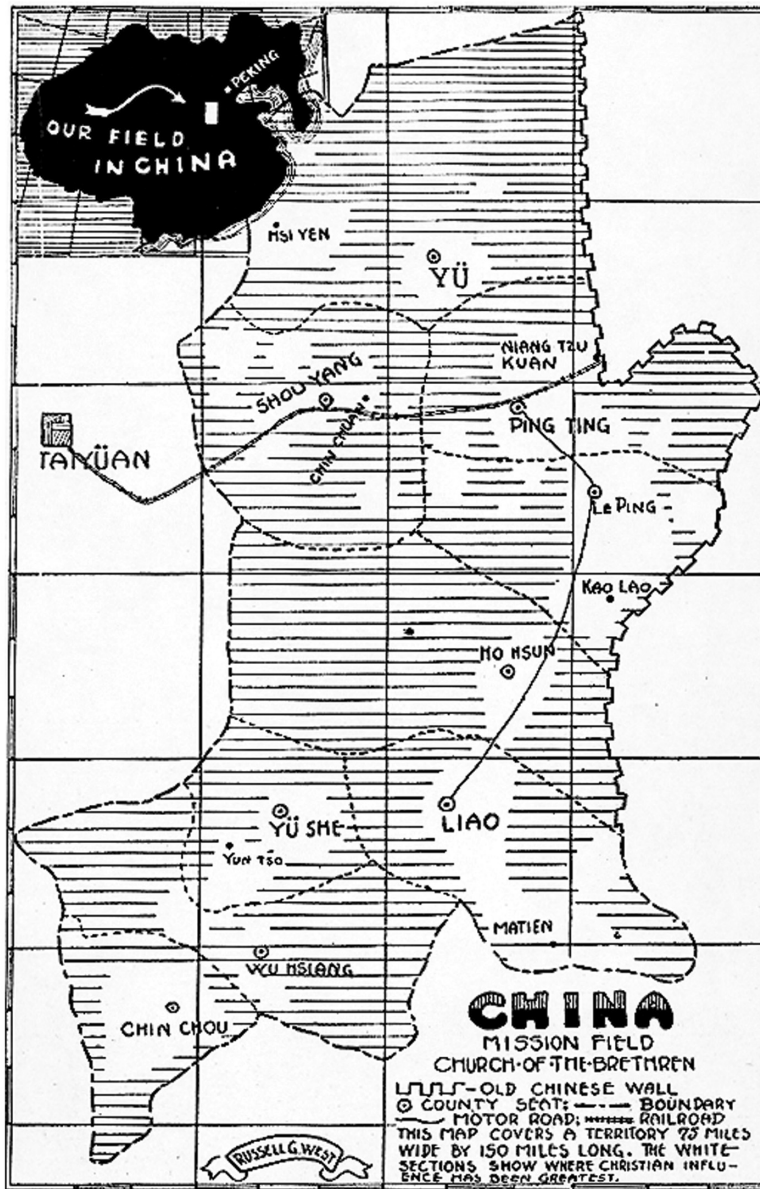

Church of the Brethren China Relief

E. Joseph Wampler¹ and D. Eugene Wampler²

¹ 330 Llama Ranch Lane, Santa Cruz, CA 95060 jwampler@cruzio.com

² 321 Morris Road, Harleysville, PA 19438 genewamp@verizon.net



Several place names on this mission map now have a different romanization: Chin Chou is now Qinxian, Wu Hsiang is Wuxiang and Liao and Le Ping had their names changed to Zuoquan and Xiyang respectively. In this paper we use the modern names throughout.[1]

1 Introduction

The Church of the Brethren was Founded in 1708 in Schwarzenau, Germany and was part of the the Anabaptist/Pietist movement. Relying on the New Testament as their guide, members believed that Jesus had intended a different kind of life – one based on peaceful action, plain and compassionate living, and a shared search for truth.

In the early days of the Church their pacifistic beliefs conflicted with the war mentality of 18th century Europe. Starting in 1719 they began moving to America to escape religious persecution. They originally had only lay ministers, but by the 20th century, they had also developed a cadre of professional pastors. The Church of the Brethren, together with the Quakers and the Mennonites are considered the three classical peace churches.

Their religious sacraments closely followed New Testament scriptural precedents. For instance, they believed in adult triune baptism by total immersion in water. Because of this practice, the Brethren were sometimes referred to as Dunkers, a name they did not consider pejorative. Their communion ceremonies were elaborate affairs that recalled Jesus' last supper. A foot-washing ceremony was followed by a meal (usually a hearty stew) and then the sharing of communion bread and wine (by the 20th Century the Brethren substituted grape juice for wine.) Foot-washing in China caused a problem; traditionally the Chinese considered the uncovered foot of a woman with bound feet as highly erotic: much as we would view an uncovered woman's breasts. The solution was a symbolic sprinkling of her shoe.

They had a strong commitment to a liberal arts education and founded some of the earliest co-educational colleges in America. Until the twentieth century the Brethren were primarily farmers living in their own communities, separate from the general society. Education, both religious and secular, was conducted mostly in the home. But in 1857 the denomination cautiously permitted Sabbath schools and by the early 1900s several denominational colleges had been established.

The early twentieth century also saw the development of foreign mission activity. Missionaries were sent to India in 1894 and to China in 1908. By 1920 they had built large western-style hospitals and schools in their four main Chinese mission stations. As part of their educational outreach in China the mission had a literacy program focused on educating at least one girl in every village surrounding the mission stations. This both increased the status of girls and insured that each village would have at least one person who could read newspapers and understand official documents, since educated boys would usually leave the village.

2 Early Highlights of Church Programs and Relief Work

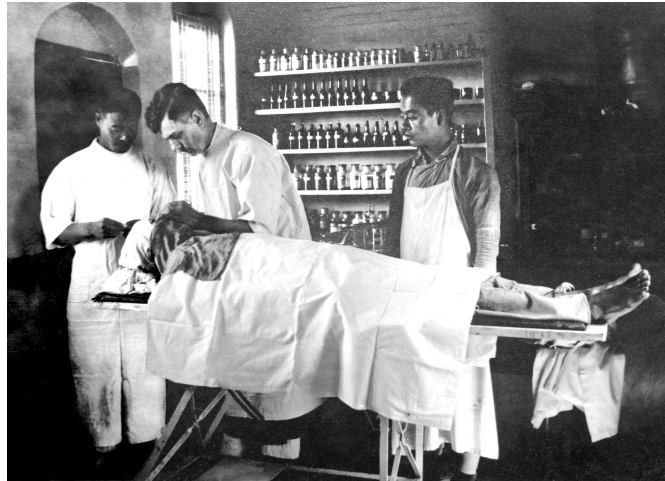
2.1 Medical relief

In 1918 there was a serious outbreak of bubonic plague in Shanxi province. Governor Yan Xishan asked Dr. Fred Wampler to supervise the control of this epidemic. With strong official backing, strict quarantine procedures were instituted and within two months all the territory in Shanxi south of the Great Wall was declared free from the disease.



Plague victims were buried in quicklime pits.[1]

The Ping Ding hospital quickly became a center for medical training. It was a valuable resource in a community with poor care for accident victims and patients with medical problems that were beyond the skills of traditional healers.



Dr. Fred Wampler performing a cataract operation in Ping Ding hospital.[1]



Elizabeth Baker with a coal mine burn patient in Ping Ding Hospital. (Wampler family collection)



Burn patient from a coal mine accident.[1]

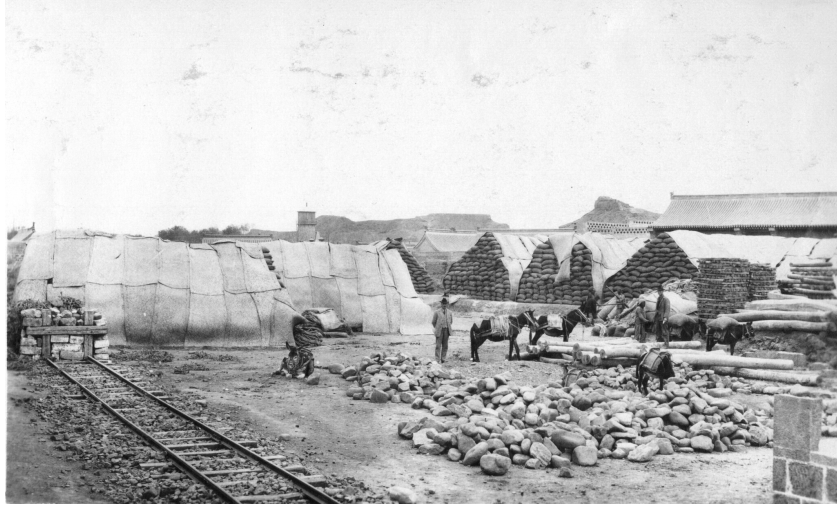
2.2 Road construction work-relief

1920-1921 was a year of the Great Famine in North China. Twenty million people (40% of the population in five provinces) were dependent on relief. In February 1921, with funding from the International Red Cross and the Church of the Brethren, a work-relief project began to build an eighty mile motor road from Zuoquan (which was then called Liao Chou) to the railroad station at Yang Chuan, a few miles north of Ping Ding.

Because the missionaries were more trustworthy and more respectful of the Chinese workers than the Red Cross managers (many of whom were foot-

loose veterans of World War I) all available missionaries were diverted to this project.

Women evangelists, working with village leaders, interviewed families who need relief, prepared lists of eligible families, recruited a worker from each family (when possible) and explained the program of paying for labor with food. Several of the mission men became work-team supervisors. Others supervised the food distribution centers, maintained records and provided medical services. The road was completed in July, 1921.



