

Forbidden Orphanage Outside the Forbidden City

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Endnotes

Introduction

Forbidden Orphanage Outside the Forbidden City is an account of the life of Laura Richards based on letters, memoirs, journal entries, interviews, news accounts, historical and sociological research, as well as educated guesswork. It is biography: the events related here actually happened. But it is creative, using the strategies of novel writing. In order to make the story line flow, I reconstructed scenes and conversations imaginatively—always trying to base this reconstruction on what seemed likely or plausible given the research data and the personalities of the people involved. All answers to prayer in this account are documented in eyewitness reports, either written or spoken. Many answers to prayer had to be left out in order to keep the narrative from bogging down or getting sidetracked.

Collections of primary documents

Most of the primary source documents reporting the history of Laura Richards and the Canaan Home orphanage come from the memoirs of former Canaan Home orphans Rachel and Zechariah and the document collections of four people:

- My aunt, Jean Cerling Allen. This collection includes extensive notes from two long interviews with Laura; Laura's childhood memories; the only known copy of Miss Logan's 1941 history of Canaan Home, *Now It May Be Told*; an extensive account about Canaan Home from *The Sidney Daily News*, Laura's hometown newspaper; many photographs of the orphans; and correspondence with people who knew Laura.
- Fern Nelson, secretary of Go-Ye Fellowship. Miss Nelson offered to type Laura's collection of Canaan Home newsletters originally written in China from 1930 to 1950. Then she encouraged Laura to keep jotting down memories for several years after Laura ended the book project with Jean. Miss Nelson kindly typed these memoirs for Laura, too, placing all this material in Laura's mission file for Go-Ye Fellowship. She also let me copy other pertinent information from the file, such as Laura's medical history and a three-page document, "My Testimony," which Laura composed when she applied to the mission.
- Laura's close friend, Florence Logan. Miss Logan no longer possessed copies of the history pamphlet and the letters she had written for Laura in China. These were in Jean's and Miss Nelson's collections. Instead Miss Logan provided a rich source of primary documents by reading through her old letters and journals, then culling out, typing, and sending me every sentence that referred to Laura or Canaan Home. She also sent me copies of two of her letters published in the Presbyterian Board of Missions publication, *War Letters*. In addition, she answered my questions in many interviews—by phone, in person, and through numerous letters—explaining local customs, describing political, social and historical conditions, and giving extensive

background information about the Presbyterian Mission and the Presbyterian Church in China. Miss Logan gave me the only two close-up photographs I have of Mr. Nieh and she was generous in giving me other photographs as well. She also marked maps with locations pertinent to the story.

- Laura's brother Harold passed along to my mother a scant collection consisting of three fragile letter fragments, one with a dated note in Laura's handwriting. All contained vital firsthand accounts of the early days of Canaan Home.

Laura was a reserved woman, who did not keep a personal journal or share her feelings intimately with many people. So I tried to probe her mind by reading her letters, which she peppered with quotations that were meaningful to her, and also by studying a book she once gave me, *Something More*, by Catherine Marshall. I gathered that Marshall's book expressed many of her own conclusions. I also drew on memories of my personal correspondence with Laura and the three-page personal testimony that she wrote as part of her Go-Ye Fellowship application. Most important, I checked my educated guesses with Miss Logan, to make sure I was portraying Laura's thinking and spiritual life accurately.

Chinese First Names and Surnames

I changed the names of all Chinese people mentioned in the story to protect them and/or their family members still living in the People's Republic of China. There were, however, a few exceptions, such as readily identifiable individuals like Nieh Shou Guang and Wang Ming Dao. My source for choosing Chinese first names and surnames was James Leynse's *Beauty for Ashes*.

Place Names

The modern names for Chinese cities mentioned in the text are as follows: Paotingfu is modern day Baoding, Peking is Beijing, Tientsin is Tianjin, and Shuntefu is Xingtai. I chose to use the place names as Laura used them rather than modern names, with one exception. From 1928 to 1949, Peking was called Peiping. I use the name Peking throughout to avoid confusion.

Bible Translation

Laura and her generation read the King James Version of the Bible and prayed in King James English. Since that language is confusing or even unintelligible to the current generation, I quote the New King James Version of the Bible instead. I also "translated" Laura's prayers into modern day English, while still trying to preserve the reserved formality of her characteristic speech pattern.

Background: Historical, Cultural, Religious, and Sociological

Throughout the narrative I used the following sources for general historical background and chronology: Lucien Bianco's *Origins of the Chinese Revolution 1915-1949*; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 15th edition; Paul Johnson's *Modern Times*; Donald G. Gillan's *Warlord*; Bernard Grun's *The Timetables of History*; R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton's *A History of the Modern World*; Gilbert Rozman's *The Modernization of China*; and Jonathan D. Spence's *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*.

For cultural, religious and sociological background throughout: Dennis Bloodworth's *The Chinese Looking Glass*; Chow Ching-li's *Journey in Tears*; Francis L. K. Hsu's *Under*

the Ancestors' Shadow; Maxine Hong Kingston's *China Men* and *The Woman Warrior*; and Bette Bao Lord's *Spring Moon*.

Descriptive Background

Beauty for Ashes, a memoir by Laura's close friend James Leynse, provided my richest source for detailed descriptions of people, idiomatic expressions, customs, and scenes indoors and outdoors in Peking, Chao Yang An, and the Western Hills country. Also helpful for providing general descriptive background were Harry A. Franck's *Wandering in Northern China*; Bette Bao Lord's *Spring Moon*; and National Geographic's *Journey into China*.

Chapter 1: The Beggar Women of Paotingfu

Miss Logan was the source of most descriptions of scenes in and around the Paotingfu Presbyterian Mission compound in this chapter. During an interview 6/3/1987, Miss Logan helped me sketch maps of the Mission grounds and its location in relationship to the railroad station and the walled city of Paotingfu. She showed me and discussed photographs of the Mission buildings, the ornate Mission gate, Dr. Mackey's goats, and Laura in her off-duty, Western dress around 1925. Also on this visit, she described the soup kitchen set up near the Temple of the Fire God and Laura's working relationship with Dr. Mackey. Other descriptions came from her letters—more descriptions of the Paotingfu setting, 7/14/1990; more on beggars, 7/4/1984; more on Laura's relationship to Dr. Mackey, 1/12/1985; a description of Chinese waiting for and then boarding a train during the Warlord era, 6/24/1984; and descriptions of Chinese dress, 1/28/1985. "We went to China totally unaware of the crimes against China perpetrated by Western powers," Miss Logan wrote, "so it was a great shock to be classed as an enemy by those we quickly came to love."

In an interview 7/15/1988, Mrs. Henke explained that cultural taboos required the strict segregation of the sexes in the Mission hospitals. Laura's brother Harold described his family's disagreement with Laura's choice to go to China in a phone interview 1/26/1985 and letter 1/17/1985. Further details on the massacre of missionaries in Paotingfu during the Boxer Rebellion can be found in J. Walter Lowrie's pamphlet, "The Tragedy at Paotingfu."

Laura briefly recounted her conversations with Paotingfu beggar women in a letter 6/8/1931. In discussing that account, Miss Logan told me in a letter 7/4/1984, that her only memories of Paotingfu beggars were during famines. So, I chose to portray Laura's encounters in the two most likely situations where she would have met beggar women during a famine—on the streets near the mission and in the course of her work at the women's hospital. Autumn Leaf's story shows the plight of a poor woman giving birth to a baby girl and also shows the need for a children's home to take in abandoned babies. I based the birth scene partly on missionary midwife Linsey Ponzio's descriptions. During three July 2000 interviews, she described her experiences helping poor, malnourished oriental women give birth in simple surroundings. For Autumn Leaf's personal history, I drew on material from James Leynse's *Beauty for Ashes* and on accounts in the historical sources listed below. In a letter 7/4/1984, Miss Logan verified that coercing peasants to fight in rival warlords' battles was common practice in the Paotingfu area. The street scene is based on anecdotes from *Beauty for Ashes*; Laura's 6/8/1931 letter; and Miss Logan's descriptions listed earlier.

References to events in Laura's personal history came from Aunt Jean's interviews.

Laura's memories come from her memoirs. Miss Logan supplied information about her friend's insights regarding her decision to follow Jesus in poverty during phone interviews in June of 1984 and on 1/12/1985 and also in letters dated 12/10/1984, 9/19/1985 and 10/22/1987. Miss Logan described her journalism background to me in letters dated 7/4/1984 and 1/12/1985 and also during our interview in her home 6/3/1987. On the same dates, she mentioned Laura's lack of Chinese language proficiency. In an interview 6/27/1984, Pearl Wei also described Laura's Chinese as being so thickly accented that it was difficult for some people to understand her.

