issue – more opportunities for evangelism, education becoming more affordable, and school autonomy unaffected.

Arguments against accepting government subsidies were mostly related to the interpretation of what a church is: things of Caesar and things of God should not be mixed; a church is a spiritual body instead of a secular organization; and one should seek God’s will with stronger faith, instead of relying on money to carry out God’s ministries. There were voices that warned the church not to take responsibilities that are not directly related to its mission to do ‘spiritual work’ and that might exceed her abilities. In short, the fear was that believers, becoming more closely related to the state, might breach the separation principle and would be controlled by the government. And practically: the perspective that Southern Baptists would not render financial help to the school, if it accepted government subsides, was not encouraging. It was extremely difficult to satisfy both parties and maintain one’s religious integrity.

After all the pros and cons of accepting government subsidies were listed and attendants expressed their views, a consolidated summary was drawn: schools accepting government subsidies in land grants and construction fees have never been interfered with by the government in the past (Pooi To School is one example); and as long as the autonomy of the school administration is retained and the freedom of evangelism is not affected, the church should receive government subsidies in land grants and construction fees to set up more schools and make education more accessible for the good of the society. The pragmatic approach prevailed in the end. The conclusion was that more schools should be set up with government subsidies as the school autonomy would not be affected for accepting government aid. If there would ever raise such a concern that the state might put pressure on churches, the response would be to ensure that church autonomy was not infringed. The church-state separation issue on a more theoretical level was not discussed in the meeting.

One and a half years later on June 11, 1966, another meeting was called by the three Education Boards of Hong Kong Baptist Association (Primary Education Board, Middle Education Board, and Higher Education Board) to discuss the Association’s future development in education. The meeting requested the presence of all executive committee members of the Association, church leaders, principals, and administrators of Baptist schools. This was a major meeting. Sixty-four Hong Kong Baptist leaders and pastors, as well as representatives from the Southern Baptist mission attended. The meeting was chaired by David Wong.

1017 Ibid.
1018 “Xianggang Jinlianhu Fazhan Jiaoyu Shigong Zuotanhui [Minutes of Discussion Meeting on Education Development of the Hong Kong Baptist Association] (June 11, 1966),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 3, Folder 14.
1019 The 64 attendants included prominent Baptist leaders such as Lam Chi-fung, David Lam, and David Wong, thirteen prominent Baptist pastors such as Cheung Yau-kong, Chung Yan-kong, and Princeton Hsu, and Southern Baptist missionaries such as George Wilson.
The key agenda of the meeting was: to follow up with the previous meeting held during the Association’s 26th Annual Meeting about a year before on the issue of Baptist schools receiving government subsidies; and whether the Association should operate subsidized or aided schools (meaning schools accepting government subsidies for operating expenses). Nine people opined their view; three were school principals, one was a pastor and the remaining five were lay leaders including Lam and his son, David. The three school principals and four lay leaders including Lam and David were obviously supportive of the idea of accepting government subsidies. The remaining two, one pastor and one layman, had reservations.

The main concern of the three school principals was that Baptists not taking government subsidies were lagging behind those who received subsidies in setting up schools, such as the Catholics, the Anglicans and the Church of Christ in China – a sense of falling behind the competition. David Lam spoke the most in the meeting. He expressed that “separation of church and state was not a religious doctrine but only an idea advocated” in the United States, and listed examples of Baptists in America taking government subsidies when operating schools. He believed one of the main reasons for Baptists holding onto the principle was to stop other major denominations using political power to suppress the Baptists who were the minority in the early days of the United States. By referring to the meaning of religious liberty (and separation of church and state) in the early days, what David was trying to say was that the situation at that time was different. He further criticized the fact that many of those who said so loudly that “relying on faith alone” and not accepting government aid were the ones who “never gave money.” Finally, he questioned “how could one respond with Amen to those who prayed to God saying they had to close all schools and hospitals due to the principle of church-state separation while seeing many people without education and without health care?”

David’s speech was probably a response to people who challenged whether the decision made a year ago of setting up more schools with government aid was in fact a breach of the church-state separation principle. Following David’s speech, Lam Chi-fung, the father, spoke:

It is difficult to say not to take government subsidies now when the Association has been receiving land grant, interest-free loan, subsidy in construction cost, classroom subsidy and student subsidy from the government in the past. Taking reference from the development of free primary and secondary education in the west, I believe Hong Kong education was following the same trend. Under such

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circumstances, Hong Kong Baptist education ministry should follow other denominations of accepting government subsidies.\textsuperscript{1021}

Lam was obviously in favor of accepting government aid. Listing all the different types of government subsidies which were received by Hong Kong Baptists in the past, he found it hard to justify to his fellow Hong Kong Baptists why they should not accept this aid now. Drawing examples of providing free education in the West, Hong Kong Baptists should accept government subsidies like other denominations were doing. Lam was aware that culturally Chinese had a high priority for their children’s education. If Baptists did not have schools to cater to their needs, their children could only go to schools of other denominations or different beliefs. The Lams were convinced of the local needs, and they argued that Baptists in America did not always follow the separation principle fully. Besides, other churches in Hong Kong, such as the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, and the Church of Christ in China, gave examples of accepting government subsidies for their schools.

However, not everyone agreed with the Lams. The two expressing their reservations were Lee King-sun, a Baptist deacon, and Princeton Hsu, a Baptist pastor.\textsuperscript{1022} Lee was concerned whether a school could still maintain the character of a church school after accepting government subsidies.\textsuperscript{1023} He did not elaborate what he meant by the character of a church school, but it appeared to imply the church school being free from interference from the government to carry out its mission. Hsu was skeptical whether private schools could compete with government schools in terms of resources, and believed all schools would eventually become government subsidized or aided, so why bothered with doing it at that time. He questioned whether Baptists were willing to see their own school turning into government subsidized schools.\textsuperscript{1024} Fearing Baptist schools would lose autonomy after becoming subsidized schools, Hsu raised the question in a manner that implied they were not willing. Both Lee and Hsu were hesitant to support the idea of church schools accepting government subsidies. Hesitation under the circumstances in Chinese culture was a clear disagreement in the issue.

After everyone voiced their opinions as they wished, all present were asked to vote by a show of hands. The outcome was forty-five people supported the idea

\textsuperscript{1021} Ibid., 4.
\textsuperscript{1022} Lee King-sun was a graduate of the Guangdong Union Theological Seminary and was an ordained deacon of Tokwawan Baptist Church. He was the editor-in-charge compiling the book \textit{A Collection of Speeches and Writings of Dr. Lam Chi-fung} in 1965. Princeton Hsu had graduated from the University of Shanghai, which was jointly set up by Southern Baptists and Northern Baptists, and was the author of the five volumes \textit{A History of Chinese Baptist Churches} published in 1971-1972. Both of them were well-respected Baptist leaders in Hong Kong.
\textsuperscript{1023} See “Xianggang Jinlianhui Fazhan Jiaoyu Shigong Zuotanhui [Minutes of Discussion Meeting on Education Development of the Hong Kong Baptist Association] (June 11, 1966),” 3.
\textsuperscript{1024} Ibid., 5.
of getting government subsidies, six opposed, four had no opinion, and nine abstained.1025 The result showed the majority of Hong Kong Baptists were supportive of the idea of seeking government subsidies to operate Baptist schools. Unlike Vincent Lau’s observation that there were two distinct camps – pastors considering accepting government subsidies for running schools as a breach of church-state separation and the laity finding it acceptable due to practical reasons of expanding the Baptist education ministry, there was no obvious division between pastors and laymen.1026 The division between supporting and rejecting the idea of seeking government aid was mainly due to the difference between practical and idealistic approaches to the issue. Despite the fact that there were those who abstained and the two who voiced their hesitations about seeking government aid, no one would deny the importance of churches operating schools. Baptist schools in Hong Kong had always been and continue to be an effective platform for evangelism, and a means of responding to the need in society. Both pastors and laity were aware that many young people were added to churches and that Baptist workers were trained through church schools.