Relief grain at the railroad head.[1]



Camels with grain for the road workers.[1]



Finishing work on the road north of Xiyang.[1]



The road hand-over. Governor Yan Xishan is seated in the center of the front row with his sword.[1]

2.3 Wool cooperative

Ms. Nettie Senger, working in Qinxian, had a good idea. Chinese women knew how to spin. If the mission started a wool factory the farmers could sell their wool locally and local women could earn extra money processing the wool.



Nettie Senger in her wool workshop.[1]



Farmers knitting in the winter during the fallow season.[1]



Wool exhibit in Qinxian.[1]



Women spinning wool for the Cooperative.[1]



Sara Wampler views an early loom at the small wool factory. This loom, which made cloth that was much wider than the native loom, was a copy of a loom Ernest Wampler's mother used in Virginia.[1]



The result of cross-breeding a French Merino (Rambouillet) ram (right) with a native Chinese sheep (center). The cross breed sheep (left) produced more wool than the native sheep and withstood the harsh winters of Shanxi province better than the pure-bred French sheep. (Wampler family collection)

3 Relief during the Sino-Japanese war

3.1 1938-1939

Shouyang incident

By the winter of 1937, the Japanese had occupied Shouyang in their drive to conquer Shanxi province. On December 3 Mary Harsh sent a letter to her mother describing the occupation:

“When the Japanese first came into this town there were 50 Chinese and we three foreigners here on our mission property and no one else in town which before their coming numbered 1800 people.

“Of course the soldiers had to have food but no one to help get it. Naturally the town was very badly looted and so some parts entirely destroyed.

“Yesterday when Alva went to the R.R. station I went along. This was the first I was outside of the court for over four weeks. The town in these weeks took on a very different aspect. What was once a busy little market town is now almost a complete desolation with soldiers going and coming any hour of the day, stray horses and mules and donkeys going thru [*sic* – but a common attempt at spelling reform] field and streets, a few natives returning but wearing a forlorn expression as they view the remains of their town, a few lonely looking dogs, and a few cheerful chattering birds. You perhaps wonder if I couldnt picture a more hopeless picture, well the half has not yet been seen nor could we tell it. But tomorrow the Japanese official is going to Tientsin and offered to take our mail along, and we really believe in two or three weeks we can get our mail. Our food supply is quite abundant, and since the Frenchman of whom we previously told you plans to live at Yang Chuan he gave us the opportunity to buy his large supply of coal, so in view of the coming winter we are abundantly blessed. Since this conflict has come into our town in these five weeks we entertained no less than two hundred people in our home, and from the highest to the lowest but Christ said ‘In as much as ye did it unto these least ye did it unto me.’

“Each day Alva makes a tour to our Church compound and the Hospital to see if all is intact, and follows the oxcart to haul coal etc. Most of the rest of the time, besides meeting officials and acting as go between, I visit the women folks on the compound and to try to keep them sweet in such close quarters.”[1]

Mary dispatched her letter in the care of a Japanese officer who was going to Beijing. That night Mary, her husband, Alva and Mineva Neher were call out to the French Station master’s home to mediate a dispute between the station master and his Japanese wife. They then disappeared and were never

seen again. All attempts to gather more information from Japanese sources have met a stone wall of resistance.

There were few foreign missionaries in the Brethren mission stations. Rev. Crumpacker was the only foreign male in Ping Ding, Rev. Oberholtzer was the only foreigner in Zuoquan and the Rev. and Mrs. Wampler with their two children were the only foreigners in Qinxian. Communication in the war zone away from the rail line was extremely poor. Letters had to be hand carried. A month after the Shouyang missionaries' disappearance, the news reached Marine colonel Evans Carlson who was imbedded with an 8th Route Army guerrilla band traveling in the Tai Hang Mountains. He informed Rev. Isaiah Oberholtzer in Zuoquan via an 8th Route Army radio transmission. On January 24 the news reached Qinxian. Of course this caused great concern among the missionaries as it seemed that their status as neutrals was not going to be respected by the Japanese. Mr. Hugh Mackenzie the Mission Treasurer who was living in Tianjin, wrote: "Mr Crumpacker was very much broken up over the matter and had been carrying a very heavy load all these past three months being the only man at his station. This was almost too much for him and I am sure I do not know how he stands up under it all." [1]

The Church of the Brethren was a pacifistic denomination but their Chinese friends were vigorously engaged on one side of the war. Would using Mission resources to help the Chinese be a violation of the Mission neutrality? Should the missionaries follow the recommendation of the US Government and retreat to Beijing? The war had come to the pacifistic Brethren missionaries. How should they respond?

On February 19, 1938 the Wampler house was among those hit during an air raid on Qinxian by six heavy Japanese bombers. While the explosion shocked and rained dust and dirt on Elizabeth Wampler, her two children and the family of Mr. Dou, their Chinese cook, they were otherwise unhurt. Unable to use their home, the Wampplers moved to a small cave room in a tiny village, Hojiachun, three miles west of Qinxian. They stayed in these cramped quarters until the end of March when they had decided that it was not feasible to administer help to the local populace from their cave room, particularly since they had two young sons, the oldest just five years old. Despite having no way of knowing travel conditions and with no news from the mission station at Zuoquan, they nevertheless decided to move and live in one of the American style houses there. They knew that Rev. Isaiah Oberholtzer was the only foreigner living at the large Zuoquan station. [2]

On arriving in Zuoquan the Wampplers were able to resolved several issues that had caused tension between the local authorities and the mission. Also, Mrs. Wampler, a nurse, reopened the closed Mission hospital.



The Wampler's Qinxian house after bombing. (Wampler family collection)



The Dou and Wampler children outside their Hojiachun cave home. (Wampler family collection)

Initial war relief work

Shortly after Wampler arrived in Zuoquan, he and Oberholtzer, together with several Chinese evangelists, toured the mission field. Rev. Isaiah Oberholtzer described what they found:

“At Yu-she we found the greater part of the city in ashes. Not a single person was to be found at home. We could find no food or water to drink. Only a pig or two were wandering about the streets in search of food which was not there. The county seat at Wuxiang, and Tsingchow [Qinxian] and many market towns met the same fate and looked much alike. Everywhere the Chinese would estimate that three out of four homes had been totally destroyed. Surrounding Tsinchow there were twenty two villages that had been destroyed. And in another river valley there were some sixty villages destroyed in a short distance of twenty miles.

“We saw the aftermath of war in all its forms. We saw where Japanese and Chinese armies had waged a battle and where the Japanese had buried hundreds of animals on top of great quantities of ammunition which they were unable to carry along. We came upon hundreds of wounded who had no hope of living. We saw scores of innocent men and women who had been bayoneted many times. We saw old men who had been rolled down high terraces for no reason whatever and were now pleading with us to either take them to the hospital or kill them. And we saw the places where many other atrocities were enacted. We saw men of wealth who now had nothing left of home but stacks of debris, brickbats and broken tile. Scores of cattle were eaten up, eighty head of goats and sheep were burned on the hoof, great bins of millet and soy beans lay charred and useless in one home that I visited. And the woman of the home had nothing to offer me for food. She too had to return to her mountain friends for food. And this was one of our well-to-do members of the church. This was the first invasion of our southern mission territory.

“In the days that followed we made visits into the country villages far and near to investigate what relief was necessary. Wherever one would go where the invader had been, there was the same sorry sight of destruction, waste, poverty, and sorrow.”[3]



Rev. Wampler in ruins of Qinxian. (Wampler family collection)



Burned wool factory in Qinxian. (Wampler family collection)



Wu Xiang main street. (Wampler family collection)



Yu She north gate. (Wampler family collection)

The Japanese initial military offensive during the Spring 1938 into the five counties serviced by the mission resulted in the following losses: “42,601 chien of houses burned (a chien is one room; if it is a two-story building it would be two rooms, about eight by twelve feet; a Chinese family generally occupies three or five chien of buildings; this would mean at least 8,520 homes destroyed); 26,519 dan of grain have been destroyed (a dan is 150 to 170 pounds); 746 civilians have met violent death, and over 500 were wounded; 1,171 animals have been killed, not counting sheep, goats and chickens.” [5]

In May of 1938 Rev. Oberholtzer returned to America leaving the Wampler family as the sole foreigners in Zuoquan. In mid June they were reinforced by missionary Anna Hutchinson, and nurses Laura Schock and Corda Wertz transferred from the hospital in Ping Ding to assist nurse Elizabeth Wampler and the Chinese staff in Zuoquan. Later, nurses Velma Ober and Myrtle Pollock further increased the medical staff. In October, 1938 veteran missionary Oliver Clark Sollenberger, universally known as "OC," together with his son Howard, arrived from the United States to replace Oberholtzer. Dr. Wang Yu Kang joined the hospital staff in December 1938 and the inpatient department was reopened. In 1939 Dr. Brown from Hankow arrived with Red Cross funds and helped enlarge services for both soldiers and civilians.[6]



Refugees at the Zuoquan mission hospital receiving financial relief. (Wampler family collection)

The Church insisted that the mission hospital be open to all who needed medical help and could reach it. Children, many orphaned, were fed and housed in a camp that used the hospital and school dormitories until their relatives could come for them. Because of crowded conditions in the dormitories, 50 of these children contracted typhus from their lice infested clothing. To rid the clothing of lice the clothes were baked and the sick children were treated in the hospital. None of the fifty children who contracted typhus in Liao died but because there was a shortage of typhus antiserum nurse Myrtle Pollock gave her quota to a colleague. In January 1940 she died from typhus contracted while nursing these children.[7]



Men's ward in the Zuoquan mission hospital where military as well as civilian patients were treated. (Wampler family collection)