Background information relating to the Warlord period of Chinese history came primarily from the following sources: Gilbert F. Chan and Thomas H. Etzold's *China in the 1920s*; Ch'i Hsi-Sheng's *Warlord Politics in China 1916-1928*; and Lucian W. Pye's *Warlord Politics*.

Chapter 2: Leaving Paotingfu

In her 6/3/1987 interview, Miss Logan said that she was living with Dr. Mackey on the Paotingfu Presbyterian Mission compound in 1928. She described Laura's working relationship with Dr. Mackey, her relationship with students, and her reputation as an especially skillful babies' nurse in an interview in June of 1984 and a letter written 1/12/1985. Dr. Rolfe Lewis described the graduate nursing students' admiration and love for Laura in a letter 3/6/1985.

Laura mentioned the political reason for her extended furlough in "My Own Testimony" and Aunt Jean's interview. Historical background about 1926-1928 comes from Paul Johnson's *Modern Times* and from the sources listed at the end of Endnotes, Chapter 2.

Laura explained that she would have been "intruding" to return to her work in the hospital at Paotingfu in an interview with Aunt Jean, and she discussed her reasoning in more detail in "My Own Testimony." She also discussed her 1928 trip into the countryside with Dr. Sun in that same interview and testimony. Descriptions of the countryside came from James Leynse's *Beauty for Ashes* and Miss Logan's explanations of photographs 6/3/1987. The description of symptoms of malnutrition in children came from an interview with Dr. Frank Cormia, 6/21/1988.

Miss Logan discussed the Presbyterian Mission Board's policy forbidding the starting of an orphanage in a letter to me dated 1/12/1985. "So a clear choice had to be made between mission and orphans," she concluded. Reverend Harold D. Flood also mentioned this reason for Laura leaving the Presbyterian Mission in his 1976 memoir.

Laura's reflections on her childhood came from her memoirs. She described in detail her experiences in prayer while coming to her decision to start Canaan Home in "My Own Testimony." She gave further information about her decision in a letter 6/8/1931 and in a handwritten note to her brother Harold Richards, dated 2/23/1929, which was appended to a letter fragment probably dated Fall 1930. Mrs. Henke, wife of Dr. Henke, described Laura's withdrawal from the Paotingfu missionary community during this prayer retreat in an interview 7/15/1988. Background on Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission came from J. C. Pollock's *Hudson Taylor and Maria* and Dr. and Mrs. Howard's *Hudson Taylor's Spiritual Secret*. Information about George Mueller came from Basil Miller's *George Müller*.

Miss Logan supplied information about her attempts to discourage Laura from starting Canaan Home during phone interviews in June 1984 and on 1/12/1985 and also in letters dated 12/10/1984, 9/19/1985 and 10/22/1987. "The overriding problem," she said in a phone interview 1/12/1985, "was... the same problem Hudson Taylor faced. Could God supply a foreigner in a foreign land with no resources? Hudson Taylor proved that God could, and Laura also proved it." Regarding Laura's departure to Peking, Miss Logan

wrote, "I was out on country trips, which may be the reason I don't recall details of her leaving Paotingfu."

Chapter 3: Starting Out

In a letter written 12/6/1931, Laura indicated that at the beginning of the founding of Canaan Home, she sensed that "it would be necessary many times to walk along a very rugged pathway that His all-merciful, all-protecting love might be clearly shown." She said she responded by praying that God would lead her on the path that most glorified Him. Laura gave no description of the way God spoke to her at this time. So I showed the interaction in a dream based on the following incident that Laura described in that same letter: "Just a short time ago a sad thing happened not far from us. A Chinese woman with bound feet came through the rain to ask if I would take a four-day-old baby. I told her that I would if it were a poor family. She went back to get the little one and found that the grandmother had smothered it under a quilt. The mother had died on the third day." The dream sequence was also probably influenced by Laura's metaphors of following God on a rugged pathway and being led through "many deep waters" (6/8/1931 letter).

Laura's decision was "a shock to the mission," Miss Logan said in a phone interview 1/12/1985, and she described most of the Presbyterian missionaries in Peking as "dubious about the project" in an interview 6/3/1987. Mrs. Henke also described Presbyterian missionaries' reaction to Laura's resignation to start an orphanage in an interview 7/15/1988. Laura described her loss of financial support after her resignation in a letter fragment written Fall 1930. In a letter 1/12/1985, Miss Logan mentioned that some missionaries thought that Laura should reimburse the mission. I deduced that this issue was resolved after the specialist at the Peking Union Medical College recommended Laura be sent home for specialized medical treatment.

Laura's medical condition at this time is a mystery. In a letter fragment written Fall 1930, Laura stated, "When I left Paotingfu and arrived in Peking I became very ill. I had had some like attacks before but none as severe as this one. The missionary doctor and others advised me to go to the Peking Union Medical College for examination and there a very well-known specialist advised my return to America. He did not want to treat me here because he felt that my recovery was very uncertain. But I believed that my Heavenly Father was calling me to this work and so I prayed more earnestly that He would give me the strength to proceed. And because I had prayed and believed...I had the courage to take the first little one. As the babies came my strength increased. And before many weeks I knew that my God had healed me."

The only two serious previous medical conditions that Laura mentioned elsewhere were a herniorrhaphy performed when she was 19 years old (medical record in Go-Ye Fellowship file) and her grave illness with diphtheria at age 18 or 19, in which "I was slightly paralyzed for a while and had to learn to walk again" (1976 memoir). According to Dr. Craig Cameron, one of the complications of diphtheria is myocarditis (inflammation of the heart muscle) which leads to irregular heart beat, among other symptoms. Since Laura used the term "attacks" to describe her mystery medical condition, I deduced that her medical condition probably involved damage done to her heart when she contracted diphtheria.

In a handwritten note dated 2/23/1929, Laura stated that she made her final decision to resign from the Presbyterian Mission on February 2. She left for Chao Yang An to begin Canaan Home in June of 1929, so she must have spent the intervening months preparing and convalescing. In 1976, Laura told Aunt Jean that Miss McCoy and the Leynses helped her begin the work, and Miss Logan reiterated that in a letter excerpt dated 6/7/1929. Miss

Logan described Miss McCoy in a letter 6/24/1984. She described Orpha Gould in a letter 12/10/1984.

In a letter 12/6/1931, Laura said that James Leynse asked her to tell him about the work she was starting two weeks before she left Peking for Chao Yang An. I set this conversation at the most likely place for it to occur—in the Leynse home over dinner. James' wife Mieps would have been just as interested as he in the orphanage work, and Mr. Leynse indicated in *Beauty for Ashes* that his family had dinner guests most nights of the week. Also, a dinner invitation with the family would have been the most natural occasion for a married male missionary to hold an extended conversation of this kind with a single female missionary in 1929. The description of the Leynse home came from *Beauty for Ashes*, as did the detailed descriptions of Chao Yang An, the surrounding countryside, and the village market day.

The political update during dinner conversation came from sources listed at the end of Endnotes, Chapter 1. In *Now It May Be Told* and letter excerpt 9/9/1929, Miss Logan described the three Chinese helpers who moved with Laura to Chao Yang An, and Laura mentioned them to Aunt Jean in an interview. The story of Laura's financial situation upon leaving Peking and her encouragement from the Dutch peasant girls' last minute contribution came from Laura's letters Fall 1930 and 12/6/1931.

In her 6/3/1987 interview, Miss Logan showed me photographs of water carriers and described how private residences obtained their water supply in China in 1929. *The Sidney Daily News* in Sidney, Ohio published the water shortage story in 1952. Laura described the coming of Joshua in a letter fragment Fall 1930 and a letter 11/12/1930. By this time, Laura's three Chinese helpers had moved on, because Laura states that when Joshua came, "I was without help of any kind."

Chapter 4: The First Babies

"The soil (in Peking and Chao Yang An) was yellow," Tsai family members said in an interview 7/12/1988. "In the early spring there were dust storms every day. You must have a scarf over your face, otherwise you cannot open your eyes, it is so dusty."

Laura described her visit from Paotingfu medical staff in a letter 11/12/1930. She described how the first babies came in the same letter and also in a letter fragment Fall 1930. Laura's stories of answered prayer were detailed in letters dated 11/12/1930 and 12/6/1931. Descriptions of Laura's workload came from Miss Logan's *Now It May Be Told* and the 1952 article in *The Sidney Daily News*. *Now It May Be Told* also described the fainting incident.

The story of the desperate mother bringing her sick child to Laura was drawn from three sources: Laura's memoirs, a letter fragment from Fall 1930, and an 11/12/1930 letter. Laura described the summer missionary volunteer's appearance in letters Fall/1930 and 11/12/1930. This last letter also describes the welcome help from Laura's former graduate nurse and the coming of Baby Susanna. Laura related her grief over the death of her first babies in letters written Fall 1930, 11/12/1930, and 6/8/1931. She described the help she received from impoverished Chinese Christians in all of these letters, and Miss Logan also described this in *Now It May Be Told*. In a letter written to me 8/4/1988, Miss Logan described Laura's paper windows.