Seven Articles

There were seven articles which have been written on the topic of church schools and church schools accepting government subsidies by leading Hong Kong Baptist pastors and laymen between 1966 and 1970. All seven articles were published in different issues of *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly*, the denomination magazine which was widely circulated among Baptists in Hong Kong.1027 Four articles were related to Baptist involvement in education and three addressed the issue of church and state relationships.

Rev. Chung Yan-kwong who was Lam’s pastor at Kowloon City Baptist Church wrote an article in May 1966, on Baptist schools. He stated that Baptists always had a high priority on education, and church schools should emphasize the teaching of a “correct faith” and “value of life.”1028 Rev. Auyang Hin-cheung’s article, published in January 1967, emphasized that the goal of church schools was the teaching of a “good mind,” “knowledge of God,” and “good spiritual life.”1029

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1025 Ibid., 6.
1026 Lau, “From Periphery to Partnership,” 118.
1027 Apart from communicating news related to the affairs of the denomination, *Hong Kong Baptist Monthly* serves as a public platform for members to express their views on issues related to Hong Kong Baptists.
Rev. Tse Lai-ming, in his article in June 1969, stated that the Association had a long history of involvement in education, and stressed that church schools should put emphasis on “whole person education,” “relationship education,” and “love education.”¹⁰³⁰ David Wong Yu-kong, Lam’s protégé, published an article on Christian middle education in July 1970. He stated that education without religion was not a perfect education, and the goal of Christian education was “to know the truth” and “to live out the truth.”¹⁰³¹ Except for David Wong who was a lay leader, the other three were Baptist pastors.¹⁰³² All four articles viewed the role of church education differently. However, there was one common thread: that Hong Kong Baptists who were operating schools should remember the importance of an emphasis on religious teaching.

There were three articles relating to the subject of church and state relationship, one by Rev. Paul Wong, who succeeded Lam as the president of the Hong Kong Baptist Association, one by Rev. Princeton Hsu, a Baptist writer and pastor, and the other by To Chiu-sing, a Baptist layman who was the head of the Primary Education Department of the Association. Paul Wong’s article titled “Church and State Relationship” was published in June 1966. His understanding of church and state separation was that a free church existed in a free state, and each had its own freedom; the government had no function in the religious realm, and the church had no function in state affairs; and the government should not make use of the church to achieve its goals, and the church also should not make use of the government to accomplish its mission.¹⁰³³ Instead of directly stating his position on the issue, Wong disguised his concern with a number of questions in the conclusion: Would God require us to do things beyond our ability? Would God want us to use worldly power to serve Him? Would it be sinful making use of others when churches partner with the government to operate schools? Should we voluntarily give up our rights for more control because we cannot avoid government control when operating schools? Although the questions were phrased differently, Wong repeated the questions raised in the report of the ‘SBC: Baptist Study Task 1965-67’ concerning Financing Christian Higher Education on the issue of Southern Baptist colleges in the U.S. acceptance of federal aid.¹⁰³⁴

¹⁰³² David Wong was the president of Baptist World Alliance between 1975 and 1980.
¹⁰³⁴ See footnote 969 of this study.
Wong was obviously against the idea of accepting government subsidies. However, he admitted that due to the difference between western and eastern societies, each had its own problems when applying the principle. He believed separation of church and state in the western world was to avoid churches interfering with government policy and in the eastern society where without a Christian background it was to avoid government power intruding into church autonomy. While opposing church schools accepting government subsidies, Wong seemed to leave himself room for a change of heart in the future, which did happen as we will see later in this chapter.

Princeton Hsu published an article titled “Church and General Education” a month later in July 1966. Hsu touched on a wide range of topics, including a historical review of church schools both in the western world and in China, difficulties encountered by church schools, and his view on church education in the foreseeable future.\(^{1035}\) He drew on the example of the Two Guang Baptist Association in the 1920s, and said that the Baptists advocated “Chinese members offering their own money to carry out church ministries” during the period, “reducing the reliance on foreign mission,” and “accepting absolutely no government subsidy.”\(^ {1036}\) Hsu was clearly against church schools accepting government aid. Apart from adhering to the principle of church and state separation, Hsu stressed Chinese contributions, self-support, and less dependence on foreign mission aid. It was not only about the theological argument, but also an argument for national identity.

The last article of the three relating to the subject of church and state relationships was written by To Chiu-sing in June 1970. Quite different from the viewpoints of Paul Wong and Princeton Hsu, To, in his article “Tandao Jinhui Xuexiao Yingfou Jieshou Zhengfu Juntie [Talking about Whether Baptist Schools Should Accept Government Subsidies],” favored the acceptance of government subsidies.\(^ {1037}\) He argued that it was the school, and not the church, which accepted government subsidies. The subsidy was meant for schools, students, teachers and school staff, not for churches or ministers. With regard to the concerns of losing control of schools, he did not find it valid since so far there was no particular restriction on religious activities of schools accepting government subsidies. He

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1036 Ibid., 8. The “Two Guang Baptist Association” was established in 1885, for Baptist churches in Guangdong and Guangxi provinces of China. Hong Kong was part of the “Two Guang Baptist Association” before the Hong Kong Baptist Association was formed in 1938.

also pointed out that the government was offering premises to organizations to operate schools so long as the operators were willing to pay for the renovation cost of the facility and a monthly rent of HK$1. What To Chiu-sing really said was that accepting a government subsidy to establish schools was a cost effective way for Baptist involvement in education. Moreover, he may have been implying that by taking the government’s offer local Baptists could afford to create schools in an inexpensive way without foreign aid. Finally, having declared his belief and his support for the separation of church and state, To felt it was a pity that the Association overlooked the opportunity of providing a Christian education for the next generation.

To Chiu-sing tried to dissociate the denomination body from the church, and argued that subsidies were granted to schools under the Association, and not to churches. Therefore, it was fine for Baptist schools to accept government funds. Princeton Hsu believed Chinese Baptists should rely on no external help – foreign mission aid or government subsidy, but use their own money for church ministries. Paul Wong had a strict view of the church-state separation principle. He repudiated the use of worldly power to serve God and found it sinful for churches to partner with the government to operate schools.

As hinted before, Paul Wong became flexible in applying the church-state separation principle after becoming the president of the Association in 1971. Wong justified the position of the Association of setting up a separate organization to operate the first government-subsidized Baptist school. The First Baptist Primary School which was set up in Brotherly Love Village in 1953 was required to be taken down to make way for a new road built by the government in 1971. To compensate the Baptists, the government offered a school building in Tszwanshan for the Baptists to operate as a subsidized school. Since no consensus could be arrived at for the Association to accept government aid to operate schools, a resolution was passed at the Executive Committee meeting in July 1971 to set up a separate organization, called Baptist Education Society (the name was later changed to the Hong Kong Baptist Association (1972) Limited), to operate subsidized schools. While maintaining his position that it was against the

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1039 The school was called Pui Oi Primary School, the first Baptist subsidized school. Pui Oi Primary School was moved to Shatin in 1982 and its name was changed to Baptist Lui Ming Choi Primary School. See Editor, “Jianjie Xianggang Jinxinhui Lianhui [A Brief Introduction of Hong Kong Baptist Association],” in Christian Weekly, Volume 2606 (August 3, 2014) (Hong Kong: Christian Weekly): 5.

1040 Editor, “The Hong Kong Baptist Education Association (1972) Limited,” in Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 28, Issue 3 (March 1973): 2. The Association offered HK$100,000 to the society as the initial operating fund. The formal organization was registered with the government in October 1972, as The Hong Kong Baptist Education (1972) Limited. The board of directors of the newly established Education Association was
principle of church-state separation for a local church or the Association to accept
government aid, Wong defended the new policy by stating that that the newly
established society was an independent organization completely separate from the
Association. Therefore, “it did not breach the principle for individual Christians or
church-supported organizations to operate government subsidized schools.”1041
This shows local Baptist leaders continued to find ways to move forward without
being stuck in a doctrinal controversy.