Refugee children with typhus in the Liao hospital. (Wampler family collection)

By the end of 1938 there was adequate foreign staff in the Zuoquan mission to support a significant relief program. Two thousand yuan had been forwarded from Ping Ding and 4,000 more was promised. To insure coordination between the Church mission work and Chinese Government relief programs, four mission workers, two Chinese and two American, attend the

Government Relief Committee meetings as consultants.[8]

In meetings of the foreign and Chinese staff at the mission it was decided to concentrate on work relief. The Chinese were quite enthusiastic about emphasizing work relief and micro-loans so that the people could make a livelihood. With a little capital furnished to buy raw materials, they could do much work in their homes. All felt that this program of relief was going to be a long-drawn-out matter. Even after the war ended there would be a period of years of extreme suffering. Manufactured goods, such as cloth that had come from costal areas was in very short supply. But as many peasant women could weave, a major effort was put into importing raw cotton so that the refugees could make cloth locally. Four pounds of cotton would yield 70 to 80 feet of cloth, 15-18 inches wide. Thirty feet of this was returned to the Mission so that it could be sold to raise money to purchase more cotton. Of the initial outlay of 300 yuan, 200 yuan was recovered by cloth sales for the purchase of more cotton.[6]



A refugee family receives cotton to weave into cloth. (Wampler family collection)



Spinning cotton into thread for weaving. (Wampler family collection)



A refugee woman weaving. (Wampler family collection)



Women with finished cloth from the cotton project. (Wampler family collection)

Because the Japanese had destroyed so much grain in areas of their military operations, grain was also smuggled past Japanese lines to feed the refugees. Often fleeing refugees had with them dry parched grain flour (*chiao mien*) that only needed boiling water to be turned into a nourishing porridge. Local church groups set up roadside stoves with kettles of boiling water and sometimes millet gruel to service the needs of men carrying supplies for the front and fleeing refugees. Whenever possible, the emphasis of the relief operation was directed to helping the refugees to restart their lives, rather than simple monetary handouts. Relief was usually a two step process: first, with the help of village elders, a survey was conducted to determine which citizens were most in need of aid and the most effective way to aid the disrupted community. Chits were distributed to those who had been selected for aid and then

the aid itself was distributed.[6]

A major problem faced by Howard was the contradiction between being an effective administrator of relief for the Chinese refugees who were fleeing the Japanese and his status as a citizen of a neutral country. And the Chinese armies were sometimes puzzled by his pacifistic stance. In a telling diary passage he describes the tension:



Left to Right: Li, Howard, Lui, Tien, Lien, Nieh – the mountain relief team. In Wu Ma they were fed by the local 8th Route Army troops. (Sollenberger family collection)

“The reception here has reached the limit. Something must be done. I was met at the south of the village by all the school children. There must have been a hundred and fifty or more. They carried banners and slogans such as, ‘Welcome to our foreign friend.’ ‘America is our friend in time of need.’ ‘The hope of our refugees is relief from America.’ ‘Honor our friend who comes to help us.’ These school children were lined up along the road singing lustily when we came along. Then when I stopped they shouted their slogans with fists in the air. There was twenty minutes of such program before I could move on toward the village. The entire garrison was there to meet me with more slogans and songs. This time I was called upon to make a speech.

“It was quite obvious that they were surprised and not a little disappointed to see me come in without pretense. They had expected me to come on horseback and with an armed escort like a general of the Nationalist Army. And here I was trudging along beside my donkey without even a personal pistol at my side for protection. I made use of this situation to explain what I was trying to do. The peasants and guerrillas understood rather easily, but the soldiers of the Second Route Army couldn’t quite get the point. General Hsi had even gone so far as to put a guard of honor in front of the home where I’m staying. It is rather embarrassing to have these guards come to attention and salute whenever I come or go. The first one to see me shouts ‘Attention!’ And when I come abreast of them he shouts ‘Salute!’. I didn’t care to return the salute but I couldn’t ignore them. I remember how I felt when I had to bow to

the Japanese guard and they ignored me. I compromised my conscience and recognized them with a half salute and a half wave. I also went out of my way to fraternize with them and try to persuade them that I didn't want to have a guard. But they had their orders.



The group that gave Howard an elaborate reception at Sung Yea Chen.
(Sollenberger family collection)

“Another part of the reception was colorful posters of welcome plastered all over the village. There is also a big sign out in front of my quarters that reads, ‘Headquarters of Mr. Sollenberger, American Relief Administrator.’ I can see where all this fanfare can have its complications. I wish that I had never written to the County Magistrate telling him that I was coming to his county to investigate the refugee situation. If the Japanese spies are around they will wonder what manner of man this is out in the mountains less than fifteen miles from them. I wouldn't be surprised but what it wouldn't sound a bit defiant to them. My problem is how to avoid such circumstances.

“The end is not yet, but it was nearly so this afternoon. My headquarters was bombed – the room I was staying in, in fact. Fortunately I was about three miles away from home investigating some refugees in the mountains to

the north. Looks like I'm being forced to live up to my regulation of never staying in a village for more than one night when this close to the Japanese. Of course there is no way of knowing if the bombing was directed at me or not. The local commander thinks that it is just incidental to the opening of a Japanese attack." [9]



8th Route army preparing for a night raid on He Shun. (Sollenberger family collection)

News and information in the mountain refugee camps was quite poor. Howard tried to ameliorate the problem:

"The Bureau of News and Safety is also doing a thriving business. I have several connections through which I can get rather reliable news. Some of this news we pass on to the refugees and local inhabitants through the Bureau. It is the best way I have found to stop rumors which cause fear and disturbance in such times as these. The safety division of the bureau is to inform the peasants and refugees as to the best way to protect themselves under war circumstances. I am hoping this will prevent panic in the future. I have already addressed two public meetings on the subject of Air Raid Precautions, Conduct Under Fire, and Poison Gas. The use of the latter in this campaign has thoroughly frightened the people." [9]

Despite Howard's best efforts, the Japanese general in Zuoquan called him in to inform him that he would have to stop his mountain relief work. By September 10, 1939 Howard had been forced by the Japanese to relocate to Beijing. There he wrote to the Church of the Brethren Mission Board:

"Satisfactory explanations are hard to give to a military man. As a result of our conversation, I was gently but firmly told that our relief work in free China was not appreciated and would have to stop. On the other hand, I could sit around Liao reading books, magazines, papers (censored ones at that), entertain them, and maybe give relief to the good patriotic people who had come back to serve them. Either this or beware! Just look at what we have been doing to the British. And of course it would be best if you moved out. We know that you don't have the right attitude towards the New Order in Asia.

"It was quite a surprise to me to know that this spy system is so effective. They shadowed us in Ping Ting, and I just found out today that they have tracked me out here. Well, it's a new experience to be on the live black list. However, the embassy informs me that at present there is no personal danger because of the change in Japanese attitude towards Americans. Since the breaking out of the European war they are bending over backwards to please us. The Japanese know too well that we can stop their war by clamping the embargo down on them." [9]

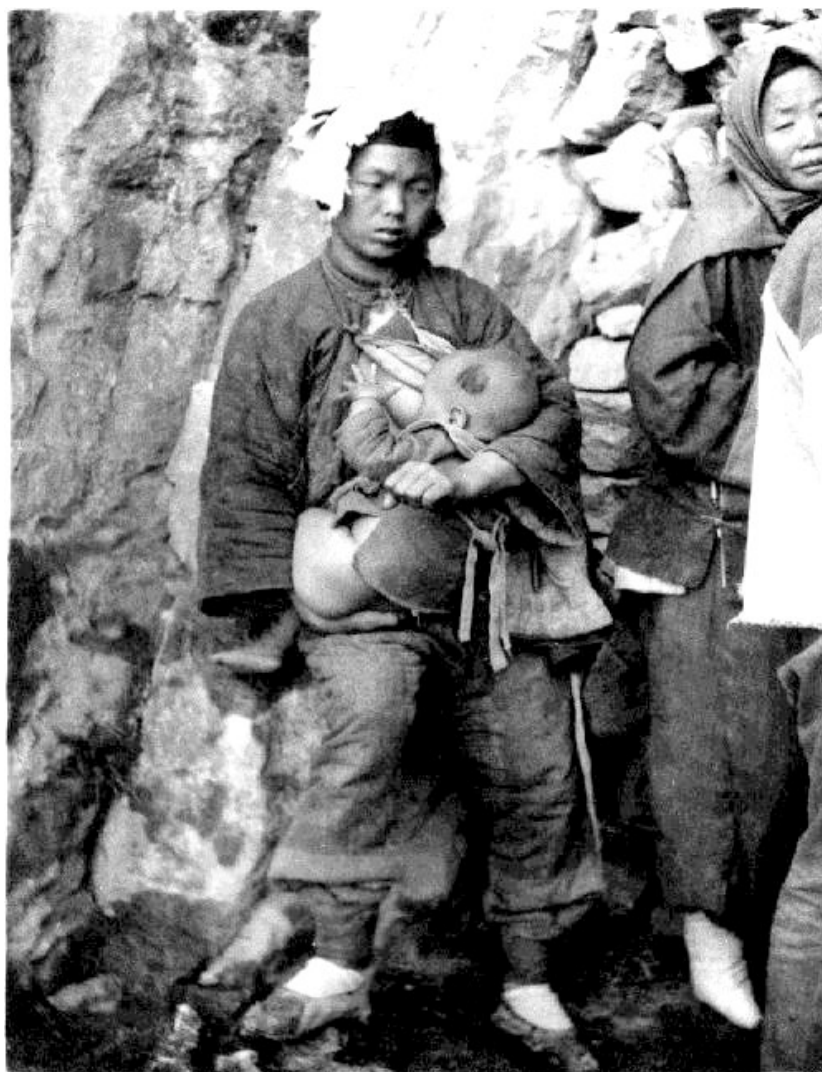


Traveling to Xian Howard and Louis crossed areas flooded by the Yellow River.
(Sollenberger family collection)

To avoid Japanese control of his activities, Howard recruited Louis Whitaker and arranged to transfer aid monies from Shanghai to Xian, which was behind Japanese lines and was well defended by the Chinese. From Xian Louis and Howard planned to re-enter Shanxi from below the Yellow River and travel behind the military lines into the Tai Hang Mountains near Zuoquan. In the early spring of 1940, both Louis and Howard nearly died of Typhoid fever while they were trying to cross into Shanxi province. They were rescued by Dr. Jean Chiang, of the Chinese Red Cross and nurse Katheen Hall,[12] who had worked with Dr. Bethune in the Wu Tai Shan mountains. After they recuperated in Xian, they again attempted the move into Shanxi. By late spring the Japanese were attacking the Chinese military¹ and civilian population centers that were north of the Yellow River.