Chapter 5: Old Billy

Sometime in the early 1970s, my mother sent me a letter describing her recent visit with Laura. A visiting nurse friend asked Laura how she had supplied her orphan babies with

milk. Laura started laughing and telling funny stories about Old Billy. Since Laura was still laughing about Old Billy 40 years after she took him in, I thought I'd better tell the story with a little humor, too. Laura related her goat adventures in detail in a letter 1/18/1934, and Miss Logan also told the tale briefly in *Now It May Be Told*. Charlie Wasson gave me additional background information on raising goats in an interview 6/8/1988. Laura gave a generalized description of her problems with Apple Blossom in her 6/18/1934 letter, and I used my imagination along with material from *Beauty for Ashes* to help flesh out the picture. The 6/18/1934 letter and *Now It May Be Told* explained why Laura needed to move the orphanage the Spring of 1932. Miss Logan reported that Laura's youngest baby was eight months old and that Laura had two teenage girls helping her in a letter excerpt dated 5/11/1932, and Laura mentioned her helper Mr. Han in the 6/18/1934 letter. Miss Logan described Laura's courtyard at Chao Yang An in her letter excerpt 9/9/1929, and she described and sketched the paper-and-glass-combination window in a letter 8/4/1988. My description of the street-cleaning boy comes from Miss Logan's 6/3/1987 discussion of an old photograph of street cleaners. In *Fanshen*, William Hinton described the value of dung and how carefully it was collected for composting and fertilizing. Apparently the baby Susanna died because Laura does not mention her again in any of her letters.

Chapter 6: Runaway Blossom

Laura discussed Apple Blossom's rebellion against discipline, chores, and regular meals in a letter 1/18/1934 and a 1976 interview with Aunt Jean. She told Aunt Jean that the Chinese advised her to give up on Apple Blossom because it was impossible to tame any beggar child. (Laura said she did not believe this, and by the time she left China in 1951 she had successfully raised a number of former beggar children.) The description of the holy pilgrim comes from James Leynse's *Beauty for Ashes*, and Rachel described Laura's disciplinary approach in her memoir. Chow Ching-li's *Journey in Tears* discusses the problem of procurers preying on poor country girls. In a letter 1/18/1934, Laura described her trip to inspect the Russian Retreat Place and her decision to move there. She described country people joking about her peasant's gown in a letter fragment 6/12/1929. Descriptions of the Russian Retreat Place came from several sources: Laura's 1/18/1934 letter; her 1976 interview with Aunt Jean, Rachel's memoir, the Tsai family interview 7/12/1988, and Miss Logan's letter excerpt 8/31/1932. Laura's stories of answered prayer come from her letters 12/6/1931 and 1/18/1934. Further information on her decision to move and the move itself comes from *Now It May Be Told* and Laura's letter written 1/18/1934.

Chapter 7: Tests and Trials

In her memoirs Laura described "pressing" her blue Chinese gowns by sleeping on them. The stories of answered prayer and Laura's conflict with her two helpers came from her letter 1/18/1934. Miss Logan described her visit to the Russian Retreat Place in a letter excerpt 8/31/1932. Information about Orpha Gould's background and Laura's stories about rats, snakes, and scorpions came from her 1976 interviews with Aunt Jean. Miss Logan verified the reference to the coming and going of helpers in a letter 1/28/1985. Laura told the story about Apple Blossom running away in her interviews with Aunt Jean and in a letter, 1/18/1934. The scene with Mrs. Kao is an imaginative reconstruction. Laura herself said only, "On the morning that she left she had been disobedient and I had punished her." I brought Mrs. Kao into the picture partly to introduce her as an important volunteer who worked faithfully for the orphans in the background. Her assistance with the family's sewing needs was a huge help. (Laura mentioned her in her memoirs and also

appended a note about her to her letter of 12/17/1936.) Miss Logan described Chinese clothing and the need for annual sewing in a letter 1/28/1985. It would have been important for girls to learn to sew, so it is likely that Laura would have tried to provide instruction and practice for Apple Blossom with the annual sewing. It is also the kind of situation that could plausibly have sparked Apple Blossom's resistance since she rebelled at being required to do things.

Chapter 8: The Lord's Fast

Laura told the long story of the Lord's Fast in her letter 1/18/1934. She described the birth of triplet kids in her memoirs and a 1976 interview with Aunt Jean. Sources for the political wrap up chapter came from the historical references listed at the ends of the Introduction and Endnotes, Chapter 1. News of revivals came from Laura's letter 1/18/1934.

Chapter 9: The Crippled Beggar

Descriptions of the children came from Laura's letter 12/17/1936, Rachel's memoir and Rachel's letter of 7/23/2006. Rachel also mentioned the swings, the chickens, and the wooden boat. Laura told Aunt Jean the story of Lydia and the "great long worm" and described it in a letter 12/17/1936. In a 12/17/1936 letter she said that Samuel was three years old at that time and had joined the family when he was a year and a half old, which would mean he came around the summer of 1935. She told the beggar's story in her memoirs and the 7/15/1936 letter. Laura appended a note about Mrs. Kao when Fern Nelson re-typed the 12/17/1936 letter, saying that she sent this woman the donated adult clothing, and Mrs. Kao turned them into comforters for the children. She also said that up until 1949, whenever the orphanage moved, this woman also moved so that she could live near them to help with the sewing.

Laura told the story about Lois Lenski's box of baby supplies, followed by the stream of babies, in her memoirs and the 12/17/1936 letter. She wrote, "During the time that he (the beggar) was here, four tiny babies arrived and for awhile I had the work practically alone. During this time I sent up earnest prayer that we might be kept from any situation which might not bring glory to the Lord, and He sent help." She did not specify what help came, but in her memoirs she mentioned the name of the cook who was helping her when the beggar died. I deduced that the cook must have been the help that came in answer to this prayer. Mrs. Henke discussed Elizabeth's slant-board in her 7/15/1988 interview.

In a letter written 12/10/1984, Miss Logan explained how she changed her mind about Laura starting Canaan Home, saying "the Lord hadn't called me to that kind of work and hadn't given me that kind of faith. After her decision was made I supported her wholeheartedly. But as she settled in the Western Hills, that was too far for me to help." In a letter 1/12/1985, she mentioned her desire to get Laura's story out. Details about Orpha Gould's background come from Laura's interviews with Aunt Jean, and Rachel also described "Nurse Gu" from the children's perspective in her memoir. The story of the measles epidemic came from a letter Laura wrote 8/20/1937 and from *Now It May Be Told*. In Laura's 12/17/1936 letter, she wrote about an earlier measles epidemic in which she was left alone with the children. The first measles epidemic must have been German measles.

Chapter 10: Recovery

Miss Logan gave a detailed account of Laura's coal gas poisoning accident in *Now It May Be Told*. In her memoirs and her interviews with Aunt Jean, Laura described it and the help she received from Presbyterian medical staff. Rachel's memoir includes a vague recollection about a time when someone, not her mother, took care of the children because her mother had burned her legs. She would have been only six years old at the time. At the 3/18/2006 orphan reunion in Beijing and in a 7/23/2006 letter, Rachel told the story of the timely arrival of Pervading Peace the morning of Laura's accident. How the goat herder contacted Laura's friends at Douw Hospital is a minor mystery. The notes from Jean's interview with Laura say that Lydia conveyed a message to the goat man that he must telephone Dr. Henke, and *Now It Must Be Told* says "a telephone message brought a missionary doctor." However, the orphans and the Tsais are adamant that there were no telephone lines in 1937 in the rural area where the orphanage was located. Laura's Short Stories memoir says that the goat herder "called for a doctor at the Presbyterian Mission." Perhaps the goat man made a trip to the Presbyterian Mission in Peking, and someone there phoned Douw Hospital. Laura described her grief over the babies' deaths in a letter 8/20/1937 and said that during her recovery and mourning, she went through a time of reflection leading to thanksgiving. That seemed an appropriate place in the narrative to flashback to Laura's memories of her childhood and young adulthood. Sources for these reflections are Laura's own memoirs, my mother's recollections (which I heard all my childhood) about the Russell relatives' opinions of Laura's stepmother, and letters to me from Laura's brother, Harold Richards, 1/17/1984, 6/27/1984, and 7/13/1984, along with his written comments on an early draft chapter on Laura's childhood.

Chapter 11: Assault on Peking

In addition to the historical references listed at the end of the Introduction to the Endnotes, sources for the historical background of this chapter were: Lincoln Li's *The Japanese Army in North China 1937-1941* and H. J. Timperley's *Japanese Terror in China*.