Principle gives way to practicality. Wong, after becoming the leader of the
denomination body, was flexible in applying the church-state separation principle.
He could not deny the power of education as a tool for evangelism and ministries.
As the head of the Baptist denomination body, Wong could not afford to give up
Baptist schools, an important platform for gaining converts, recruiting church
members, and training future leaders – in addition to offering general education
that was highly valued among the people of Hong Kong. In July 1971, Wong
stated in Hong Kong Baptist Monthly with regard to the role of the Hong Kong
Baptist Association that “the progress of the whole denomination was rested upon
the strengthening of seminary training, raising the standard of education,
expanding the publication ministry (...).”1042 Wong, after becoming the head of the
Association and looking at the issue from Lam’s perspective as a leader at that
time, began to realize the importance of education and establishment of good
quality Baptist schools – identical to what Lam had advocated for many years.1043
Lam had the determination of using church schools to develop Baptist ministries.
He was able to handle the difficult issue of church-state separation and to convince
Southern Baptist partners to support his program of Baptist schools. The question
arises: how was Lam able to do so?

Lam’s Modus operandi

Lam was the crucial person who invited the large resources from Southern Baptists
and solicited government aid. As a leader of Hong Kong Baptists, his way of
handling the church and state issue would affect the Hong Kong Baptist life. The
way he handled the issue was driven by his understanding of the separation
principle. Since he did not have any theological training, his knowledge of the
theological argumentation of the issue was through his dealings with Southern

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1042 Paul Wong, “Shitan Lianhui [A Talk About the Association],” in Hong Kong Baptist Monthly, Volume 26,
1043 Lam required his students to do well in academic achievement and meet the standard of entrance into leading
universities. See footnote 962 of this research.

213
Baptist missionaries. As the separation principle was not a concern of Hong Kong Baptists during the first century of their presence in the colony, most likely the first time he was able to learn about the Southern Baptist stance of church-state relationship was in August 1957, when he attended the First Orient Mission Conference held by the SBC in Hong Kong. Lam was invited to give a welcoming speech at the opening of the Conference. C.L. Culpepper, president of the Taiwan Baptist Theological Seminary, was responsible for delivering a talk on the topic “Baptist Distinctives.” One of the key distinctives in Culpepper’s talk was the separation of church and state. Culpepper said:

> Our Baptist belief is that each individual and each local church has a God given gift – the right to freedom of conscience. (…), the state should guard and protect the right of the people, (…) individuals [were] not to interfere with affairs of the state. (…). [Churches and] individuals are to cooperate in every way with affairs of the state.¹⁰⁴⁴

Culpepper’s main point with regard to the church-state relationship was that each party should play its role and was not to interfere with the other. He did not mention anything about whether churches were prohibited from receiving government subsidies. Ensuring church autonomy was central in Culpepper’s message of the separation principle. There were four nationals from Hong Kong attending the Conference. Apart from Lam Chi-fung, they were David Lam, David Wong, and Rev. Daniel Chung Yau-kong. Culpepper’s interpretation of church-state separation probably had an impact on them in their understanding of the principle and offered them perceptions to develop their own approach to the Hong Kong situation. This most likely explains why Lam and most other local Baptist leaders were flexible in getting government aid as long as church autonomy was not affected.

Lam Chi-fung was a great believer in evangelism through education. In his article “Jinlianhui Dangqian de Renwu he Renshi [The Present Task and Understanding of Baptist Association]” published in January, 1957, Lam saw “the Baptists had a special responsibility in education,” and that it was “a heavenly calling of the Baptists to evangelize through education.”¹⁰⁴⁵ In his other article “Xianggang Jinhui Jiaoyu Shiyu de Qiantu [The Future of Hong Kong Baptist Education Ministry]” published in May 1957, he reinstated the Baptist position of upholding “evangelism through education” and hoped “all Baptist churches within

¹⁰⁴⁴ C.L Culpepper, “Baptist Distinctives,” in the First Orient Mission Conference held in Hong Kong (August 1, 1957), microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll 390AR.
the Association can set up a primary school associated to the church.”

In his speech on “Jiaohui yu Jiaohue Wenti [Issues of Church and Church School]” delivered to the Hong Kong Christian Churches Union on October 22, 1965, Lam, quoting the scriptures and examples in history of churches, stressed once again the importance of education. Although he did not mean to compromise the quality of general education, he saw that the top priority of church schools was to evangelize. Evangelistic meetings were constantly held in the schools under his influence such as Hong Kong Baptist College. The following table shows the number of students making decisions to become Christians and the number of students dedicating their lives to full time ministry during each of the gospel weeks of the college between 1966 and 1969:

Table 7.1: Number of Decisions and Dedications of Baptist College Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>No. of Decisions</th>
<th>No. of Dedications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 1966</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1967</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1967</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1968</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1968</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1968</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1969</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1) Figures are taken from Lam Chi-fung's reports of Hong Kong Baptist College to Hong Kong Baptist Association for the period between October 1966 and April 1969. 2) The figures for the No. of Dedications in December 1966, June 1967, December 1967, and May 1968 are indicated as “No. of Dedications,” while August 1968, October 1968, and April 1969 are labeled as “No. of Planning into Seminaries” in the reports.

Lam not only talked about educational work as a platform for evangelism, but also used statistics to defend his case. Within three years, there were in total 720 decisions to become a Christian and 338 dedications to full time church work in the Baptist College alone. Apart from the numbers which were significant in

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1047 Lam Chi-fung, “Jiaohui yu Jiaohue Wenti [Issues of Church and Church School],” DTCI of HKBU, Box 6, Folder 20.
1048 Ibid. According to Lam, evangelism was the most important task among the three essential tasks of a church school.
1049 Lam Chi-fung, “Report of Hong Kong Baptist College to Hong Kong Baptist Association (October 1966 to August 1969),” DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 15.
1050 Lam also used statistics to show the importance of a medical ministry. Within the period between 1963 and 1967, 4,879 people came to the Christian faith through the Baptist Hospital. For more details, see the section “Baptist Hospital” in chapter 5 of this study.
terms of effectiveness in evangelizing through education, those young college converts with their advanced education would one day become leaders in churches, and those making dedications to be involved in the ministry would be future learned workers of Baptist churches. As a result, almost all Baptist pastors and lay leaders, including Lam, agreed on the importance of Baptist involvement in education regardless of the opposition of a handful of pastors and laymen who had reservations about church schools accepting government aid. Those who were hesitant to support receiving aid sounded the warning that getting money might foster a sense of dependence on the donor such as a government which offers support. Lam was a key person for disseminating the idea that the risk was justifiable for a good cause: government money could help the Baptist leadership to receive professional training and new converts dedicating themselves to the Christian cause. As a businessman, Lam knew that no risk, no return; no taking a chance, no growth!