Nurse Hall with Louis during a rest stop. Louis is sitting up beside the stretcher that was used to carry him. (Sollenberger family collection)



Refugee mothers near a walled cave. (Sollenberger family collection)

Louis and Howard met Nieh Chin Hau, a Church of the Brethren evangelist from Zuoquan who had previously worked with Howard in the Zuoquan relief group, but who had since moved south. From the middle of April to the middle of May, these three investigated and distributed relief in the mountains south of Nuan-chang-cun, which itself is south west of Yang Cheng. They were in an area of desperate need. The Japanese were pressing south and were attempting to cross the Yellow River. There was frequent bombing raids in the area, about 10 miles behind the front lines, where the relief workers were operating .

They had established their temporary center of operations in a small town Ma-Di-Cun that lay in a river valley. On May 2nd the town was bombed. Howard describes the attack:

“It’s been a hectic day. We were planning to distribute relief after breakfast. But while we were eating an airplane came over and circled once. Nieh got scared and left his breakfast. Louis and I finished eating in spite of the airplane return. But when the alarm sounded again we went to the south edge of the village and luckily too. The plane circled twice and then dove from the south releasing two bombs. I watched the bombs all the way down. At first it looked like they were headed directly for us, but they went over our heads and exploded in the village about 40 yards back of us. Again it went up, circled, dove, machine gunned, and released two more bombs. These hit the fields 50 yards in front. The little ditch we were in was right in line of the plane as it dove each time. After the second I decided to move towards the S.E. corner of the village to get out of the direct line. But alas, I went the wrong direction. Two more bombs, one fifty feet above and one fifty feet below, machine gunning too, just a few feet to the right. A piece of shrapnel went through the corner of my coat. And a fourth time the plane dove releasing two more bombs a bit to the west. They were all around us. Pretty lucky I guess. Got a bit excited, but not scared. Was too busy taking pictures. Got six or seven good ones I think. Twelve people were wounded and two killed. Several had terribly messy wounds. Found a little boy of twelve who had a double compound fracture in the leg. Carried him in to the military hospital and fixed him up as much as possible.[9]



Bombing raid at Madicun. Left: Children sheltering in a fresh bomb crater. Right: Soldiers relocating just after bomb explodes and aircraft circles for a new attack.

(Sollenberger family collection)



A result of the bombing raid. The boy, with a compound fractures leg is lying on the improvised stretcher used to carry him several miles to an aid station.
(Sollenberger family collection)



Dr. Paul Dohan, a Jewish refugee doctor from Austria via the Spanish civil war treating a wounded soldier. Howard reports that he was very good with his patients. (Sollenberger family collection)



Red Spear band. (Sollenberger family collection)

On May 14 Howard met Yin Guang-Yu, a medic from Zuoquan, who had been trained in the Hospital there. Howard was impatient to head north towards Zuoguan. He wrote:

“We were on our way north but the big Japanese push into southeastern Shanxi had already held us in Yang Cheng county for over a month. There was almost continual fighting along the whole front so it did not seem advisable to attempt sneaking through the lines. The Eighth Route territory toward which we were headed was completely surrounded by the Japanese. If we went now it meant going through the fighting lines. If we were to wait maybe the Japanese would be driven away from their present positions. But a week later the situation was the same as it had been for the last month.

“In talking the situation over one evening Louis suggested that one of us attempt to break through the lines and proceed north. The other would stay in Yang Cheng and Tsing Cheng to carry on the work that we had started there among the refugees. After a rational discussion it was decided that Yin and myself should make the trip. We were to take about twenty thousand dollars along to take care of what ever emergency situation we might run into. But our main task was to investigate the possibility of work in the Eighth Route Army territory. When I returned we were to go back to Sian to get more funds and then, if it seemed advisable, we would both proceed north again together.

“I reduced my baggage again so that it could be easily carried by one person. I had learned before that too much baggage might mean that you would

lose it all. Take what you think you will need, divide it by half and you will still have too much for such an adventure as we were headed to. [9]²

By the second week of June, Howard and Yin had reached the familiar mountains east of Zuoquan. Here they were able to compare the Nationalist reports of communist activities to the actual situation:

“I am surprised to see how well dressed the Eighth Route soldiers are this year. As far as uniforms go there is no distinction between them and government troops. The trouble is that they still have their old guns. We met several officers and a unit of soldiers marching south. They looked pretty snappy.

“Gossip and propaganda is playing havoc in the internal friction. In Yang Cheng we heard that the 8th Route Army had redivided the land in this region – 3 mu to an adult and 1 mu to a child. Nothing of the sort has happened. The situation is not so different from what it was before.”[9]

But on June 8 Howard also noted: “There is a purge of all Guo Ming Tang [*Nationalist*] party members past and present going on now. It doesn’t look very good for China’s future. Soldiers came into our room to search three times last night. It sounds like the stories that come out of Russia.

“Every one in Liao [*Zuoquan*] county who had more that 100 mu [*about 17 acres*] has been liquidated or is in custody. About 130 persons have lost their lives during the purge.”[9]

Now Howard needed to find a way to distribute his relief funds to the families of the most needy. For this, he sought out Li Di-hua, who had worked with him earlier. He described the conditions and the negotiations for distribution of relief funds. On June 11 Howard traveled east into Honan to the Third District Gov. Headquarters to discuss the distribution of mission funds:

“Li Yü She [*Brethren Qinxian evangelist*], Yang [*sic?*, *Yin?*] and I crossed the provincial boundary into Honan today. We went across in search of the Third District Gov. Headquarters and Mr. Li Di Hua. Found both in a little village close to She Hsien.

“Had a meeting with the government officials this P.M. Discussed the relief propagation. Everything but the National Currency problem was ironed out. They want to change the National currency into local currency. I can’t do that because it would mean that the peasants would only receive from 40% to 60% of the value of the relief funds that I brought. We’ll see about it tomorrow.”³

“They held a big reception meeting for me this evening. Their idea is for me to carry a good report of them and their work back behind the lines and

to America. The speech that the president of the anti-Japanese and National Reconstruction University gave started out by praising my enthusiasm and ability to undergo hardship. Then he presented six points that he hoped that I would carry back with me in hopes that I could serve China by bringing about a better understanding between the two parties now at odds. It was a very good speech and very much to the point. I only wish their actions would follow their words.

“After an early breakfast of gaoliang [*kafir corn*] noodles and scrambled eggs, we again went into conference over the problems of relief distribution. It was decided to form a committee to handle the funds. We will both have committee reps. The funds will be used principally in the Eastern parts of Ping Ting, Si Yang, He Shun and Liao Hsien counties.

“Again we got stuck on the National currency question. Both sides refused to give in. After about an hour’s debate (a bit heated at times) we came to terms. We would distribute neither National currency nor local currency, but would distribute grain. The amount of grain to be determined by the purchasing value of National currency.



An ancient temple on the road between Ma Tien and Zuoquan. This temple is dedicated to Lord Guan, a “Three Kingdoms” hero who became the god of war. [1]

“After the meeting Li, Yang, [*Yin?*] and I started back toward Ma Tien. It is only 25 li, but it took us five hours. The weather these few days is terribly hot and dry. We would stop under about every tree and cool off.”[9]



A recent photo of the flood plain in the Tai Hang mountains where Ma Tien lies surrounded by natural mountain beauty. (Wampler family collection)

The political directors also gave Howard a letter of appreciation for his work:

“The Japanese have ignored all human rights and violated the peace by forcefully invading and devastating many parts of our country. The burden of military occupation on our people has been extremely heavy and the suffering severe. Spring flood and summer drought have conspired with war to bring to this region the most intense suffering that it has ever experienced.

“We hesitate to describe the situation in which we find ourselves for we know that there is suffering in your country and even among the suppressed people of Japan. But you can not know what is happening here if we remain silent. In many parts of eastern Shanxi and western Hopei the people are collecting leaves, bark and grass for food. Even the chaff of millet and wheat is a luxury which few can afford. It is pitiful to see the people as ashen grey skeletons and the children with protruding abdomens. Every day numbers are dying from privation, exposure and disease.

“We are anxiously calling both day and night for those who will relieve our distress. And we are led to believe through the expression you have already made that your organizations have an interest in uplifting humanity. The coming of your representatives have given us new faith in the friendship we have always felt toward you and your country.

“In representing the people of this region we wish to express our highest respect and most profound gratitude for the deep sympathy and generous help which you have given us. It will remain a source of encouragement and stimulation to us through the dark days ahead. And we fervently hope that you will find it possible to continue your work in raising funds and in sending administrators to relieve our suffering and to free our people from their misery.