Laura's firsthand account of the battle in her neighborhood came from her memoirs, her 8/20/1937 letter, and from Miss Logan's *Now It May Be Told*. The description of the family's routine and diet came from Rachel's memoir. Laura also described the family's diet in her interviews with Aunt Jean, and the Tsai family described it 7/12/1988. Details for the story of the Men in Black were drawn from *Now It May Be Told*; Laura's interview with Aunt Jean; and Laura's newsletters 8/10/1937 and "The Men In Black."

Chapter 12: The Men in Black

Details for this portion of the story of the men in black were drawn from three sources: *Now It May Be Told*, "The Men In Black" letter, and Aunt Jean's interviews with Laura. Rachel told the story of the swing in her memoir. The Tsai family discussed the location and name of the Tomb of the Princess 7/12/1988. Miss Logan discussed village smells in a letter 1/12/1985. The information about Mr. Nieh comes from his photographs, Rachel's memoir, an interview with Mrs. Henke 7/15/1988, interviews at the reunion of ten former orphans in Beijing 3/18/2006, and an interview with Ruth Tsai 7/14/1988. The description of the new home in Peking came from Rachel's memoir; Laura's 1/24/1938 newsletter; and *Now It May Be Told*. Aunt Jean's 1976 interview notes indicate that the new landlord was a Kuomintang army officer.

Chapter 13: Mr. Nieh

Details for this portion of the story of the men in black were drawn from three sources: *Now It May Be Told*, “The Men In Black,” and Laura’s interviews with Aunt Jean. Rachel described the children’s chant, “Mama come back very soon” in her memoir. Laura described Charity’s fall down the steps of the Russian Retreat Place in “The Men In Black.” She described it again during a 1976 interview with Aunt Jean, saying “Even after all these years, my heart aches when I think of it.” The description of Mr. Nieh and his role in the rescue came from *Now It May Be Told*. Dr. Chang Yu-Ming said in a Fall 1987 interview that the bandits were superstitious and thought Laura’s presence protected them. The story about what happened to the Men in Black after Laura left came from Laura’s interviews with Aunt Jean and a note that she appended to “The Men In Black.”

Laura described the family’s move to Peking in “The Men in Black” letter and another newsletter 1/24/1938. Rachel described her memory of the move in her memoir, and Miss Logan reported it in a letter excerpt 10/5/1937. Rachel described her resemblance to Laura in her memoir, and Ruth Tsai also described it 7/2/1990. The city wall mentioned in this story no longer remains, but Miss Logan showed me a picture of it as it was in Laura’s time. Laura described the epidemics of whooping cough and chicken pox in a letter 1/24/1938 and Miss Logan reported it in *Now It May Be Told*. Miss Logan described how and why she began writing letters for Laura in her 6/3/1987 interview and in letters to me on 1/12/1985 and 8/9/1985. In a phone interview 6/27/1984, Pearl Wei described immediate shortages of cloth and other materials brought on by the Japanese conquest of Peking. The description of political and economic conditions was drawn from historical references listed at the beginning of Endnotes, Chapter 11. A number of sources described Laura taking in severely handicapped children: Rachel’s and Zechariah’s memoirs; the Tsai family interview 7/12/1988; Mrs. Henke’s letter 10/22/1984 and her interview 7/15/1988. Tabitha in particular made a big impression on people. Zechariah and Rachel both told stories about her in their memoirs. Pearl Wei described her in a phone interview 6/28/1986, and the Tsai family described her in an interview 7/12/1988.

The rapid increase in children coming into the home and the incident about baby selling were described in Laura’s unsent letter 1/24/1938. The quotation from Esther came from the same letter and was also quoted in Laura’s memoirs and *Now It May Be Told*. In an undated note to Aunt Jean, probably in 1977, Laura identified “The Men in Black” and the 8/20/1937 letter as being two of “two or three” letters that she had been unable to mail from China due to the war. It is likely that the January 1938 letter was also unsent. The information about Laura’s lack of language skills came from interviews at a reunion of ten former orphans in Beijing 3/18/2006. Information about Mr. Nieh’s background, education, and his volunteer work for Canaan Home came from the same Beijing 3/18/2006 reunion; as well as *Now It May Be Told*; my interview with Pearl Wei on 6/28/1986; and Rachel’s memoir and her letter 1/7/2007. Three sources refer to the general increase in volunteer help for Canaan Home at this time: Rachel’s memoir, the 1/24/1938 letter, and *Now It May Be Told*.

Chapter 14: Persistent Pearl

Pearl Wei told me the story of her teenage fascination with the orphans, her volunteer work, and her successful trip to Tientsin to obtain winter over-garments for the children in interviews 6/27/1984, 2/10/1985, and 6/28/1986. During these interviews, she also described her family history and discussed wartime shortages and travel conditions under the Japanese occupation. Mercy, one of the former orphans, described her memory of

these Sunday School expeditions during the 3/18/2006 reunion of orphans in Beijing. Miss Logan described a *ta ao* in a letter 8/15/1992. The description of Tabitha comes from several sources: Rachel's and Zechariah's memoirs, Mrs. Wei's interviews, and an interview with the Tsai family 7/12/1988.

Chapter 15: The Marriage Proposal

During their 3/18/2006 reunion in Beijing, ten former orphans discussed Laura's reasons for marrying Mr. Nieh. They said Mr. Nieh provided desperately needed security for Canaan Home because his brother-in-law was mayor of the city during the occupation and Mr. Nieh also had many other relatives in high places. They said Laura and Mr. Nieh often stayed up until midnight working on orphanage accounts, which was (probably unknown to Laura) considered improper behavior between an unmarried man and woman in China in the 1930s. They also said that Laura's friend Orpha approved the match and may have served as a go-between. They believed that under Japanese rule, marrying Mr. Nieh was the only way Laura had of retaining control of the orphanage. Ninety-six-year-old Rebecca Tsai described the meeting with Laura at the home of Mrs. Wu in interviews 7/12 and 7/14/1988. "She was so concerned for fear she would marry out of God's will," Mrs. Tsai stated. During the same interviews, Ruth Tsai described the hardships her parents experienced because of their interracial marriage, and she explained Mr. Nieh's political and cultural reasons for believing he could substantially help Canaan Home by marrying Laura. Miss Logan also explained the practical reasons for the marriage in *Now It May Be Told*. This pamphlet and Laura's "Old Temple Building" memoir described the family's need for new quarters and the Presbyterian offer of the Old Temple Building. Information about Mr. Nieh's age came from Mrs. Henke in a letter 10/22/1984. Information on political conditions came from the historical references listed at the end of the Introduction and at the beginning of Endnotes, Chapter 11. Two of Miss Logan's letters reprinted from *War Letters* supplied information on how the political situation affected Miss Logan's work in the Paotingfu countryside. Information about the 1924 law that caused an American citizen who married a Chinese to lose his/her citizenship came from Maxine Hong Kingston's *China Men*; Varian Fry's *War in China: America's Role in the Far East*; and Roberto Rodriguez and Patricia Gonzales' article in the *El Paso Times*. Mrs. Henke described the unrest in the countryside in 1939 in an interview 7/15/1988.

Chapter 16: Living in the Old Temple Building

Sources for the historical background of this chapter were James Leynse's *Beauty for Ashes* and references listed in the historical section of the Endnotes Introduction.

In her 1941 pamphlet *Now It May Be Told*, Miss Logan reported that the Presbyterian Mission provided a room for the Niehs to stay when one or both had to come into Peking on business. Laura also mentioned this kindness from the mission in her memoirs. Mrs. Henke said that Laura's room had no kitchen, so after liberation from the Japanese, she took her meals with the Henke family. This was probably Laura's same situation during the Japanese occupation because Rachel described her mother's room at the Mission as a simple room with hardly more furniture than a bed. I set this scene in the Leynse home because the Leynses grew to become among Laura's closest friends. She probably took her meals with them, especially after the majority of other missionaries left. Miss Logan described the idols left behind in the boys' sleeping quarters in *Now It May Be Told*, Rachel mentioned them in her memoir, and in a 1976 interview Laura told Aunt Jean the story about the monk's discovering the idol with a basket hanging on its arm. James Leynse's

Beauty for Ashes supplied the Leynse family's personal information. I described Laura's clothes as "shabby" because Pearl Wei mentioned, in an interview 6/27/1984, that Laura's clothes became ragged during the occupation. During a reunion of ten former orphans in Beijing 3/18/2006, the orphans explained Wang Ming Dao's reasons for concern about the Nieh marriage. The orphans said that Wang Ming Dao knew Mr. Nieh because he was a recent convert in Wang Ming Dao's church. In letters dated 6/24/1984 and 6/26/1984, Miss Logan stated that Laura gave Nieh Shou Guang the American name Samuel Kenneth Nieh, and that she always called him Kenneth. The description of Kenneth's work after the marriage came from *Now It May Be Told*. Two sources (Rachel in her memoir and Ruth Tsai in her 7/12/1988 interview) mentioned Laura and Kenneth's sleeping arrangements. Both women, as well as Miss Logan, said that the marriage began more as a practical arrangement than a love affair. At the 3/18/2006 Beijing reunion, however, the orphans said that Mr. Nieh sometimes spent the night in Laura's room.