If merely looking at the result of the votes of the June 11, 1966, meeting of the Association’s three Education Boards, the majority was in favor of accepting government aid. We must admit, however, Lam’s character of strong leadership might have deterred people from openly expressing different views and not voting with their hearts. Since voting was done by a show of hands, it might make people reluctant to vote against the acceptance of government subsidies after Lam had expressed his support strongly. Having been in Hong Kong for more than sixty years and familiar with how Chinese would behave, George Wilson was right in saying: “It is not the culture of Chinese to openly oppose other people especially those who are well respected by others.”1051 Concerning Lam, Wilson said:

Dr. Lam had the respect of many persons in and out of official leadership! At the same time he represented power, a positive approach without many limitations (my opinion) and he was difficult to oppose – simply because he was a strong leader. He delighted to see things moving forward. He was well respected in the Chinese community as well as the Colonial Government officials. Because of respect he had he was too powerful to oppose.1052

David Lam said of his father: “His greatest asset was that once he was convinced that this needed to be done, he convinced himself that it was God’s will. He truly believed that he was an instrument of God, a worker for God.”1053 Although we may not agree it is an asset, it is obvious Lam was not easy to persuade to change his mind. Being convinced that education was an effective means of reaching out to people and that acceptance of government aid was the logical way for future

1051 George Wilson, Interview by the author (April 15, 2014). Hong Kong Baptists held a dinner gathering of about 600 people, celebrating George Wilson’s sixty-years of service among the Chinese in Hong Kong.
1052 George Wilson, Email to the author (March 9, 2016).
Baptist schools to be established, Lam pushed wholeheartedly for it. Sometimes, people were overpowered by him. Maurice Anderson, the vice-president of Hong Kong Baptist College, said that Lam “blocked business which was recognized [by Maurice] as useful” to the college if the matter in concern did not receive his support. Due to his strong character, he could be slow to listen to ideas different from his, much less those opposing his, thus deterring people’s willingness to voice publicly their dissenting opinions. Rightly or wrongly, Hong Kong Baptists, under Lam’s leadership, had an overwhelming view that Baptist schools should accept government subsidies. Those who disagreed had no significant influence in this situation. Opposition, therefore, was largely suppressed or even silenced by Lam the dominant and strong-willed leader.

However, Lam still had to deal with the Southern Baptists’ concern regarding the separation of church and state since they were the key resource providers to the Hong Kong Baptists – both in terms of money and manpower supply. Shortly after the return of the Southern Baptist missionaries, the FMB was responsible for 90% of the budget of Hong Kong Baptist work including the Seminary Department, Board of Higher Education for Hong Kong Baptist College, and Hong Kong Medical Department, and 70% for all other activities. Up until 1970, the Hong Kong-Macau Mission approved basically 100% of both the Operating Budget and the Capital Funds as presented and forwarded to the FMB by the Hong Kong Baptist Association. To safeguard Southern Baptists’ continuous support, Lam had to be careful in handling the church-state issue, making sure he was not acting against their position on this matter.

Lam seemed to have foreseen the problem at an early stage. Long before the Hong Kong-Macau Mission began to investigate the issue of Hong Kong Baptists accepting government aid in April 1961, the Hong Kong Baptist Association held the first discussion meeting in April 1965, Lam wrote to Winston Crawley, Secretary of Orient for the FMB of the SBC, on June 10, 1958, to seek his view on the issue:

With the great need for schools and capable administrators in Hong Kong, the government is willing to supply the money and to provide tuition fees on a student basis for those institutions which will covenant with the government to charge

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1055 “Tenth Session of First Semi-Annual Meeting (June 16, 1961),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 16. The percentage of subsidy was similar for subsequent years. See “Seventh Session of Semi-Annual Meeting (June 13, 1963),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 14; and “Second Session of Semi-Annual Meeting (June 8, 1964),” Minutes of Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 6.
1056 “Second Session of Annual Meeting (June 1, 1970),” Minutes of the Hong Kong-Macau Mission, microfilm, IMB of SBC, Roll MM17, 6.
only HK$5.00 per month per pupil. Many of the Protestant groups in Hong Kong are receiving this kind of government help, and they thereby have an opportunity to offer religious instruction to the students in addition to general education. In many cases, the buildings are used on Sundays and in the evenings for church services.  

Lam’s style and presentation of the case is noteworthy. After stating all the benefits of accepting government aid, Lam stressed: “None of us would think of going into such a relationship hastily and without discussion with our American Baptist leaders and friends.”

Since the aid is on a tuition basis to students, and there is no outright grant in the way of money for buildings, without government supervision to a greater degree than that experienced in our schools, it is natural that many of our Chinese people are anxious that our schools avail themselves of this assistance. (…) Many of our Baptist churches are interested in taking advantage of the opportunity of offering primary education in connection with their programs, and would find it most convenient to be able to accept the kind of assistance offered by government.

Lam, in his letter to Crawley, was skillful and persuasive in painting a picture with promising potential. He pinpointed that there was a great need for schools in Hong Kong and the government was willing to subsidize schools to provide education at a minimal fee to students, and he made reference to many Protestant groups that were already receiving government help to operate Christian schools and to the fact that school buildings, when not occupied for educational activities, could be used for church functions. Lam also assured Crawley that accepting government subsidies would not reduce religious freedom or affect school autonomy. In the conclusion of his letter, Lam stressed again: “We certainly shall not move unless our American Southern Baptist friends think that it is the right thing for us to do (…) and certainly want to continue to work together with you in the years ahead.” Lam was careful not to jeopardize the relationship with Southern Baptists.

Although Lam personally was keen on accepting government aid, his letter to Crawley appeared as if he were only voicing what local Baptists desired. Instead of debating whether the principle of separation of church and state was a Baptist doctrine or merely an idea advocated by some Baptists, or how it should be interpreted, Lam simply stressed that the school autonomy would not be reduced even if accepting government aid. With a respectful tone, he stated repeatedly in

1057 Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Dr. Winston Crawley (June 10, 1958), DTCI of HKBU, Box 10, Folder 6.
1058 Ibid.
1059 Ibid.
1060 Ibid.
his letter that he would not rush to a hasty decision without first seeking Crawley’s view.

In February 1961, an administrator of Hong Kong Baptist College delivered an important speech titled ‘The Role of Baptist College in Hong Kong’ at a local service club dinner in the U.S. The administrator was probably Franklin Liu who was seen as Lam’s key assistant in the College. The administrator was obviously reflecting Lam’s position:

Baptist College does not expect to become government-subsidized. This does not mean, however, that we are not friendly toward government, nor does it mean that we oppose government subsidies to Chinese higher education. It does mean that we believe firmly in the principle of separation of Church and State. We can accept land for buildings and help in many ways so long as ultimate control remains in the hands of our parent body, the board of governors (...). We have talked with many people who agree with us that it is best to remain completely private in operation since we are a church-related college. Government has its influence in the realm of education.

The speech succinctly stated the position of Hong Kong Baptist College to remain private and not to become a government subsidized school. On one hand it affirmed the College’s position of believing firmly the principle of separation of church and state. On the other it stated that the school could accept government aid so long as its ultimate control remained with the denomination. Knowing that the Southern Baptists held firm to the church-state separation principle and the Hong Kong-Macau Mission did not well define what government subsidies were, Lam created a paradoxical situation for Hong Kong Baptists by affirming the separation position but accepting government aid at the same time. What remained to be defined was the kind of government subsidies which could be received yet not infringe upon Southern Baptists’ understanding of the separation principle.

Shortly after the above speech was delivered in the States, Lam wrote to Governor Sir Robert Black in October 1961, referring to his meeting regarding the assistance granted to the Baptist College with Mr. Peter Donohue, Director of Education of Hong Kong, and Sir Christopher Cox, Senior Advisor on Higher

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1061 Franklin K.S. Liu was the administrator in the founding stage and the first dean of students of Hong Kong Baptist College. See Wong Yin-lei, A History of the Hong Kong Baptist University (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, 1996), 10, 29. According to George Wilson, Liu studied in Baylor University and South Western Theological Seminary respectively before returning to Hong Kong to assist Lam in Pui Ching Middle School and Hong Kong Baptist College. Liu was Lam’s key assistant. George Wilson, Interview by the author (April 14, 2011).