Most respectfully yours,
Signed; The Political Directors,
Bureau of the Guerrilla Base Regions”[13]

In Ma Tien the District Government had set up a high school. Howard was very interested in education in general, but in particular he was interested in how China was coping with loss of its educational facilities in occupied territory. On June 19 Howard was again in Ma Tien and took pictures of the school there:

“Returned to Ma Tien by noon. Took most of the afternoon taking pictures of the Tai Hang [*named after the mountains*] High School. If this series turns out well, it should make an interesting story. About 400 students, 1/8 girls. Study hygiene, drawing, music, world and Chinese history, geography, math, Chinese and the Principles and Practice of Communism. Four full time teachers. Older students help younger students. Students and faculty are given food, two changes of clothes per year, plus spending money. Principal and business manager \$5 per month, teachers \$8, and students \$1.”[9]



Students from three different provinces arriving at Ma Tien school. (Sollenberger family collection)



The daily routine at the Tai Hang School at Ma Tien was announced by a bugler. The old bell was an air raid alarm as the school was completely surrounded by Japanese. (Sollenberger family collection)



Idols were removed from the temples, the walls whitewashed and the buildings were converted to schools. These students in Ma Tien are having study hour. (Sollenberger family collection)



Students having lunch. (Sollenberger family collection)

Teaming up with Li Di-hua, Howard traveled West to the 8th Route Army headquarters to ask Zhu De for safe passage through guerrilla held territory. Zhu De was absent, but during Howard's visit he became friendly with Peng Dehuai, who not only gave him a military pass but also a captured Japanese horse to carry his baggage. On his first attempt to return to Xian, Howard and Yin were nearly trapped by a Japanese circling movement that had also endangered a group of students from the coastal universities who were being escorted towards the Communist headquarters at Yen-an, Shaanxi Province. The students and their guides were unfamiliar with the territory but Howard, who had hunted in the region, was able to avoid the Japanese and lead the students and their guides safely to the guerrilla camp.

While at the army headquarters, Howard was able to visit their military academy and talk with the staff and other visitors who were in residence. These included Gong Peng and Lee Kun-po.



Students, led by Howard, escaping a Japanese trap, These student were from Eastern China and were heading toward the Communist headquarters in Yanan. Howard received a commendation for the rescue. (Sollenberger family collection)

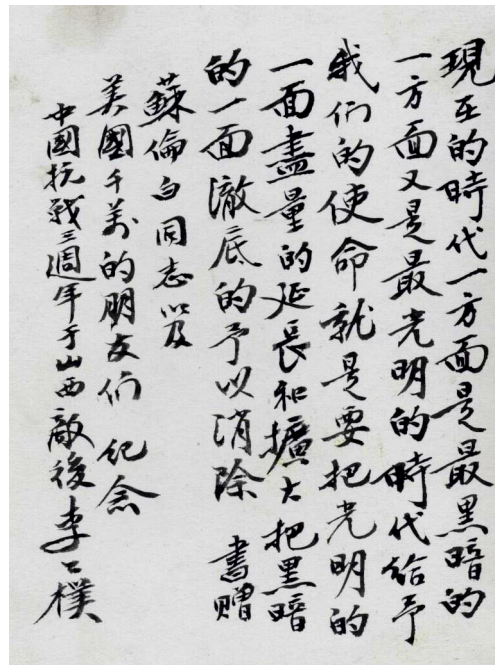
Howard was particularly impressed by the ways the Chinese armies explained their aims to the peasant population:

“The Chinese have always been very fond of drama, so this method of propaganda is particularly effective. There are several well-trained play troops that spend all of their time traveling up and down the country explaining China’s plight by the use of drama. Most of the actors and actresses have been trained at the Yanan School of Dramatic Art. Here the students are directed by one of Shanghai’s former cinema actress. She is turning out some excellent players.

“One would naturally expect that all of this propaganda would be directed against the Japanese. It is a surprise to hear that Fascist Imperialism, not the Japanese people, is the enemy of China. It is more than idle words; it is practiced. There are very few captured guerrillas that ever live to tell the story. But every well-behaved Japanese that falls into the hands of the Guerrillas is treated as a friend and guest of China. When traveling he is furnished with a mount. His food is much better than what his captors eat, and he is given the opportunity of attending a special school where he can learn the Chinese language, culture and habits. I have attended a reception that a city put on for a group of captives. The friendliness of these people, who have suffered so much at the hands of these men, is remarkable.”[9]



Military academy students studying under a walnut tree. From such students came the new Communist leadership. (Sollenberger family collection)



Tribute to Howard from Lee Kun-po. (Sollenberger family collection)



Gong Peng, at 8th RA headquarters in June 1940. At this time she was secretary to Marshal Zhu De and was in charge of Japanese prisoners of war. She later worked for Zhou Enlai. In 1949 she joined the Foreign Ministry, becoming the first woman department head. She is drinking hot chocolate supplied by Howard Sollenberger. (Sollenberger family collection)



Japanese prisoners of war studying Chinese history. (Photo courtesy ZuoQuan Government 8th Route Army collection)

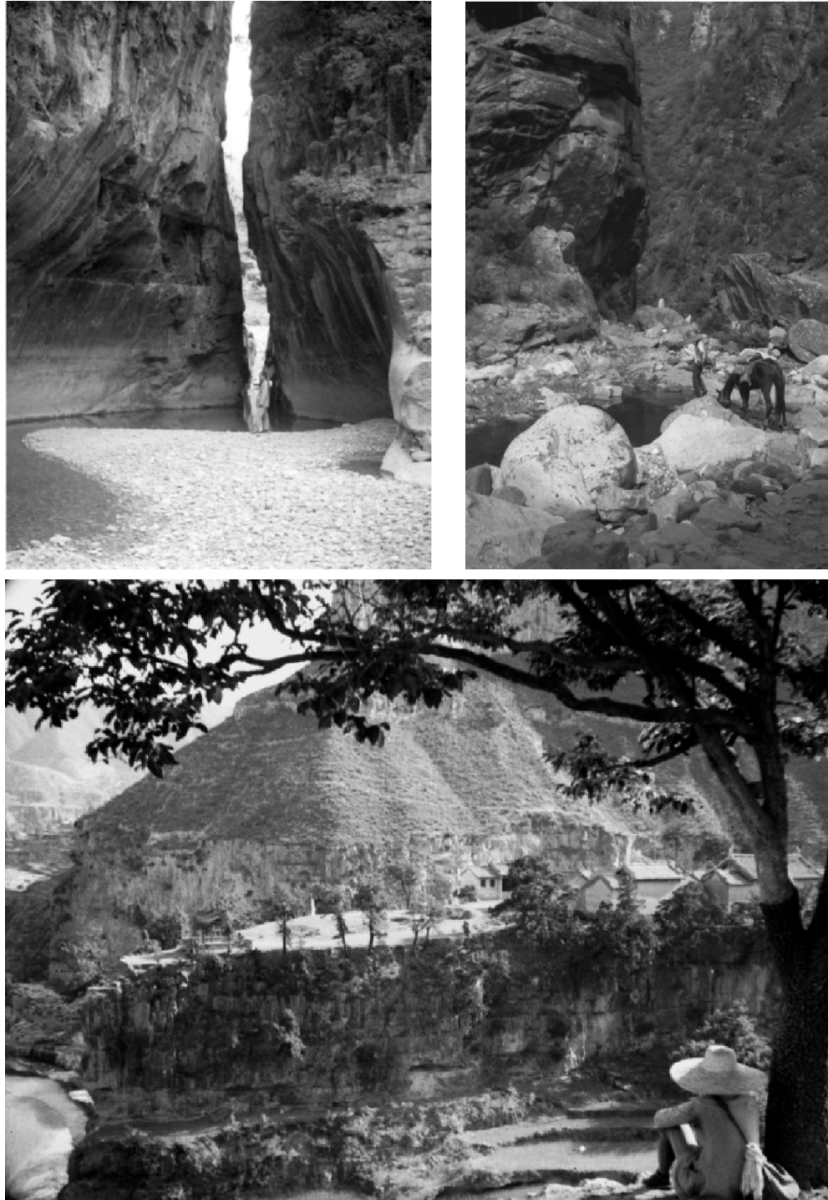


End of June, 1940. Peng Dehuai addresses the headquarters 385 battalion of the Eighth route army. Nearly all these men were veterans of the long march.
(Sollenberger family collection)

After the safe arrival of the Chinese east coast students at the 8th Route Army headquarters Peng Dehuai introduced Howard to his troops in the following way:

“The motivation bringing him to us [is] the Christian principle of Under Heaven one Family. We have no quarrel with this kind of Christianity for it is the assistance of one brother who is in distress by another who is more fortunate. He comes to us with a spirit of the family relationship of Humanity. ... Our struggle is not against the Japanese who are also members of this world family, but with the Imperialism with which they are trying to burden us. The Japanese are not the sole proprietors of Imperialism. Even the country of this friend who is with us today exercises a degree of Imperialism. Our struggle is with Imperialism wherever it is found. Nor are the elements of this struggle only with foreign powers, but also within China. Here, too, we resist it as an enemy.”[9]

Howard and Yin now returned to the south of Shanxi province, reunited with Louis and crossed the Yellow river. First they went to Loyang where they met Dr. Jean Cheng, her husband Dr. Paul Dohan and Ms. Kathleen Hall. As Kathleen Hall was anxious to go to Wu Tai Shan with medical supplies for Dr. Bethune, Yin decided to accompany her north. He later joined the 8th Route Army as a medic and worked near Zuoquan.[9]



In compensation for the dangerous journeys and strenuous hiking, the scenery was often breathtaking. Here are a few examples with Yin. The picture at upper left is at “brushing shoulders pass” near Zuoquan. At upper right Yen is leading the horse “Guerrilla”, a gift from General P’ung De-huai and the 8th Route Army. (Sollenberger family collection)

Howard and Louis set out for Kunming in hopes of taking an airplane to Hong Kong and then a ship to America. However Louis, weakened by his hard life and earlier Typhus bout, became sick and died of Typhoid fever in Chengdu. He is buried there.