Several sources described Laura and Kenneth riding bicycles to and from Peking for supplies and business: *Now It May Be Told*, Ruth Tsai's interview 7/14/1988, Mrs. Henke's interview 7/15/1988, and her notes appended to a questionnaire 10/22/1984. Ruth Tsai explained that Laura, rather than Mr. Nieh, made most of the trips into Peking due to protocol and social relationships: "All the channels and connections (for obtaining supplies) were built by Laura." Miss Logan described Laura's relationship with Douw Memorial Hospital in *Now It May Be Told*, and Laura stated that Douw Memorial gave the orphans free medical care in her letter dated 1/1947.

Laura described her adventure with the Japanese tank in her "Short Stories" memoir. "I was frightened!" she wrote. "I think that this was the only time in China that I felt such a fear clutching at my heart." Descriptions of the orphans and the Old Temple Building came from Miss Logan's letter excerpt dated 8/11/1940; *Now It May Be Told*, Rachel's memoir; and Laura's "Old Temple Building" memoir. The description of the family's garden, with special note of their big tomatoes and the service of the old gardener, came from Rachel's memoir; an interview with the Tsai family 7/12/1988; and one of Aunt Jean's 1976 interviews. Rachel told the story about Miss Tung in her memoir. Descriptions of the family's daily routine and information about volunteer workers came from her memoir and *Now It May Be Told*.

Chapter 17: Pearl Harbor Day

Sources for the historical background were James Leynse's *Beauty for Ashes*, references listed in the historical section of the Introduction to the Endnotes and those listed at the beginning of Endnotes, Chapter 11. Sources for the story of Laura's detention on Pearl Harbor Day were James Leynse's detailed account in *Beauty for Ashes* and Laura's letter of 1/1947. Although neither one mentioned Orpha Gould by name, I placed her on the scene because Miss Logan reported in two letters, 7/4/1984 and 12/10/1984, that Miss Gould was there. In *A Stone Made Smooth* Wang Ming-Dao described the closing and sealing of the denominational churches and the situation of the Chinese church during the occupation. The Tsai family confirmed his description in their interview 7/12/1988. They also emphasized the danger for anyone to associate publicly with Laura or Canaan Home after Pearl Harbor. In her letter 1/1947, Laura told the story about the threatened Japanese takeover of Canaan Home. Also in this letter she mentioned losing the free care Douw Memorial gave the orphans. Mrs. Henke described the serious medical problems of some of the orphans in a letter written 10/22/1984 and an interview 7/15/1988.

Miss Logan described her own experiences under house arrest in letters written 7/4/1984 and 7/26/1986 and an interview 6/3/1987. She gave an account of writing and

arranging for translation of *Now It May Be Told* in journal/letter excerpts 8/3, 10, 13 & 19/1941 and 10/17/1941. Miss Logan commented on the June board meeting report in a journal/letter excerpt dated 6/8/1941. *Now It May Be Told* was the source of the report on Canaan Home in this section. Miss Logan explained people's changed views of the Nieh marriage and quoted the Chinese elder's remark in a journal/letter excerpt 8/31/1941. At the 2006 reunion in Beijing, the orphans identified the children in the photograph on the front page of *Now It May Be Told*.

I imaginatively re-constructed what happened at Canaan Home during Laura's house arrest based on the orphans' descriptions at the 3/18/2006 reunion in Beijing; Rachel's memoir; Rachel's letters of 1/26/2006, 3/31/2006, and 1/7/2007; and Laura's comment, in discussing the threatened takeover in her letter 1/1947, that "Mr. Nieh despaired." She does not mention his embezzlement, but the orphans said it happened at this time. I surmised that Laura believed her husband gave in to temptation as a result of despair.

Chapter 18: Under Siege

Background for the social conditions under Japanese occupation come from James Leynse's *Beauty for Ashes*, references listed in the historical section of the Introduction to the Endnotes and those listed at the beginning of Chapter 11.

In a phone interview the fall of 1987, Dr. Chang Yu-Ming said that Laura probably escaped internment because of her marriage to Mr. Nieh. During the 3/18/2006 orphans' reunion in Beijing, Rachel recalled that Laura personally visited each child when she returned from house arrest in Peking. In her letter Jan. 1947, Laura told the story about the threatened Japanese takeover of Canaan Home. During the Beijing reunion and also in Rachel's letters dated 1/26/ 2006; 3/31/2006 and 1/7/2007, the orphans told me about the rapes – their discovery and aftermath – and about Laura discovering Mr. Nieh's embezzlement, confronting him and sending him away. Sherry Lucas described the social consequences of rape when she translated these stories from the orphans. She also discussed the impossibility of divorce for women in the 1940s and the common practice for wealthy men to marry a second wife or take a concubine. Pearl told her story about volunteering at the orphanage for the year 1942 and learning to eat corn bread in an interview 6/28/1986. In her 2/10/1985 interview she said that at the end of her teaching year she moved to Shanghai because her family owned a food factory there. Laura mentioned having to close the children's school entirely in 1943 in her 1/1947 letter.

Rachel described Laura's uncharacteristic "bad temper" during this period in her memoir. At the 3/18/2006 reunion, the orphans said Laura did not explain Mr. Nieh's absence. The statistic of 175 orphans came from Laura's "Old Temple Building" and "Short Stories" memoirs. In her memoirs and a 1976 interview with Aunt Jean, Laura described what a help it was to the family when a missionary under house arrest gave the family her two cows. *Now It May Be Told* mentioned the gift of the rent payment for the remainder of the Old Temple lease. In her "Old Temple Building" memoir, Laura discussed her need to find apprenticeships in order to protect Canaan Home boys from being forcibly removed to Japan.

Miss Logan described her repatriation in letters 7/4/1984 and 7/26/1986 and an interview 6/3/1987. Laura described bringing garden produce to J. Leighton Ford, president of Yenching University, and her other imprisoned friends in her "Old Temple Building" memoir. Laura described the Japanese officer's inspection and his soldiers' theft of the family's tomatoes in her "Old Temple Building" memoir and in a 1976 interview with Aunt Jean. G. Christopher Willis reported in his book *I Was Among the Captives* that "stealing from the 'enemies of Japan' became a very favourite and profitable enterprise"

during this period. James Leynse's *Beauty for Ashes* described the issuing of ration cards, Laura mentioned wartime rationing in her "Old Temple Building" memoir, and the Tsai family described it also 7/12/1988. Rachel described the poor quality of the rations in her letter 1/7/2007. She described how children received second helpings at mealtime before the war, and she also said that throughout the occupation the Niehs shared part of their supper portion with the girls who rose at 3 a.m. to feed the babies.

I relied heavily on Catherine Marshall's book *Something More* to help me describe how Laura may have processed her marital crisis. Laura mailed me this book after I asked her for spiritual direction in 1974, and I understood that Laura felt that the author had clearly explained many of Laura's own life conclusions about following Jesus.

In his 1988 memoir, Zechariah mentioned a male Chinese teacher who remained with the family from 1940 to 1945. In Rachel's July 23, 2006 letter she said that Pervading Peace helped Laura during World War II. Both these orphans described in their memoirs how Laura trained the children to handle all Canaan Home's routine work. In a letter to American sponsors written in 1950, Laura described the family's system of assigning work to teams of three older children paired with three younger ones. She described her serious back problems and her house arrest by the Japanese in her "Old Temple Building" memoir. Zechariah also mentioned her arrest at the orphanage in his 2001 memoir and other orphans described it at their March 2006 reunion in Beijing.

Chapter 19: Escape from Internment

Laura described the long series of adventures that allowed her to escape internment in several places: her 1/1947 letter, her "Old Temple Building" memoir, and a 1976 interview with Aunt Jean. Zechariah mentioned her arrest at the orphanage in his 2001 memoir and several other orphans also recalled it during their March 2006 reunion in Beijing. Laura mentioned in her interview with Aunt Jean that she stayed with a Chinese family after the Leynses were interned and Pearl told her side of the story in an interview 6/28/1986. "It was very dangerous what Pearl's family did to help Laura," the Tsai family stated in an interview 7/12/1988. In both Zechariah's memoirs, he wrote that a Danish missionary came to help at the orphanage at this time. Ruth Tsai, in a 7/14/1988 interview, mentioned a missionary named Selma Nelson who helped Laura during this period, but Ruth thought she was Swedish. Danish and Swedish missionaries were allowed to move about Peking freely during the occupation, Ruth said.