1062 Administrator of Hong Kong Baptist College, An address at a local service club dinner (February 1961), DTCI of HKBU, Box 9, Folder 12. The document does not reveal who the ‘administrator’ was. Very likely it was Franklin Liu who was described by Maurice Anderson as the one working behind the scenes in helping Lam to make contact with missionaries, Christian leaders, and others who could help launch the College. See Maurice Anderson, The Survival Strategies of A Complex Organization (Louisiana: China Friendship House, 1972), 60.
Education from the United Kingdom (U.K.). Lam requested Black for help “in the form of donations of a good quantity of books related to all phases of education and laboratory equipment,” to appoint “some learned lecturers of the natural and social sciences to come over to teach,” and to allow “some of the college lecturers also be afforded the opportunity to go to the U.K. for further advanced studies.” Lam did not ask for direct financial subsidy although the school was clearly in need of it. A year later in October 1962, Lam requested Black again to consider the inclusion of Baptist College in the new Chinese University on a private-college basis:

Fundamentally, it is not the Government money nor (or) favour that we desire, but rather equal treatment by Government in line with our development and achievements. We find it extremely difficult to accept a situation which obviously will smother and reduce our college to a second or third-rate institution. (...) With or without financial aid, we wish not to be penalized in the way of achieving academic status and recognition in the Colony on the grounds that we are not receiving Government grants.

Lam said he was not after government money. It was true that he did not ask for direct subsidies of funds. However, he acquired free land from the government, and asked the government for donations of books and laboratory equipment, supply of government lecturers, training of the college’s lecturers, subsidies to salaries of the college teaching faculty, and an interest-free loan. To Lam, government money which could not be acceptable was that restricted to direct subsidy of funds. All other types of help were considered as “acceptable government subsidies,” and accepting that kind of subsidy was not in breach of the principle of separation of church and state so long as the denomination was in control of the college.

Although some local Baptists and a few foreign missionaries might not have agreed with his stance, Lam’s way of seeking government aid appeared to be in compliance with Crawley’s interpretation of the principle that “land grants would not be considered prohibitive,” “government loan would be no problem,” “interest-free loan would be a borderline issue,” and “accepting government funding for ongoing operating expenses for Baptist schools” would not be acceptable. Lam

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1063 Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Sir Robert Black (October 28, 1961), DTCI of HKBU, Box 21, Folder 7. Although it was not stated in the letter, Lam meant to have both the lecturers and their training supplied free of charge by the government and also the training of College’s lecturers provided free by the government.

1064 Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Sir Robert Black (October 30, 1962), DTCI of HKBC, Box 21 Folder 7.

1065 George Wilson confirmed that Lam asked for all sorts of help from the government but not the free gift of money. George Wilson, Interview by the author (April 15, 2014).

1066 Maurice Anderson, Letter to David Carver (March 6, 1961), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 3.

1067 Maurice Anderson, Letter to David Carver (March 30, 1961), DTCI of HKBU, Box 1, Folder 3. Anderson mentioned in the letter that Lam was hoping to receive from the government an interest-free loan of HK$2,500,000. The loan was not granted.
never asked for operating funds. Despite his request for an interest-free loan which was seen as a borderline case, the college only received interest-bearing loans from the government. It certainly is clear that support from the government, under the described conditions, helped the schools to continue operating normally, even if direct operating costs – such as money for salaries or electricity or transportation – was not applied for. As a result, Lam’s pragmatic way to address the issue allowed him to continue to receive help from the government while maintaining he was not going to invalidate or become in breach of the FMB’s understanding of the separation policy.

**Conclusion**

Separation of church and state has long been considered one of the core axioms of Baptists in different parts of the world. Southern Baptists in the U.S. were known to be staunch supporter of this principle and strictly practise it. However, they debated without firm conclusions whether their own colleges in the U.S. should receive federal aid and the principle was applied differently in different countries where Southern Baptists were involved in mission work. Baptist schools in places such as India and Nigeria, both being British colonies (like Hong Kong) before the mid-twentieth century, received government aid and American Baptist mission agencies approved this practice.

The situation in mission fields is always a little messy when compared to the established religious culture and theological doctrine in the home country. Baptist missionaries who arrived in Hong Kong in the nineteenth century were not concerned with the issue and sought government help to begin their mission work. After the early missionaries were gone, local Baptists, who were basically independent from foreign influence and without foreign help, did not find it an issue either and continued to partner with the government to carry out their mission. As a result, there had been a long history of Hong Kong Baptists cooperating with the colonial government in providing education, medical and social services.

The situation changed when Southern Baptists returned to the colony after 1950 at Lam’s invitation. Now the main focus was whether Baptist schools should receive government subsidies. Among the local Baptists, no one disputed the importance of Baptists operating schools, although when accepting government subsidies there were different opinions as whether the school should be operated under a church, under the Association, or under an independent church-supported organization. Although having tried very hard, the Mission under the FMB could

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1068 The government eventually granted a loan of HK$1,000,000 to the college in 1970 at 4% interest per annum. See Lam Chi-fung, Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Carr P. Collins (August 24, 1970), DTCI of HKBU, Box 21, Folder 7.
never come up with a clear definition of what constituted government subsidies, and no unified view was formed among the missionaries in regard to which subsidy was considered acceptable and which not. Under the circumstances, Lam carefully navigated his way to seek different kinds of government aid so long as they were not clearly forbidden in the view of the Mission. With his pragmatic approach to the interpretation of the principle, Lam was able to continue to get government help and at the same time receive huge support from Southern Baptists to build Baptist organizational structures in Hong Kong.

As the president of the denominational body, Lam demonstrated his leadership of perseverance and strong character that made the native Baptists and his partners feel it was almost impossible to resist his exertion. As a result, Lam was able to seek and receive both government help and the support of Southern Baptists. With the help and support received, Hong Kong Baptists under Lam’s leadership experienced speedy growth, established many important institutions, and a different landscape was created. At times, his dominant personality might have discouraged people from offering dissenting opinions, no matter how good the opinions were.
Chapter 8: Conclusion

Hong Kong Baptists entered into a changing landscape between 1950 and 1970. Early missionaries had begun the Baptist mission in the colony in the mid-nineteenth century but had departed for the mainland where they saw greater opportunities. Local Baptists continuing the mission had built an indigenous Baptist life during the first half of the twentieth century. Before 1950, Hong Kong Baptists were mainly on their own, focusing their efforts on evangelism through churches. Beginning in the mid-twentieth century a new phase in Hong Kong Baptist life emerged as a result of the success of Lam Chi-fung’s initiation of requests for mission support and solicitation of government assistance. With the presence of a large amount of mission resources and essential government aid, Hong Kong Baptists experienced rapid growth between 1950 and 1970. Many new churches were built and a number of important institutions were established. This study shows that Lam as a remarkable leader played a transformative role in shaping Hong Kong Baptist life during this period. This chapter will briefly recap and summarize the findings of Chapters 2 to 7 and at the same time highlight main conclusions of the research such as Lam’s ability to strengthen Hong Kong Baptist churches, encourage evangelism, and develop supportive structures, with an emphasis on education.

The Beginning of Hong Kong Baptists

The beginning of Hong Kong Baptists can be traced back to the early decades of the nineteenth century when Baptists were the first missionaries reaching out to the Chinese. Joshua Marshman translated the first Chinese Bible in India; William Dean established the first Chinese church in Siam; and Jehu Shuck and Issachar Robert established a foothold in Hong Kong and began the first churches on Chinese soil. These Baptist pioneers laid the foundation of Hong Kong Baptists which later became the largest denomination in Hong Kong and the most numerous Chinese-speaking Baptist group in the world today.

Baptist missionaries from the U.S. started a number of churches and church schools in Hong Kong following their arrival in 1842. After these early missionaries departed for mainland China twenty years later, natives continued the mission under the remote supervision and assistance from Baptist missionaries in southern China. Local Hong Kong Chinese finally established a self-governing Baptist church in 1901. They followed the tradition of early missionaries to start establishing churches and church schools, and carried out the mission single-handedly for half a century. When China was taken over by Communism in 1949,
a large number of refugees flooded Hong Kong which resulted in a sudden increase in both social and spiritual needs, and created a vast gospel field which could be used for evangelism. However, while thousands of foreign missionaries including Baptists were uncertain where to go after they were forced to leave China in the early 1950s, only a few actually ended up in Hong Kong because of the fear that the colony would also be taken over by the Communists.