The human cost of the Mission relief operation was heavy. In August of 1940 the 8th Route Army launched its "100 brigade campaign" and attack Japanese forces throughout their region of control. The Japanese casualties were massive. Because of these battles, the tension between Japanese forces and the missionaries rose still further. In Zuoquan the Japanese arrested and later executed 13 Chinese mission workers. Counting the three missionaries lost in Shouyang, Ms. Pollock and Louis Whitaker, of about 20 foreign relief workers, five were lost. Of about 40-50 Chinese relief workers, 13 were lost. This does not count the mission carpenter who was beaten to death for going too near Japanese fortifications, nor the gateman who was killed for not bowing low enough. Thus the overall mortality rate for this operation was about 25% – for both the foreigners and the Chinese. A true test of the doctrine of non-violence.

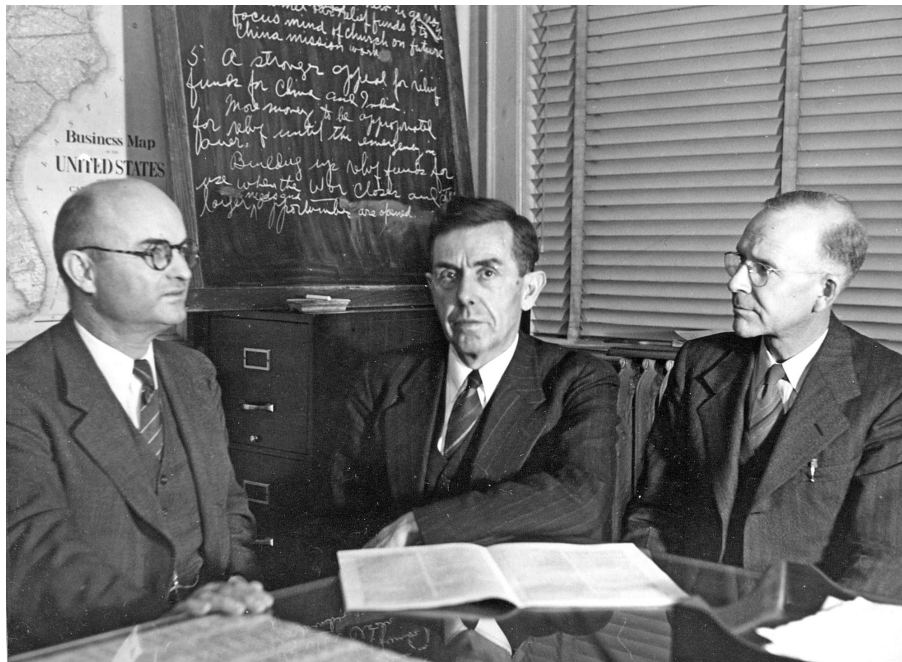
Howard's final report for the 1938-1940 Church of the Brethren Mission relief project:

- During the initial invasion the mission stations were havens of refuge for fear-stricken refugees. Thousands of women and children who huddled together within the confines of the mission compound walls found protection because resolute missionaries dared to stand between them and an unscrupulous army of occupation.
- But in the devastated mountain regions, no organized aid to the victims of the scorched earth existed. And here the need was greatest. So in these mountain areas Brethren Service was organized to aid the victims of this military madness. Emergency relief units were sent to aid those who were scattered in small out-of-the-way mountain villages, in caves, and even in protected gullies.
- Food was distributed where existing supplies had been destroyed. Peasant and refugee women were organized in a cooperative cloth weaving project to provide much needed clothing and bedding. In a few months they produced by hand over 120,000 feet of cloth for themselves and for relief purposes.
- After one year in our mission territory new work was organized along and behind the Yellow River front. Here relief was carried to over two hundred communities. It was almost impossible to secure food. And even when food was secured, coal mines had to be reopened so that they might have fuel to

cook the food. In some areas the destruction was so complete that it was necessary to organize home industry to make pots and bowls for preparing the food which we provided for them.

- Hundreds of wounded who were left in the fields to die were also cared for by organized groups of peasants under the direction of our personnel. And thousands of refugees were aided in their migration from the war area to the free territory in the west.[11]

4 The 1942-43 Henan relief effort



Left to Right: China missionaries Minor Myres, Wampler and Sollenberger discuss war plans for China relief in Elgin, IL. [1]

At the end of 1940 Howard Sollenberger and his father returned to America. They were followed by the Wampers in early 1941. After returning to America with his family, Wampler felt that the mission should have service representatives in free China. OC Sollenberger agreed to accompany him and a plan was approved by the Brethren Service Committee to send a team to free China to undertake relief work behind Japanese lines:

“The Service Committee started the training of a group of young Civilian Public Service men at Lagro [CPS Camp No. 6 in Indiana] for service in

China. Howard Sollenberger was to head this group, and Doctors Parker and Coffman were to head the medical part of the unit. By the last of July the situation looked very favorable for several of us older missionaries to return. The plan was that, shortly after our sailing, a group of ten or more health and relief workers was to be sent. In this group were to be two doctors, two mechanics, two young men who had lived in China and had the language, and four others for relief and health work.

“OC and I were to go on ahead of these young men to prepare the way, and look into possibilities as to where they could best work.”[14]

After leaving California at the end of September, 1941, Sollenberger and Wampler began a four month trek through Australia, Burma and over the Burma road, arriving in Chongqing on January 17, 1942. The two missionaries loaded their luggage into Friends’ Ambulance Service trucks for the trip into China. Companions on the Burma Road included Dr. Robert B. McClure, a medical Missionary from Henan and Dr. and Mrs. Dye. Dr. Dye was the Dean of the Science Department of the West China Union University in Chengdu. Conditions along the road were often primitive. In Hai Fan, which was noted for malignant malaria, unusual sleeping arrangements were encountered: “Since Doctor McClure, OC and I could not find any good place to stay we got shelter under a roof which housed some pigs. We made the pigs sleep outside and we put our cots up in their dry pen.”[15]

In Chongqing they contacted several high officials seeking help in obtaining passes for travel in war areas. Chief among these was General Chen Shang, who had worked for Governor Yan Xishan and in 1942 was close to Generalissimo Chang Kaisheck and Dr. H.H. Kung, [*Kung Xianxi*] whom they had known since the days of the 1922 famine relief road project between Zuoquan and Yang Chuan. These connections produced travel passes signed by the Generalissimo for traveling in the Henan war zones. But the fighting in Shanxi province between Chinese and Japanese forces and the breakdown of the United Front between the Nationalist and Communist forces increased the danger of traveling to the Chinese controlled areas in the mountains near the Church of the Brethren mission stations. In addition, since the Japanese had driven the missionaries out of Zuoquan by executing 13 Chinese mission staff, it was judged that relief work so near the hostile Japanese forces would pose an unacceptable risk for the Chinese in occupied areas. [17]

Sollenberger and Wampler traveled to Loyang in Henan province and then to Pucheng, in Shaanxi province to investigate the possibility of using their relief funds in free China near war areas. While in Pucheng, Wampler was contacted by Mr. Arnold B. Vaught, Chairman of the American Advisory Committee in Chongqing and was asked to act as a field supervisor for distributing American aid in China.[16] In 1942 there was a severe famine in

Henan province exacerbated by corruption – both by the Chinese Government and, at least in one instance, by missionaries[18] as well as by the war. It was decided that Wampler, assisted by Sollenberger would work in the Henan famine area. In describing this famine Erleen Christensen noted:

“In 1944 White published *Thunder Out of China*, The book remains one of the few accounts of the famine that is fairly well known and widely available, but it is not the most detailed and specific description of the famine. That honour goes to Ernest Wampler, whose *China Suffers*, chronicled his term as Honan relief chairman (May 1942 - August 1943). Wampler was in the province practically the whole time he served as chairman. He tramped, bicycled, and rode from city to city, meeting with the relief committees, staying in the mission stations, outstations, and homes of Chinese workers. His book thoroughly covered the scope of the work in all the districts. At the end, he thanked the missionaries who helped in the relief effort, listing them in alphabetical order, as individuals and denominations, in an effort to be both comprehensive and fair.”[19]



When the Yellow River dikes were breached in June, 1938 entire villages were swept away. In some villages peasants constructed temporary shelters using sorghum stalks. (Wampler family collection)



Famine refugees on a train in Luoyang station waiting to travel west. (Wampler family collection)

The Church plan to send young volunteers to China was disrupted by a new wartime law passed by the US Congress that prohibited draft age men from serving on foreign soil. In Howard Sollenberger's case, he was attempting to return to China by traveling through South Africa, then through India into China. He had reached Durham, South Africa before being forced to return to America. With the Brethren Service Committee's attempt to field the multi-skilled relief team in free China forbidden by Congress, it was decided that Wampler and Sollenberger should return to America. They worried that without the other skilled team members they could not justify their "keep" in China. The American Friends Service Committee put it in stark terms:

"Could you justify your "keep" in China? Here is the most serious question which each man must face before volunteering for service in China. Let us explore the implications. It is only when we examine China's problem that we see the crux of the question. China does not have enough food to feed all its own people. CPS men will be unable to take food in with them so they will add to the food shortage by going in. Looking at it realistically you will be responsible directly or indirectly for the starvation of several other persons in China. This is a sobering thought if there ever was one. Can you ever repay these lives you have taken by either increasing China's food or drug supply or by sharing your knowledge in such a way that you may help others to live?" [10]