Forgiveness was a spiritual principle that Laura stressed, according to the orphans at the 3/18/2006 reunion. I relied on one of Laura's favorite books, Marshall's *Something More*, as well as my own and others' experience, to help me describe how Laura may have worked through the forgiveness process. James Leynse's *Beauty for Ashes* stated that Western "enemy" missionaries in Peking, with a few exceptions including himself, were sent to internment prison in Weihsien in Shantung Province on March 24, 1943, and Annie Kartoian's *God Has a Green Thumb* confirmed the location. Rachel described Laura's welcome home in her memoir. Laura recalled the old gardener's comment in a 1976 interview with Aunt Jean. In her "Old Temple Building" memoir she also described bringing flowers to the Japanese officer on her monthly trips for renewal of the pass she received in 1943.

Zechariah described the family's experiences with hunger during the wartime famine in his 1989 and 2001 memoirs. In her 1/1947 letter, Laura said that the children came through the war "badly undernourished." She also explained that after food became more plentiful she had to be careful with the children's diet, giving them "only such things as their little stomachs, so long on starvation diet, could assimilate." The report of people eating things

like bark and flour mixed with sawdust, as well as the inflationary prices for food later in the chapter, came from James Leynse's *Beauty for Ashes*. The Leynses were more aware of what was happening in Peking than most missionary prisoners because they were imprisoned in the British Embassy in Peking instead of the concentration camp, and also because, as Dutch citizens they were denied Red Cross provisions until the war was almost over. Consequently, they had to give money (or items to sell) to a Chinese Christian servant to buy food for them on the Peking market. He brought them regular reports of political, economic, and social conditions along with their food. Laura described bringing garden produce to J. Leighton Ford, president of Yenching University, and her other imprisoned friends in her "Old Temple Building" memoir. Mr. Leynse described his weakness from pernicious anemia in *Beauty for Ashes*, and Mrs. Henke also mentioned his condition in a letter 7/11/1989. In their 7/12/1988 interview, the Tsai family explained that before going to prison, some of the missionaries directed Chinese Christians to sell the missionaries' possessions and use the money to help Canaan Home.

The orphans described the changes at Canaan Home that came with Mr. Nieh's 1944 return at the 3/16/2006 reunion in Beijing and also in two telephone conversations with Sherry Lucas on 3/6/2007. Obadiah reported that in the early years of New China he visited one of the bigger girls who had been sent to Tientsin. (She died in the 1990s.) In a letter written 7/23/2006 Rachel stated that when Mr. Nieh returned he said he would sell his property to pay back the money, but in a letter 1/7/2007 she said that the orphans thought he had never paid it back. She also said in this letter that Mrs. Wang Ming Dao told her in 1987 that the Wangs did not get involved in this matter. It is likely that the Chinese pastor who came was Presbyterian, since it was the Presbyterians' donation that was stolen.

Laura told the story of the Chinese businessmen's unexpected generosity in her "Short Stories" memoir. In an interview 2/10/1985, Pearl stated that when her parents moved to Shanghai, her grandfather arranged for Laura to stay with other relatives. Laura told the story of the family watching Marines parachute onto the nearby airfield in several places: her 1/1947 letter; her "Old Temple Building" memoir; an untitled memoir; and a 1976 interview with Aunt Jean.

Chapter 20: The Marines

Historical background to this chapter comes from James Leynse's *Beauty for Ashes*, references listed in the historical section of the Introduction to the Endnotes and those listed at the beginning of Chapter 11. Laura described her visit from two Marines soon after liberation in her letter of 1/1947. The Leynses' news came from *Beauty for Ashes*. Laura described the continued need for food and her prayer for the Holy Spirit to end the spiritual famine in her 1/1947 letter and her "Old Temple Building" memoir. Mr. Leynse described conditions at the Presbyterian Mission compound at liberation in *Beauty for Ashes*. In a letter 12/10/1984, Miss Logan stated that after internment Orpha Gould "immediately returned to Paotingfu and was a great comfort to the Christians there." Mrs. Henke reported, in a letter 7/11/1989, that in early December of 1945, Dr. Henke returned to China "on the first Liberty ship allowed in" and that after the war, the Leynses "were immediately repatriated to the U.S." Stories about the Marines visiting Canaan Home came from many sources: Rachel's memoir; Aunt Jean's 1976 interview with Laura; Laura's letter of 1/1947; Reverend Flood's memoir; and Laura's "Old Temple Building" and "Short Stories" memoirs.

Chapter 21: The Teacher Comes

The Historical background comes from A. Doak Barnett's eyewitness report, *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover*, Yue Daiyun and Carolyn Wakeman's *To The Storm*, and references listed in the historical section of the Introduction to the Endnotes. Laura described the Canaan Home revival in her 1/1947 letter and "Old Temple Building" memoir. Rachel and Zechariah also described it in their memoirs. Laura described the Dowager's Boathouse and the orphanage move to that location in her 1/1947 letter, her "Old Temple Building" memoir, and a 1976 interview with Aunt Jean. Rachel also described the place in her memoir, as did the Tsai family in their interview 7/12/1988 and Dr. Chang Yu-Ming in an interview 7/26/1992. In addition, Daniel Tsai showed me an old book describing features of the Boathouse setting (Arlington and Lewisohn's *In Search of Old Peking, City of Palaces and Temples*). National Geographic's *Journey Into China* shows pictures of the Summer Palace and a map of its location. At the 3/18/2006 reunion in Beijing, the orphans said they thought that the Marines had influenced the Chinese to provide this larger space for Canaan Home. They also thought Mr. Nieh may have used his political connections to help obtain the facility because his former classmate had become mayor of Peking.

Laura's 1/1947 letter mentioned the coming of volunteer helpers, the reopening of the orphanage school, supplies from relief agencies, and problems with inflation. Mrs. Henke reported, in a letter 10/22/1984 and also in an interview 7/15/1988, that Dr. Henke distributed relief supplies after 1945, and he made sure the orphanage received their share. Reverend Flood recalled his final visit to Canaan Home in his memoir. Laura told the story of the cigarettes in a 1976 interview with Aunt Jean and in a memoir, "The Dowager's Boathouse." The Tsais also discussed it in their family interview 7/12/1988.

Laura told how Mr. Raetz "dropped in as if from heaven" in her letter 1/1947 and Miss Logan reported the visit in a letter/journal excerpt dated 11/8/1946. I imaginatively constructed his visit using many sources: Mrs. Henke's interview 7/15/1988; a letter 7/1/1984 from Hazel Rothrock; Laura's "Short Stories" memoir; Ruth Tsai's phone interview 7/2/1990; Miss Logan's letter of 1/12/1985, describing the civil war going on in the countryside after the Japanese left; and an interview with the Tsai family 7/12/1988 in which they gave detailed recollections of several visits they made to Canaan Home at the Dowager's Boathouse and also discussed the ongoing fighting in the Canaan Home neighborhood ("very unstable, that stage.")

Laura described the orphans' apprenticeships and education opportunities in her 1/1947 letter and "Old Temple Building" memoir. Zechariah mentioned Micah going to college in his 2001 memoir and discussed education for handicapped Canaan Home orphans in his 1989 memoir. In an interview 7/15/1988, Mrs. Henke described conditions inside the refugee-crowded city of Peking. The stories about the forcible conscriptions came from Rachel's memoir and from the orphans during their 3/18/2006 reunion.

David H. Adeney's *Christian Students Face the Revolution* tells the story of the Christian university students who attended the prayer conference on the Canaan Home grounds and also describes Wang Ming Dao. Other sources for the background and description of Wang Ming Dao were: Wang Ming Dao's *A Stone Made Smooth*; David H. Adeney's *China: The Church's Long March*; and Jonathan Chao and Richard Van Houten's *Wise as Serpents, Harmless as Doves*. Miss Logan described Wang Ming Dao's ministry as "a fine, flourishing work with a very strong evangelical message" in her 6/3/1987 interview. Several people described the prayer conference: the Tsai family in their 7/12/1988 interview (in which they also described the ties between Canaan Home and Pastor Wang's church); Rachel in her memoir; and, Dr. Chang Yu-Ming, who attended as a medical student. Dr. Chang particularly recalled the mosquitoes in his 7/26/1992 interview, so I put

them in. Quotations from Wang Ming Dao's sermon came from a sermon reprinted in *A Stone Made Smooth*. Since I was unable to obtain the actual sermons Wang Ming Dao preached at the prayer conference, I used an authentic sermon that was available. Wang Ming Dao refused titles such as "Reverend" or "Pastor" so he is referred to without a title.

At the March 18, 2006 reunion in Beijing the orphans said that when Gate of Righteousness left the orphanage to attend the university, he heard information about Mr. Nieh that troubled him and he began to investigate. The men stated that except for transporting children to the hospital on his bicycle, Mr. Nieh did not help with physical labor at the orphanage due to his upper class upbringing. The boys did all the gardening with the help of the old gardener, for example. Also they said Mr. Nieh mostly handled orphanage accounting and paperwork, and he did not take care of the children. In her 1/2007 letter, Rachel said that when Mr. Nieh went to town on business, "he ate at fancy restaurants while Mom would buy food at vendors' booths." In all my interviews with Chinese people who knew Laura, they emphasized that she ate the same food that the orphans had to eat. Her willingness to identify completely by eating the same food made a deep impression.