From the time it was ceded to the United Kingdom (UK), Hong Kong had been regarded by the British mainly as a trading port for their products. The UK government never had any intention to invest in the colony’s education and social welfare services. Irrespective of the emerging needs due to the population surge in the mid-twentieth century, the British government could afford no resources to cater for needs of Hong Kong as the UK government was struggling to recover from its shattered economy after World War II. Under the circumstances, the Hong Kong government sought help from churches and charitable organizations to provide services to meet the social and other needs of the people. Baptists, under Lam’s leadership, became the government’s preferred partner to provide needed services, particularly in education.

**Lam’s Contribution to Hong Kong Baptists between 1950 and 1970**

Lam appeared on the scene of Hong Kong Baptists in the 1930s and became the leader of the denominational body, Hong Kong Baptist Association, beginning in 1941 and ending in 1970 shortly before his death. His contributions to Baptists were most notable during the period between 1950 and 1970 when Hong Kong Baptists experienced their fastest growth – planted numerous churches and established a number of important institutions.

Lam was the key person facilitating the return of foreign missionaries. When missionaries were driven out of China in the early 1950s, there was a general misconception that most of them would go to Hong Kong to continue the mission among the Chinese. In fact, very few did. Out of the over two hundred Southern Baptist missionaries in China, only seven were assigned to Hong Kong in 1950, and three actually came in 1952. Out of the over one hundred American Baptist missionaries, only one came in the early 1950s. British Baptists had no missionary assigned to Hong Kong at all. However, the tide started to turn and Lam’s vigorous efforts to request mission support paid off; increasing numbers of missionaries and mission funds were allocated to Hong Kong year after year. The number of missionaries reached the peak of eighty-two in 1970, and the mission funds given totaled over US$ 1 million a year in the early 1970s from Southern Baptists alone. In response to Lam’s request, support rendered by Southern Baptists to Hong Kong
Baptists was extensive and more than to any other mission field. As a result, many Baptist institutions were established which enabled the Hong Kong Baptists to continue and expand their social and educational work in a sustainable way. While Lam was planning a Baptist university in Hong Kong in the mid 1950s, Taiwan Baptists also requested Southern Baptists to help start a Baptist university there. Southern Baptists, however, chose Hong Kong over Taiwan, possibly because of Lam’s goal-oriented vision and his ability to build relations with the parties concerned.

Lam also succeeded in collaborating with the Hong Kong government and built a friendship with Governor Alexander Grantham. During his governorship in the 1950s, Baptists were given free grants of land (the most valuable commodity in the colony) and interest-free loans. Examples of land grants included: Brotherly Love Village for the Walled City fire victims in 1950, 74,130 square feet of land in Kowloon City for Pooi To Girls’ School in 1951, 120,000 square feet of land on Waterloo Road for Pui Ching Middle School in 1952, 12,000 square feet of land on Park Road on the Hong Kong island for Henrietta School in 1955, and 170,000 square feet of land for Baptist College and Baptist Hospital at the city exit of Lion’s Rock Tunnel in 1958. Before these generous gifts to Hong Kong Baptists, the government had never granted such large pieces of land in prime urban locations after World War II. It was extremely rare for the government to give land free of charge to private organizations, much less to a religious organization like Hong Kong Baptists. Besides obtaining free land grants and interest-free loans, Hong Kong Baptists were the only church organization granted permission to establish a tertiary education institution in Hong Kong. A similar request to open a university by the Hong Kong Roman Catholic Church in 1961 was declined. Lam played a crucial role in the development of Hong Kong Baptists. He also shaped a new Baptist landscape during the mid-twentieth century that was quite different from that which had previously existed.

How Was Lam Able to Lead Baptist Growth between 1950 and 1970?

Lam led Hong Kong Baptists to notable growth between 1950 and 1970. How was he able to do that? Lam had the required background, training, experience, and character to lead the Baptists. He had deep Baptist roots, education and training in Baptist mission schools, the conviction of God’s calling to the education ministry, exposure to medical training, the mindset of a Chinese businessman, experience in

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1069 Southern Baptists rendered more support to Hong Kong in the 1950s and 60s in terms of the amount of mission funds and the number of missionaries per capita than to any other mission region. Southern Baptist mission resources increased every year basically between 1950 and 1970. See Tables 5.2 and 5.3 in chapter 5 of this study.

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dealing with government officials of several countries, and above all, the
determination to do what needed to be done for the denomination and Hong Kong
society.

Firstly, Lam had deep Baptist roots. Coming from a Baptist minister’s
family in Chaozhou, China, Lam accepted the Christian faith through his father in
a Swatow-speaking church back in his home village in China. Educated in Baptist
schools in his home town, Lam was raised under the influence of a Baptist
environment. Because of his Baptist background, he naturally joined Hong Kong
Baptist Church and became an active member once he moved to Hong Kong. Also
due to his Swatow background, he could identify himself with Swatow Baptists in
the city and was able to recruit them as members of the Hong Kong Baptist
Association which formerly had been mainly Cantonese-speaking Baptists. His
knowledge of the English language acquired through mission schools was an asset
in his business career and dealings with foreign missionaries as well as government
officials. His training in Union Medical School in Beijing enabled him to be
involved in various medical and philanthropic related ministries.

Secondly, Lam was a successful businessman who knew well the importance
of “guan-xi” (relationship), the Chinese way of building connections with people
to get things done and maintain long-term relationships, Lam was able to build
friendships with missionaries and foreign visitors to ensure their ongoing support
would be lent to Hong Kong Baptist work. Besides his skill in building “guan-xi”
with people, Lam also had extensive business and diplomatic experience in dealing
with government officials from a number of countries. His experience with
different governments helped him to collaborate with the Hong Kong colonial
government and in particular to build a relationship with Governor Alexander
Grantham. Lam’s relationship with Grantham was beyond that of the contractual
partnership between government and church which was long in place in the colony.
This study has argued that there was a friendship between Lam and Grantham, and
their friendship played a part in insuring the government would render support, in
particular land grants, to Hong Kong Baptists.

Thirdly, Lam was a firm believer of evangelism through education, seeing
education as an effective means of gaining converts. Not only did he have the
conviction that it was God’s calling for him to be involved in education, but he was
also able to convince others with statistics – the large number of young people who
accepted the Christian faith every year through Baptist schools. There were
Southern Baptist missionaries and native pastors who had reservations about
spending large resources on schools and argued that money should be spent in
churches for direct evangelism instead. However, after being convinced by the
effectiveness of converting young souls through education, many became keen
supporters of Lam’s vision of Baptist schools. His belief in education had a profound influence on Hong Kong Baptists for many years.

Fourthly, Lam was a person of determination and indomitable spirit. Once he saw a vision and was convinced that it was God’s will for him to accomplish tasks as His instrument, he would do it whole-heartedly. When he saw the needs arising from a sudden population increase in Hong Kong and the reluctance of mission agencies to put their resources to meet the needs, he took the initiative to invite the return of missionaries, in particular those from Southern Baptists. Lam exhausted every opportunity to ask for missionaries to come to serve in Hong Kong. He made his requests to mission bodies, local and overseas, to missionaries, and visitors passing by Hong Kong, and through missionaries serving in Hong Kong. To ensure his requests were heard, he made a number of overseas trips, visiting Baptists in Europe and America, attending Baptist World Congress meetings in three different continents, and making Hong Kong Baptist needs known to Baptists in different parts of the world. Despite some local Hong Kong people who were concerned that the return of a large number of foreign missionaries and the presence of mission funds would be a hindrance to indigenization, and that the large program of Baptist institutions would delay the self-independent process of local Baptists, Lam pushed relentlessly for missionaries to come help build churches and institutions. He considered this a mission God had given him. Lam’s determination can be reflected in his second son David’s statement: “Once my father made up his mind, it was final, like Chairman Mao – end of discussion.” Because of his determination, he was able to go against all odds and make things happen. Although there were people who might not have agreed with his leadership in the denomination, no one openly confronted him as he was a powerful figure and highly regarded in Baptist circles.