On July 23, 1943, Wampler and Sollenberger started home, first flying to India over the Himalayan "Hump" and thence by boat across the Pacific to Los Angeles. During their relief work they had seen and were impressed by the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives and schools that Rewi Alley and George Hogg

had established in free China. Wampler felt that after the war these would be important models for helping the vast majority of the Chinese population who were small producers to regain their livelihood. He recommended that:

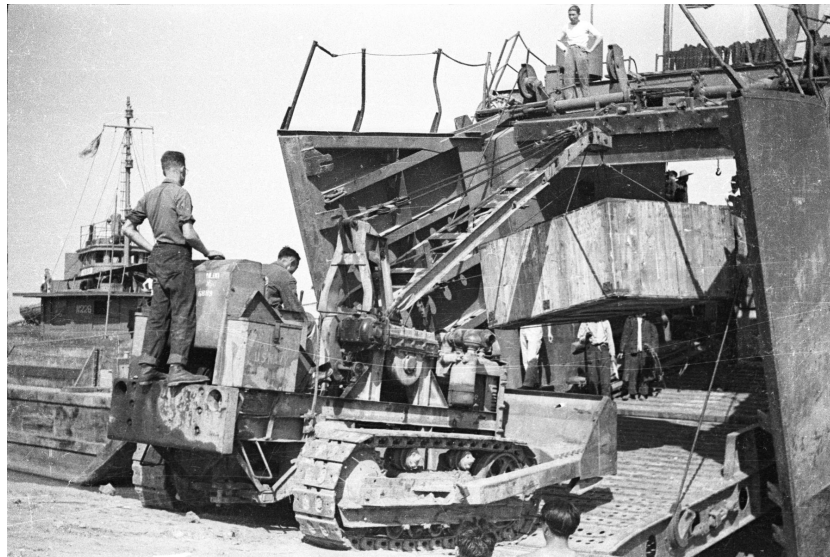
“There should be funds forthcoming to loan to the Chinese after this war is over, to help them get back on their feet again. Likely there will be plenty of funds for large enterprises, but the small village farmer will be overlooked in these larger demands. The task, then, of the church is to have a method whereby these people can borrow, with little or no interest, money to buy farm tools, draft animals, and building materials for homes, and whereby small, businessmen can secure small loans to be paid back in quarterly or yearly installments. I do not think there are many in China expecting or wanting a handout, but all would welcome a system which would help them get on their feet financially a little faster.” [17]

5 The postwar Plowboy and Heifer Programs

In May of 1946 M.R. Zigler, the executive secretary of the Brethren Service Committee, received a telegram from the Chinese office of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) requesting 50 young men who understood the maintenance and use of tractors and other farm machinery to instruct the Chinese in their use and maintenance. Donated tractors and equipment were to be used to reclaim flooded and war despoiled lands and bring them back into productive agricultural use. Howard Sollenberger, who was to administer the project for the Church, arrived in Shanghai in August 1946. The 50 tractor specialists were nicknamed “Plowboys.” UNRRA work in China was coordinated with the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA), its Chinese counterpart.

The Heifer Project, a relief program started by Dan West with the aim of restocking European farm livestock that had been depleted by war, was also expanded to China under the UNRRA/CNRRA umbrella.

5.1 The Plowboy Program



US Navy sailors unloading a crate containing a war surplus tractor from a LST ship in Shanghai. This picture is probably at Point Island, Shanghai. (UNRRA photograph.)



The Church of the Brethren insisted that aid be given to all in need, regardless of political affiliation. Here 133 tractors intended for use in 9 Communist areas are lined up on Point Island waiting shipment. (UNRRA photograph.)



Examining a prospective reclamation area that had been flooded by the breaching of the Yellow River dikes. (UNRRA photograph.)



Chinese tractor trainees driving their war surplus tractors to the fields near Kaifeng. (UNRRA photograph.)



A 4-share plow being pulled by a sturdy little war surplus tractor. (UNRRA photograph.)



Chinese trainees using Massey Harris tractors to cultivate fields on the flood plains near Kaifeng. (UNRRA photograph.)

In assessing the results of the tractor project in flooded areas Howard concluded that “The use of tractors is definitely an important factor in food production in the flooded areas. The practicality and feasibility of their use has been adequately demonstrated.” But there were also problems:

- Part encumbrance of operation by conflicting administration (now corrected).
- Location of project in no-mans land between Central Government and Communist troops promises potential involvement in the civil war. To date, however, there has been a minimum of interference.
- Land clearance. The problem of stumping is partially being met by the use of bulldozers. Farmers in village groups are able to keep ahead of the eighteen plows but the clearing is not always uniform or in areas of economical size for plowing. This problem will increase as additional tractor units are located in this area. Village organization and publicity work along with some flour distribution in payment for work done, will be a partial answer to this problem.
- Shortage of fuel and lubrication has seriously handicapped the Fan Chia operation. Many days of operation have been lost on this account. The problem of F.O.L. can be remedied by keeping supplies for food production separate and having them unloaded directly from transport to a tractor service compound instead of through the general CNRRA warehouse.
- Lack of sufficient spare parts and repair equipment.
- Training problems are the same as in Fan Cheng. Equipment is definitely suffering from inadequate servicing and general carelessness on the part of the operators.
- Supervisory personnel. Foreign supervision is in the hands of three young Mennonites. They also face the problem of discipline which could better be handled by an older UNRRA person who could hold them rigidly to the care and proper servicing of the equipment. One of the older BSU personnel may assist here temporarily. [20]

On the second of November 1946 Howard left Kaifeng with Harry Sherwood, Hu (CNRRA Tractor Trainee) and Li (Communist Tractor Trainee) to investigate the feasibility of tractor operations in Communist held areas. He concluded that despite the need and desire of the Communists, it would be difficult to operate safely in Communist areas.

The team met with Communist officials, who severely criticized the UNRRA/CNRRRA operations:

“The evening was spent in conversation with a liaison officer and a political relations officer. They were very vocal on the civil war and the US/UNRRA/CNRRRA aid to the Nationalist forces. They pointed out the seeming contradiction of our seeking to aid victims of the war on one hand and providing aid and assistance to the Nationalists who were creating destruction. They used as an illustration the bombing of a village one li from where we were staying. The bombing had happened that same morning. Over 100 peasants had been killed while attending a fair. They pointed out that the planes and bombs were American. The point they were illustrating was that with one hand we were assisting the destruction of China life and property and with the other we professed to be interested in rehabilitation of the same people.” [20]

Howard concluded:

- “It is impractical and impossible to undertake an operation such as tractor plowing in or near an area of military activity.
- “The problem of transportation would be difficult. There would be the constant danger of air attack. No concentration of personnel would be safe.
- “The fact that we would be suspected and under constant protective custody would make operations difficult.
- “Any operation undertaken should be sufficiently behind active lines to insure some stability.
- “The communist areas are anxious to have tractors and would probably make very good use of them. Certainly the type of country we covered in south west Shantung is suitable for tractor operations should the political and military situation permit.” [20]

5.2 The Heifer Project

While working to feed hungry babies and orphaned children during the Spanish Civil War in 1938, Dan West conceived the idea of sending live cows rather than powdered milk. Returning home to Indiana his idea developed among local dairy farmers and by 1942 the Brethren Service Committee approved Heifer Project as part of its relief program. Because conditions prevented shipments to Europe, the first three cows (named Faith, Hope and Charity) were sent to Puerto Rico. When the war in Europe ended a shipment of twenty-six

cows left New Orleans for Greece on June 24, 1945.

A unique aspect of the Heifer Project was a promise by the receiving family to give the first female calf to another needy family and thus perpetuate the gift. This policy had the additional benefit of giving the grateful family a tangible way to express their gratitude.

UNRRA contracted with the Brethren Service Unit to supply attendants for the livestock. In return, UNRRA agreed to ship free of charge heifers that were collected by its "Heifer Project." The Church of the Brethren advertised widely for "seagoing cowboys." The add read:

"Two thousand men wanted to serve as livestock attendants on board UNRRA ships carrying livestock to Europe to replace killed-off animals. Applicants must be able to work with animals, willing to do manual labor, and of good moral character. Men especially desired who will conduct themselves without reproach in foreign ports. Age 16-60. Trip takes 4 to 6 weeks. Pay \$150.00 per trip. Apply Brethren Service Committee, New Windsor, Maryland." [21]

Heifer Project was not without its critics. Because cattle were sent to needy areas regardless of political affiliation participants were occasionally harassed for helping communists. When board members expressed concern over shipments to "enemy" countries Dan West replied: "A cow cannot distinguish between the hungry cries of a capitalist baby and a communist baby."

In the fall of 1946, after successfully shipping farm livestock to Europe at the end of hostilities there, the Church of the Brethren Heifer Project turned its attention to China. The animals were intended to improve China's cattle breeds and furnish milk and meat for welfare institutions and hospitals. The following is a letter of thanks from UNRRA:

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION
ADMINISTRATION
1344 CONNECTICUT AVENUE
WASHINGTON 25. D. C.

Heifer Project Committee
New Windsor, Md.
Dear Mr. Bushong:

November 26, 1946

I am informed that your organization, the Heifer Project Committee of the Brethren Service Committee, has assembled a boatload of heifers which you will contribute to UNRRA for shipment from New Orleans to China in December. This will be the first boat of cattle to go to China, and is one of the

most important gifts that UNRRA has received. Thousands of the cattle you have donated are now in Czechoslovakia, Greece, Italy and Poland helping the farmers there to restore their war-torn lands and feed the populations – rural and urban – of these countries which lost 50% of their livestock in the war. The artificial insemination program in Greece, set up by UNRRA with your assistance, has materially helped to improve the depleted breeding stock of that suffering country.