Chapter 22: In the Center of Combat

Details of Canaan Home's experience being trapped during the battle for Peking were based on a number of sources: Rachel's memoir; a 1952 article in *The Sidney Daily News*; Aunt Jean's 1976 interview with Laura; Laura's "Short Stories" memoir, and a 5/8/1988 interview with ex-soldier Jerry Worley about the sensations of being in a shell and mortar attack. A. Doak Barnett's *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover* provided another detailed eyewitness report of this battle, along with a wealth of on-the-spot observations regarding the ensuing Communist siege and takeover of Peking.

Laura described the Communists' visits and indoctrination sessions in her "Short Stories" and "Dowager's Boathouse" memoirs. I imaginatively re-constructed the children's indoctrination sessions based on information about Communist doctrine and tactics from these sources: interviews with members of the Tsai family on 7/12 & 14/1988; a letter from Mrs. Henke 7/11/1989; an interview with Miss Logan 6/3/1987, as well as her letters dated 1/12 & 28/1985; A. Doak Barnett's *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover*; and Thomas Sowell's *Marxism*. Mrs. Henke stated in her 7/15/1988 interview that the Communists forced Canaan Home out of the Boathouse property, and Laura told the story in more detail in a 1976 interview by Aunt Jean and her memoir "Moving from the Dowager's Boathouse."

Chapter 23: Interrogation at the American School

Historical background regarding the tactics and doctrines of Communism came from these sources: David H. Adeney's *China: The Church's Long March and Christian Students Face the Revolution*; A. Doak Barnett's *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover*; Jonathan Chao and Richard Van Houten's *Wise as Serpents, Harmless as Doves*; Cheng Nien's *Life and Death in Shanghai*; Stephen Cheung's *Refining Fire*; William Hinton's *Fanshen*; Bette Bao Lord's *Legacies*; and Ralph Toliver's *Gold Fears No Fire*.

In her memoir "Moving From the Dowager's Boathouse," Laura described the family's decision to move to the American School, the cadres' ongoing interrogations of the children, the cadres' frustration with and threats against the children, her trip to Dow Memorial Hospital with Deborah and the situation she found there. She also discussed

this family move in a 1976 interview with Aunt Jean. During the March 18, 2006 reunion in Beijing, the former orphans said after leaving the orphanage as young adults they learned that Mr. Nieh had sexually harassed some of the women volunteers at the orphanage. Their information appears to be confirmed by Rebecca Tsai's statement that she did not like Mr. Nieh because "He made a very bad impression on me. He didn't talk like a gentleman." The Tsai family discussed the Communists' frustration with the loyalty of the children in an interview 7/12/1988. Mrs. Henke stated in a letter 7/11/1989 that she and the Henke children left China in late November 1948, leaving Dr. Henke in Peking. In her interview 7/15/1988 she gave a physical description of Douw Memorial Hospital and described working conditions for Western doctors under Communist rule.

Chapter 24: The New Regime

Background regarding the Christian church in China came primarily from these sources: David H. Adeney's *China: The Church's Long March* and *Christian Students Face the Revolution*; Jonathan Chao and Richard Van Houten's *Wise as Serpents, Harmless as Doves*, Angus I. Kinnear's *Against the Tide*, Carl Lawrence's *The Church in China*, and Ralph Toliver's *Gold Fears No Fire*.

Rachel and Zechariah described the American School in their memoirs. In an interview 7/12/1988, the Tsai family described how the Niehs listened to Pastor Wang's sermons from a second-story window of their building, and they also mentioned the Sunday services held at Canaan Home. Zechariah described how his mother instilled loving relationships and a strong team spirit in the family in his 1989 memoir, and the Tsai family discussed Communist frustration with the strength of Canaan Home loyalty in their interview 7/12/1988. Miss Logan documented visits she made to Canaan Home the Fall of 1949 in letter/journal excerpts dated August 24 and September 1, 3, and 7. Content for the Niehs' report during their conversation with Miss Logan was derived from the "Canaan Children's Home News Letter" that Laura wrote in 1950. In Rachel's memoir, she recalled that the older orphans persuaded new children to take their cod liver oil. Miss Logan expressed her view of the Niehs' marriage in an interview 6/3/1987. Her description of events in Paotingfu after Communist takeover also came from that interview, as well as in a letter to me 12/10/1984. Background regarding travel permits, writing confessions, and similar details came from sources listed in Endnotes, Chapter 24. In a Fall 1987 interview, Dr. Chang Yu-Ming described Laura as looking thin and fragile at this time.

Chapter 25: Hanging On

In a letter 7/11/1989, Mrs. Henke reported that Dr. Henke left Peking in December 1949. He would naturally have made a point to say good-bye to Laura before he left. I guessed that he came to the orphanage, so I set the scene there. I described Laura as fragile because Dr. Chang Yu-Ming described her that way in an interview the Fall of 1987. Rachel reported in her memoir that the family stopped taking in babies after the Communist takeover. At the March 2006 reunion, the orphans said that Presbyterian medical staff knew about the rapes, so this information would probably have been passed along to Dr. Henke when he returned. I am assuming that he also would have been told about the embezzlement, because the sum was large. (The orphans thought it would be the equivalent of a million dollar contribution today.) It was clearly a matter of record because the orphans said that Laura directed the orphan boy Silas to help her write various letters to the Presbyterians concerning the stolen money. Rachel described how Laura strictly segregated the boys from the girls at the orphanage in her memoir. The

orphans mentioned Mr. Nieh's affair with the teacher at the reunion, and Rachel also discussed it in her letters 12/1/2005 and 1/2007. The orphans grew up feeling completely secure at home, and they were shocked after they left the orphanage to learn what Mr. Nieh did. They believed that he never bothered any of the orphan girls again because of the drastic measures Laura took. Mrs. Henke explained Dr. Henke's reasons for leaving China in an interview 7/15/1988 and in letters 10/22/1984 and 7/11/1989. Rachel's resemblance to Laura was important to Rachel. She reminisced about it in her memoir, and Ruth Tsai described the resemblance in more detail in her interview 7/14/1988. Miss Logan explained how the board of directors came into being in *Now It May Be Told*, Rachel described becoming gradually aware of its importance in her memoir, and the Tsai family also discussed its importance in their 7/12/1988 interview. Miss Logan mentioned that Douw Memorial Hospital gave the children free care in *Now It May Be Told*, Laura confirmed it in her 1/1947 letter, and Rachel described the relationship from the children's point of view in her memoir.

In her "Short Stories" memoir, Laura spoke about parents coming back for their children after the Communist takeover. Rachel mentioned it in her memoir, and Rachel also told Tabitha's story. In describing Tabitha in both his 1989 and 2001 memoirs, Zechariah discussed typical Chinese attitudes toward handicapped children. The Tsai family also discussed that issue in interviews 7/12 & 14/1988. Both Zechariah and Rachel mentioned Tabitha's need for help with toileting, and Pearl Wei recalled that Tabitha loved to sing and had memorized many Christian songs. When I imaginatively reconstructed the toilet scene, I wanted to find an appropriate hymn that Chinese Christians of that time would have sung. I chose "Abide With Me" because it was embedded in a story Ruth Tsai told me about visiting her father in prison in 1961. "At the time, my father was sent to the countryside, my sister was in prison, and because my mother was a foreigner, she was not allowed out of the city. I was the only one who could go to the prison camp to visit him. He was very, very sick, almost starved to death. There was no food. He couldn't stand up. He was lying on the floor because there was no bed. He couldn't sing, but he moved his lips to sing 'Abide With Me.' He died three days later."

Laura described the Christmas of 1949 and the Christian students' performance of the "Messiah" in her Fall newsletter of 1950. Paul Tsai also recalled the "Messiah" performance in a family interview 7/12/1988. Information about Christian student history comes primarily from Adeney's *Christian Students Face the Revolution*. In a phone interview 7/26/1992, Dr. Chang Yu-Ming indicated that, as evangelical church leaders, most of these students were eventually sent to prison or labor camp. Ruth Tsai's future husband was one of these Inter-Varsity students who later died in captivity.