Fifthly, Lam was a layman; he had never received any theological training. Because he had no theology baggage, he was mission oriented without being entangled in doctrinal disputes on matters such as the issue of separation of church and state. When seeking government support for Baptist schools in Hong Kong, Lam did it in a pragmatic way, staying away from the argument of whether the

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1070 Rev. Paul Wong, who was once hesitant about churches investing in education, began to see the importance of education after becoming the president of the Hong Kong Baptist Association following Lam in 1971. See the section “Seven Articles” in chapter 7 of this study.

1071 After Lam’s death, the Hong Kong Baptist Association has continued for decades to find education an important strategy for evangelization. The Association expressed in 2014, that it hoped to explore ways to set up Baptist schools overseas, expand the territory of Christian education, and build a cooperative force between mission and education. See “Xianggang Jinzhong Lianhui: Chuandao Xingxue Baozhu Hongen [Hong Kong Baptist Association: Carrying out Mission and Promoting Education to Repay God’s Grace],” in Christian Weekly, Volume 2611 (September 7, 2014) (Hong Kong: Christian Weekly): 5.
separation principle was a Biblical teaching or merely an idea advocated by some Baptists. He avoided the debate concerning what government subsidies were considered acceptable. He stressed that the important thing was to retain the autonomy of Baptist schools and that they were under the control of the Association. Being aware of the indecisive position of Southern Baptists with regard to Baptist schools receiving federal aid in the U.S. and the flexible Baptist practices in other British colonies, Lam continued to seek government aid for Baptist schools. Knowing that there were divergent and inconclusive opinions also among Southern Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong, with regard to what constituted government subsidies, Lam sought different kinds of government help – land grants, interest-free loans, donation of books and laboratory equipment, supply of government lecturers, and training of the college’s lecturers, so long as the relationship with Southern Baptists, the key financial supporter and manpower supplier of Hong Kong Baptist work, was not jeopardized.

A Different Baptist Life Shaped by Lam

As a result of his success in seeking foreign mission support and obtaining government help, Lam shaped a different Baptist life. During the first half of the twentieth century, Hong Kong Baptists were acting alone without foreign help. They concentrated their efforts in direct evangelism, planting churches, working mainly among Cantonese-speaking Chinese, and paying little attention to other ministries apart from running a few much-needed elementary and middle schools. Baptists were a small and insignificant denomination with seven churches and chapels and 5,500 members in 1950, which was notably smaller compared with Anglicans and Church of Christ of China in Hong Kong.

After Lam became the de facto leader of Hong Kong Baptists and the return of missionaries in the 1950s, Baptist life began to change dramatically. The denomination experienced a rapid expansion with many new churches and mission points developed. Cantonese and Swatow Baptists grew stronger and Mandarin Baptists began to emerge. Together they formed a multifaceted Baptist family. With large resources available from foreign mission groups, in particular the Southern Baptists, and help from the government, in particular land grants, Hong Kong Baptists grew into the largest denomination and built a number of significant institutions. By 1970, there were fifty-five churches and chapels with a total membership of over 20,000 people. Important institutions included the Hong Kong Baptist College, the only Chinese Baptist tertiary education institute in the world, and the Hong Kong Baptist Hospital, the largest private hospital in Hong Kong. In addition, Baptists had established a theological seminary, a Christian campground, a publishing house and bookstore, and a Baptist social welfare center. All these
structural elements of Baptist work were visible in the wider society not only by their size but also by their energetic activities. Instead of natives working by themselves alone, there were foreign missionaries working alongside the locals in every ministry. Instead of concentrating on direct evangelism through churches alone, indirect evangelism through schools and social service institutions was equally emphasized and provided benefits for many Hong Kong citizens. A new Baptist landscape was formed between 1950 and 1970 as a result of Lam’s effort and leadership.

Today, extensive services provided by Baptists can fill many needs in different stages of a person’s life. In Hong Kong, one can be born in the Baptist hospital, attend one of the three Baptist nursery centers, go to one of the thirty-three Baptist kindergartens, study in one of the eight Baptist elementary schools and seven Baptist secondary schools, continue education in the Baptist university, join the membership of one of the 130 Baptist churches and chapels with over 60,000 members, receive training for full time church ministry in the Baptist seminary, spend a family vacation or church retreat in the Baptist camp, get Christian books and Christian education material from the Baptist publishing house, and participate in activities in one of the twenty-two Baptist social centers.1072

Hong Kong Baptist life today is different from half a century ago. The transformative role played by Lam in shaping Hong Kong Baptist life is both undeniable and unforgettable.

Lam: A Remarkable Baptist Leader

Lam was a remarkable Baptist leader of the sort not found in other denominations in Hong Kong. Though being a layman without theological training, Lam engineered the growth of Hong Kong Baptists during the 1950s and 1960s. Some argue that it is exactly because of his status as a member of the laity that Lam was able to solicit government help to build so many important institutions which no other denomination could. An important thing to note is, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the growth rate has slowed down since Lam died in 1971. Since 1970, the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church (C&MA) and the Evangelical Free Church of China (EFCC) have had faster growth than Baptists. If the current pace of growth should continue, Baptists will soon be outnumbered by the C&MA and the EFCC in terms of Sunday worshippers. The question remains, could the slowdown growth of Hong Kong Baptists in the last forty years be due to (at least partly) the lack of an effective, well-respected leader like Lam? At least with regard to the remarkable growth of the C&MA and the EFCC in recent years, Rev. Philip Teng

1072 These were the Baptist figures in 2001 taken from William R. Estep, Jr., Baptist Faith: Its Foundations & Distinctives (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, reprint 2001), 34.
Jin-hui (1922-2013) of the C&MA and Rev. John Pao Hui-yuan (1922-2013) of the EFCC, 1073 the two well-known charismatic leaders since the 1970s, are believed to have been the growth contributors of their respective denominations. They were not only well-respected within their denominations but also among the Chinese Christian church at large. Besides, the similar energetic-leadership argument could be used regarding the Alliance Church and the EFCC, when describing their recent speedy development. 1074 It is not to say that the growth of a denomination in Hong Kong context depends exclusively on visionary and active leadership. However, one cannot avoid the conclusion that the Baptists have lacked an influential leader or leaders since the death of Lam.

Despite the slowdown of Baptist growth in worship attendees in recent years, Baptists continue to have the largest program of institutions that no other denomination in Hong Kong can match. Lam was the key person responsible for the establishment of most of these important Baptist institutions. Unlike other denominations whose leaders (like the two referred to in the preceding paragraph) were ordained pastors, Lam was unique as a lay person to lead a denomination. He used his character and skills to transform the Hong Kong Baptist ministry in a period of social changes and mission challenges.

Philip Teng was the president of the C&MA Hong Kong Association between 1959 and 1987, the president of the Alliance Bible Seminary between 1975 and 1980, the president of the China Graduate School of Theology between 1974 and 1987, and the chair of the board of the Chinese Congress of World Evangelism between 1976 and 2001. John Pao was president of the Evangel Theological Seminary of Hong Kong between 1965 and 1985, the president of the Headquarters of the EFCC between 1987 and 1993, and the president of the Christian Witness Theological Seminary in California, USA, between 1996 and 2000. Both were popular and favorable speakers in Chinese Christian meetings around the world.