The fine spirit of practical Christianity and the faith that your group has shown are examples to us all in these days when, without faith, we cannot progress. Your movement, beginning modestly as it did, has spread its spirit and its work. Transcending barriers of nationality and religious conviction, it has drawn to itself members of many denominations, and illustrated what can be accomplished when conviction and efficient enterprise and fine Christian generosity are combined.

I understand that your organization has decided to continue its work for two years after UNRRA ceases. This is further exemplification of its validity. May I congratulate and thank you in the name of those we have all been trying to help and wish you every success in the future.

Sincerely yours,
F. H. La Guardia
Director General[22]

In 1946, the first shipment of 550 high quality dairy cows were sent to China and some of the “cowboys” were assigned to help distribute and instruct in their care.

Among the notable Church of the Brethren volunteers who worked with Heifer Program in China were Cyrus Kiracofe and Rev. John Eller. Eller had graduated from two Church institutions: Bridgewater College in Virginia and from Bethany Theological Seminary in Chicago, Illinois. He was chief of UNRRA’s livestock section in China. Kiracofe was 63, a retired cattleman from Eaton, Ohio, USA., and the oldest of the Brethren volunteers. In China he escorted the UNRRA-imported cattle to the interior regions. Thus, in addition to being the oldest of the volunteers, he was also the most widely traveled member of the Church of the Brethren serving with UNRRA.

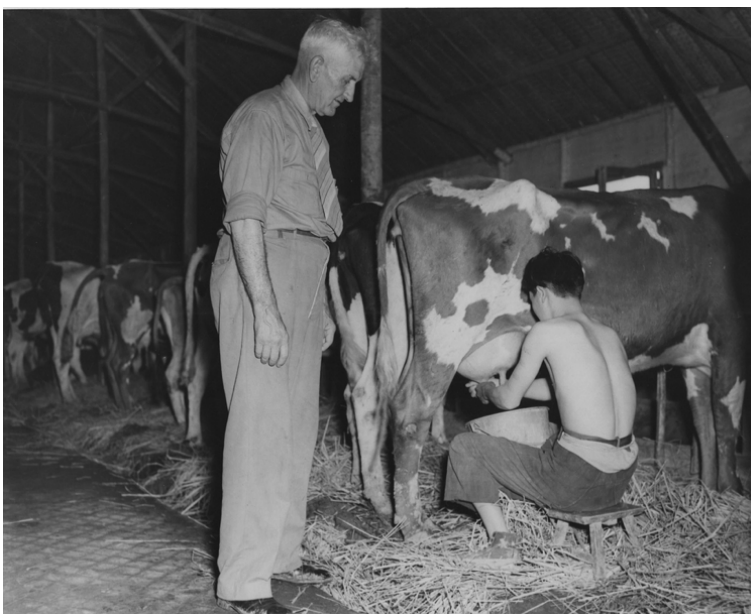
Kiracofe described his trip to China in an article on Brethren Service in the Church newsletter:

“We experienced an excellent ocean voyage from New Orleans, La., to Shanghai, China, via San Pedro, Calif. The loss of livestock was kept at a minimum by the excellent care which they received from the thirty-two cowboys.

“We left our load of 700 heifers in China and then set sail for Christchurch and Auckland, New Zealand. We brought 406 head of cattle and 1,050 head of sheep from those two ports to Shanghai, China. While in New Zealand we were cordially invited to church services both at Auckland and Christchurch. After the services we enjoyed an afternoon of fellowship with the members. It is inspiring to be a part of such a great program as this.” [23]



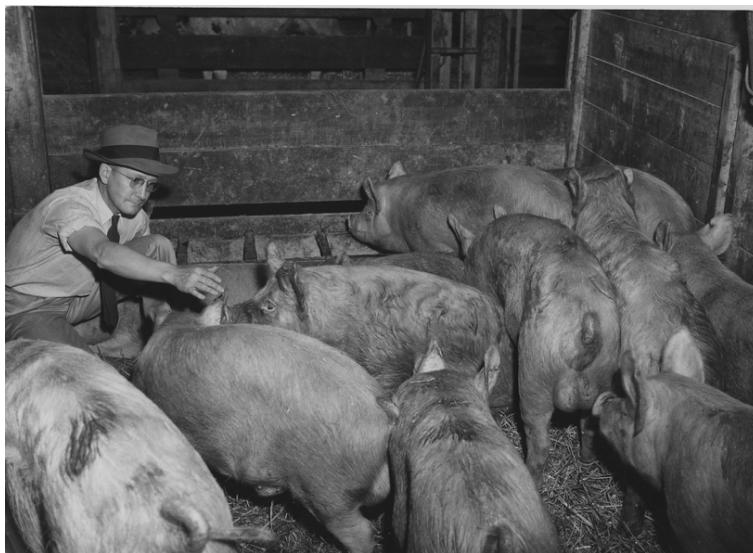
Cattle donated by the Church of the Brethren, recently arrived in Shanghai, July 1947. Note the CNRRA label on the feed box. (UN Archive.)



Cyrus Kiracofe, instructing a young Chinese in the proper way to milk a cow. (Photo by Wipperman, UN Archive.)



Powerful Holstein bull part of the SS Lindenwood Victory's cargo of 800 Canadian dairy cattle and 90 Yorkshire hogs is examined by HS MacKenzie (left) of UNRRA's investigation department and Rev. John Eller. With this shipment 2,596 cattle had been imported by UNRRA. (Photo by Wipperman, UN Archive.)



Fat Yorkshire hogs imported on the cattle ship Lindenwood Victory are examined on arrival by John Eller. (Photo by Wipperman, UN Archive.)



Dr CSM Hopkirk, right, of Upper Hutt, New Zealand, director of UNRRA's veterinary activities throughout the world, examines and treats a cow in China for boils. Watching him is Cyrus Kiracofe. (Photo by Wipperman, UN Archive.)



UNRRA immunized more than 200,000 Chinese cattle against rinderpest using vaccine imported from the United States and Canada, and is worked with the Chinese to establish vaccine-producing laboratories in China. (UN Archive.)



Unloading Corriedale sheep, donated to the Bailie School for Industrial Cooperatives at Shan-tan, Kansu, from a CAT plane. These sheep were the first airborne sheep in China. Photo taken by pilot Robert Rousselot. (UN Archive.)



Howard Sollenberger meets with M.R. Zigler during Zigler's 1947 visit to the Church of the Brethren sponsored relief projects in China. (UNRRA photograph.)

6 Conclusions

- In February 1951 the last Brethren missionaries left Shanghai China for America. What was the impact of their more than forty years of mission activity?
- The work of the mission has been largely forgotten by the Chinese government, but for individual Chinese there is still a connection: One mission-trained doctor became head of Chinas lung disease medical division. A Chinese Brethren minister became the head paster of an influential church in Beijing. The wool factory in Qinxian has been revived and produces woolen goods. Because Mission trained students were literate, many obtained good positions in the new Chinese government. Chinese, sponsored by Church connected individuals have studied in America. And Missionary children have returned to China, to teach, and to assist in the development of China
- Internationally, the UNRRA funded Tractor and the Heifer Projects – young people working under an international umbrella – was a direct forerunner of the Peace Corps. Howard Sollenberger briefed President Kennedy on the lessons learned in the Brethren relief programs as Kennedy was establishing the Peace Corps.[24] The Heifer Project – which was started as an effort to re-populate Europe and Asia with farm animals, turned out to be such a good idea that by 1953 it had outgrown its humble Brethren roots and became Heifer International, a global nonprofit organization. Since 1944 “Heifer” has helped more than 18 million families in more than 125 countries.
- In 1997 Howard Sollenberger visited the terra cotta army in Xian. On striking up a conversation with a woman and her daughter, he discovered that her grandfather had been helped by the tractor project. The little girl, who was in 3rd grade, then did a very Chinese thing. She took off her neckless with a jade locket and gave it to Howard. When he protested, she insisted, saying: “I’m giving you this because of what you did to help my grandfather.” [24]
- The concept of nonviolence seems to have taken hold in Europe. At least the nations of the European community no longer settle their differences by war – as they too frequently did up to 70 years ago. Perhaps as international society evolves further, a time will come when people will look back and wonder at our belief that violence would result in anything except more violence.

THOSE WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES SUPPORTING
CHURCH OF THE BROTHERS RELIEF OPERATIONS
1937 -1940

CHINESE WOMEN

CHANG SHU-MEI
CHAO SI-TI
CHAO YU
LIU CHIN-LAN
TIEN MEI-HSIU

AMERICAN WOMEN

MARY HYKES HARSH
MINNEVA J. NEHER
MYRTLE POLLOCK

CHINESE MEN

CHAO CHUNG-JEN
LI CHENG-CHANG
LIU CHUN-JUNG
LU FU-JUNG
WANG KUEI-JUNG
WANG KUEI-LIN
WANG PAO-LO
WANG YU-KANG

AMERICAN MEN

ALVA C. HARSH
LOUIS WHITAKER

Notes

¹These were mostly Nationalist and Shanxi Provincial troops, although under the “United Front” agreement there were a few communist observers. The main Communist forces were then mostly north of Changzhi.

²In addition to personal requirements and the money, Howard was carrying an extensive medical kit. This kit was to be much needed on his trip.

³According to Evans Carlson (in *Twin Stars of China*), the Communists were short of China’s Central Bank funds (*National currency*) that would be needed to purchase supplies that were only available from outside the regions that they controlled. This may have been the reason that the directors were trying to obtain control of Howard’s relief monies at the best possible terms they could achieve.

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