Chapter 26: Censored Letters, Censored Thoughts

The description of the contents of Laura's newsletter comes from the letter itself, written (according to internal evidence) during the Spring of 1950. The reference to tampered letters came from a story my mother told me growing up, which Miss Logan said—in a letter 10/22/1987—was most likely to have happened at this point inside China. Fox Butterfield's *Alive in the Bitter Sea* described in detail the Communist government's pervasive spy system and social control. In a letter 3/6/1985, Dr. Lewis described the increased suicide rates resulting from stepped-up political pressures after the Korean War started. (Dr. Lewis replaced Dr. Henke at Douw Hospital until September 1952.) Mrs. Henke told the story of Mrs. Jenness in her interview 7/15/1988. In two letters, 7/9/1984 and 8/1/1984, John Detrick stated that the Communists had moved into the orphanage by the Fall of 1950. Mr. Detrick was a first-term missionary who visited the orphanage once

a week to play with the children and teach them English. Mr. Detrick also described the stress Laura was under from political threats and government demands.

During the Tsai family interview 7/12/1988, Daniel Tsai recalled that as a high school student during this period, he used to see Laura and Mr. Nieh riding bicycles together. I surmised that this would probably have been one of their best opportunities to talk, given the circumstances. In this interview, the Tsais also described the way the Communists treated the Niehs and isolated them from their staff. Background on theological debates in the church at this period is discussed in some of the historical references listed in Endnotes, Chapter 23 and in Alister McGrath's *Evangelicalism and the Future of Christianity*. Wang Ming Dao's sermon quotations come from David H. Adeney's *Christian Students Face the Revolution*. Laura explained how the orphanage survived on the Marines' powdered food and the sale of the food containers in her "Short Stories" memoir. Recalling stories her mother Mercy had told her, Sherry Lucas described the poverty of the older orphans who were studying or working away from home. At the March 2006 reunion the orphans described how Gate of Righteousness teamed up with Silas to tell the other orphans what Mr. Nieh had done during the occupation and to seek justice and restitution for the orphans by protesting his crimes to the new government.

Chapter 27: Day of Decision

Historical background for this chapter came from the references listed at the beginning of Endnotes, Chapter 23.

Rachel told the story of Tabitha's death and Laura's grief in her memoir, stating that this happened "one or two months before Mama left." I speculated that Tabitha's death must have felt like the release of a burden for Laura, knowing how vulnerable to abuse Tabitha would be if Laura lost control of the orphanage. In the Tsai family's 7/12/1988 interview, they described the Communist tactic of isolating foreigners, as did some of the historical references. Laura described the visit from Pastor Wang and his wife in her memoir "Moving From the Dowager's Boathouse." I reconstructed Laura's final session with the Communists based on Zechariah's 1989 and 2001 memoirs and Titus' letter to Ruth Tsai 9/12/1988. The explanation about Norman Bethune came from Fox Butterfield's *China: Alive in the Bitter Sea*. I surmised that this session was sudden, dramatic, and final because Dr. Chang Yu-Ming, in his letter to me dated 8/22/1987, reported that Laura told him that "she was forced to leave immediately." The Tsai family discussed the reasons why Laura left Canaan Home in their interview 7/12/1988, and Dr. Lewis wrote, in a letter 3/6/1985, that Laura "was worried if her presence in China was going to be a hardship on the children." This was also the explanation Laura gave my mother. I described Laura going to the British Embassy because Daniel Tsai stated that, at that time, "...all Americans were under the British legation. The British contacted the U.S. all the time for my mother."

Chapter 28: Mama Good-Bye

The Tsai family stated, in their 7/12/1988 interview, that the miscegenation law of 1924 had been repealed by the time Laura applied to return to the United States. Pearl Wei stated in an interview 6/28/1986 that Laura's former landlord, Mr. Nieh's brother-in-law, was executed by the Communist regime, and Aunt Jean confirmed it in her notes. Mrs. Wei gave me the information about her family in an interview 2/10/1985. Zechariah's memoir reported that the government held a farewell party for the children and Laura. Laura described her preparations for departure in her memoir, "Moving From the

Dowager's Boathouse." The Tsai family described Laura's farewell dinner at Ivy Gordan's home in interviews 7/12 & 14/1988, and they also explained their own family's situation at the time. In interviews 7/14/1988 and 4/23/2007, Ruth Tsai talked about her experiences helping teach at the orphanage when she was about 17. Mr. Nieh's escape plan came from Aunt Jean's interview notes and a letter from Miss Logan 10/1/1987. I also heard the story of his escape plan and escape attempts from my mother since early childhood. At the March 2006 reunion the orphans said that Gate of Righteousness published a newspaper article attacking Mr. Nieh before Laura left China.

The boys' farewell meeting with Laura was reconstructed from several sources: Laura's "Short Stories" memoir, Zechariah's 1989 and 2001 memoirs, and a letter from Titus to Ruth Tsai dated 9/12/1988. Physical descriptions of Zechariah, Samuel, and Titus came from the Tsai family during three interviews, 7/12 & 14/1988 and 7/2/1990. Rachel's memoir told the story of her last face-to-face meeting with her mother. Laura mentioned in her "Short Stories" memoir that missionaries leaving on furlough donated clothes to her, thus giving her a supply of Western clothes when she had to leave China. Dr. Chang Yu-Ming described Laura's last visit to Pastor Wang's church in an interview Fall/1987. Laura described her departure from Canaan Home in her memoir, "Moving From the Dowager's Boathouse."

Considering the government's evidence against Nieh Shou Guang, it is remarkable that the new regime allowed Laura to leave the country. Normally she would have been accused along with her husband. Some Chinese that I talked with believe that Laura probably had a friend or friends in high places, unaware of their true identity. Many high government officials began their Communist careers in undercover positions during the Japanese occupation, and there is some evidence to indicate that under these historical conditions, Laura gained the respect of someone influential who probably intervened on her behalf.

Chapter 29: Miss Richards Returns

Historical background for this chapter came from the references listed in the historical section of the Endnotes Introduction and those listed at the beginning of Endnotes, Chapter 23.

In her memoir "Moving From the Dowager's Boathouse," Laura described her trip to Tientsin with Mrs. Wang and her financial difficulty when the government took most of her money. In an interview 7/12/1988, the Tsai family described how concerned Chinese Christians had been for Laura's safety when she left China. They admired Mrs. Wang's bravery in escorting Laura and described how Mr. Nieh dropped out of sight and was then publicly denounced and accused in newspaper articles and posters. At the March 2006 reunion the orphans also talked about the newspaper articles attacking Mr. Nieh. Information about Laura's situation in Hong Kong came from Aunt Jean's interview notes, Miss Logan's letters 12/10/1984, 10/1/1987, and her letter excerpt 4/14/1951. Aunt Jean recorded my mother's story about Laura seeing the orphans in her dreams en route to the U.S. in her 1976 collection, and Mother also told me this story.

Miss Logan discussed Laura's unwillingness to talk about the Communist regime in two letters dated 9/2/1987 and 10/1/1987. "Her mother instinct was to protect," Miss Logan said. Pearl Wei described Laura's visits to her in the U.S. in interviews 2/10/1985 and 6/28/1986. In an interview 7/15/1988, Mrs. Henke recalled that Laura asked her friends to call her Miss Richards. The reasons I give for her reversion to her maiden name are educated guesses. Fern Nelson documented the chronology of Laura's activities in letters

3/3/1983, 6/28/1984, and 10/27/1987. Aunt Jean confirmed these dates and supplemented them with descriptive details in her interview notes of 1976.

Laura told my mother many years ago that Mr. Nieh was imprisoned and then shot. I grew up “knowing” it. Aunt Jean’s notes indicate that the Niehs were married 15 years, which meant that Mr. Nieh died in 1954. Dr. Chang Yu-Ming verified that date in a letter 8/22/1987. Both my mother and Miss Logan (in a letter 10/1/1987) recollected Laura telling them that Mr. Nieh reached Canton more than once but was turned back. Aunt Jean’s interview notes indicate that the Communists combined Canaan Home with another orphanage. Ruth Tsai verified that information in a letter 12/10/1984, and the orphans described it at their March 2006 reunion with me in Beijing.

In 1976, Laura told Aunt Jean a number of stories about her three-year stay in the Philippines and her move to the Mary Martha Home after contracting hepatitis. Harold Richards verified the hepatitis diagnosis in a letter 7/13/1984. Miss Logan (in an interview 6/3/1987) and Mrs. Henke (in an interview 7/15/1988) described visiting Laura at the Mary Martha Home. The 30 million plus death toll of the Great Leap Forward comes from a median figure derived from numerous published estimates listed in Matthew White’s “Source List and Detailed Death Tolls for the Twentieth Century Hemoclysm” at <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/warstat1.htm>

In a 1976 interview, Laura told Aunt Jean the story of her move to Hollenbeck Home. In a letter 9/2/1987 Miss Logan commented, “having nothing, yet lacking nothing.” The Tsai family’s story came from their interviews 7/12 & 14/1988. In her interview 6/3/1987, Miss Logan described the revival going on in China according to reports from visiting Chinese Christians. Other accounts are in the historical references listed earlier. Quotations from the letter Titus sent his mother before she died came from his letter to Ruth Tsai 9/12/1988. Unfortunately, after writing that letter, Titus died.