Rev. Gordon Siu Sau-wah who has succeeded Rev. Teng as the senior pastor of the North Point Alliance Church and Rev. Leung Ka-lun who has taken up the position of the president of the Alliance Bible Seminary are seen to have continued making important contributions to the C&MA growth. The So brothers, Rev. So Wing-yui and Rev. So Wing-chi of the EFCC who are the senior pastors of two of the largest churches in Hong Kong, are seen to have led the denomination to a speedy growth in recent years. All these pastors are well-known church leaders in Hong Kong today.
Summary

Lam Chi-fung played a transformative role in shaping the Hong Kong Baptist life during a transition period between 1950 and 1970 when Hong Kong Baptists experienced a rapid growth. Lam was the crucial person facilitating the return of Baptist missionaries to Hong Kong after their expulsion from mainland China in 1949. He was also key to building a relationship with Governor Alexander Grantham, the government, and Baptists in the development of Hong Kong Baptist ministries. Under Lam’s leadership, Hong Kong Baptists were transformed from a local church of a nominal size without external assistance before 1950, to a large denomination which, partnering with overseas Baptists and aided by the government, planted numerous churches and important institutions by 1970.

Baptists were the first Protestant group which reached out to the Chinese. While working in India, William Carey converted the first Chinese in 1800, and Joshua Marshman translated and published the first Chinese Bible in 1822. William Dean established the first Chinese church in 1835 in Bangkok. Jehu Shuck and Issachar Robert were the first missionaries who created a foothold in Hong Kong and established the first churches on Chinese soil in 1842, when Hong Kong was ceded to the British as a result of the First Opium War. As more treaty ports were opened to the west after the Second Opium War in 1860, the early Baptist missionaries in Hong Kong departed for mainland China. Native Baptists were left alone with little support other than a small amount of remote support given by Baptist missionaries in southern China.

Despite the many difficulties they encountered, Hong Kong Baptists beginning in the early twentieth century built a self-governing church. During this period, local lay leaders played an important role in establishing and developing Baptist ministries in the colony. Lam Chi-fung emerged as a lay leader under such a context. Coming from a Baptist family in Chaozhou, China, Lam had strong Baptist roots. As the son of the first Chinese Baptist minister in his hometown, Lam was educated in Baptist mission schools while in China. After moving to Hong Kong, Lam became a successful businessman and was heavily involved in Baptist churches there. He was the longest-serving leader of the denomination body, Hong Kong Baptist Association, from 1941 till his death in 1971.

Lam’s leadership and significance in Hong Kong Baptist life became more prominent and visible beginning in the mid-twentieth century. When China was taken over by Communism in 1949, large numbers of refugee flooded Hong Kong resulting in a sudden increase in both social and spiritual needs. As the British government was struggling to recover from its war-torn economy, it could allow no resources to cater to the needs of the surging population in the colony. This dire
situation created a large gospel field in Hong Kong with tremendous needs for churches, schools and social welfare services. Lam, being the de facto head of Hong Kong Baptists, responded to the needs under the changing context by soliciting assistance from foreign missionaries and collaborating with the Hong Kong government.

Once China was completely under the control of the Communist Party, all foreign mission agencies were forced to leave the country. Out of fear that Hong Kong would soon be taken over, only a few actually went to Hong Kong. For example Southern Baptists, who once had over 200 mission personnel in China, sent only a few missionaries to the British colony. Most foreign missionaries ended up in other places with Chinese populations instead of in Hong Kong. In view of the situation, Lam took the initiative to attempt to alleviate the concerns of Baptist missionaries and used every means to invite their return. As a successful businessman who knew well the importance of “guan-xi” (relationship), the Chinese way of building connections with people to get things done and to maintain long-term relationships, Lam was able to build friendships with missionaries and foreign visitors to ensure their ongoing supports to Hong Kong Baptist work. As a result of his relentless effort, the number of Southern Baptist missionaries increased from only three in 1952 to over eighty in 1970, and the mission funds allocated to Hong Kong by Southern Baptists increased from zero in 1950 to over US$ 1 million annually in the early 1970s. Southern Baptists became the largest mission group in Hong Kong.

Lam was the key person who collaborated with the government to develop Hong Kong Baptist ministries. At the time when the colonial government was seeking help from churches and charitable organizations to provide education and other social services to meet Hong Kong needs, Baptists were found to be favorable partners. Due to his skill in building “guan-xi” with people, Lam established a friendship with Sir Alexander Grantham, Governor of Hong Kong from 1947 to 1957. As a result, Hong Kong Baptists were given free land grants and interest-free loans to establish a number of major institutions. During Grantham’s governorship, there were in total close to 400,000 square feet of land given to Baptists for schools, hospital and social centers, all in prime locations. Land has always been a scarce resource in Hong Kong. The government had never granted such large tracts of land in the urban area free of charge to private organizations. Besides obtaining free land grants and interest-free loans, getting the required government permits to operate an institution was equally important. Hong Kong Baptists were the only church organization which was granted permission to establish a university in the colony. The Roman Catholic Church in Hong Kong had made a similar request to open a tertiary school in 1961, and was declined. The
collaboration between Lam and Grantham helped to build the Hong Kong Baptist structure.

While large mission sources were allocated to Hong Kong as a result of Lam’s effort to invite missionary support, there were tensions between local Baptists and foreign missionaries. Apart from the usual conflicts such as the language barrier and cultural differences between foreign and indigenous workers, the presence of large missionary resources was seen by some natives as a hindrance to church growth and the independence of local Baptists. The return of foreign missionaries also caused concerns with the deterioration in indigenization. As large resources were put into education and social services, there were debates as to whether the efforts should be used in churches for direct evangelism rather than in institutions for indirect evangelism. Despite the tensions and different opinions, Lam’s strong leadership style and dominant personality made it difficult for others to resist his efforts. At times, he might even have pushed his ideas without sensitivity to teamwork.

When collaborating with the government, Lam faced the issue of separation of church and state, a principle which is cherished by Baptists all over the world, particularly by Southern Baptists. Lam handled the issue in a pragmatic way. Knowing that there was no unified view among the missionaries in regard to which government subsidies were considered acceptable and which not, Lam carefully navigated his way to seek different kinds of government aid so long as they were not clearly forbidden in the view of the Baptist mission. With his pragmatic approach to the interpretation of the principle, Lam was able to continue to get government help and at the same time receive huge financial and personnel support from Southern Baptists to build Baptist organizational structures in Hong Kong.

As a result of Lam’s effort and leadership, Hong Kong Baptists entered into a changing landscape between 1950 and 1970. With the help and support received from Southern Baptists and the colonial government, Hong Kong Baptists grew from a nominal denomination of seven churches and chapels with 5,500 members in 1950 to fifty-five churches and chapels with a total membership of over 20,000 in 1970. In addition to becoming the largest denomination in the territory, Hong Kong Baptists also established a number of important institutions including the Hong Kong Baptist University, the Hong Kong Baptist Hospital, the Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, the Baptist Assembly (a Baptist campground), the Baptist Press (a Baptist publishing house and a bookstore), and a Baptist social welfare centre. Instead of natives working alone, there were foreign missionaries serving alongside the locals in every ministry. Instead of relying on church resources alone, government aids were received to build the ministry. Instead of concentrating on direct evangelism through churches, indirect evangelism through
schools and social service institutions was equally emphasized. The Hong Kong Baptist life was no longer the same. Lam played a crucial role in transforming it during the period between 1950 and 1970.
## Appendix: Glossary of Names of People in Chinese

<table>
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<th>First name</th>
<th>Name in Chinese</th>
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Notes: 1) The first column shows names of people appearing in the dissertation.  
2) Entries of the table are arranged according to family names in alphabetical order.  
3) Names in Chinese with an asterisk are Chinese translations made by the author.  
4) Hanyu Pinyin Romanization is provided only for people who are Chinese natives.  
5) “–” denotes information which cannot be found or is inapplicable.
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