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# **“In Our Image”: Visual Perspectives and American Protestant Missions in Interwar China**

**Joseph Ho**

April 6, 1947 was a beautiful spring morning in Beijing. The sun rose in a cloudless blue sky and the day promised to be a comfortable one, though most of the city dwellers found it prudent to wear thick clothing to ward off the chill remaining from the night before. As storekeepers unlocked their doors and street vendors prepared breakfast foods to peddle to passersby, residents living along *Tiantan* Road (天壇路, *Tiantan lu*) watched a large group of foreigners enter through a gateway to the Temple of Heaven complex nearby (天壇, *Tiantan*).<sup>1</sup> It was a mixed group of warmly dressed men, women, and children, accompanied by two ministers carrying black gowns, a folding table, and a white wooden cross. It was Easter Sunday, and the members of the Peking Union Church—representing Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational denominations, along with other foreign Protestants—were on their way to the Circular Mound Altar (圓丘壇, *Yuan qiu tan*) for their “sunrise service.”<sup>2</sup>

The Union Church congregation gathered where Ming and Qing emperors and their retinues once conducted ritual New Year’s sacrifices to heaven (天, *tian*), the members bracing themselves against the early morning cold on the concentric marble steps of the Altar.<sup>3</sup> The two ministers donned their black Geneva gowns and unfolded the table, topping it with a simple white altar cloth and the cross.

They then took the traditional place of the ancient celebrant at the top of the Circular Mound Altar. The rising sun shone directly into their eyes, and a breeze ruffled the orders of service they held. Despite these distractions, the ministers opened the service with solemn gravity. In doing so, they and their Protestant congregation combined both the Western Christian symbolism of the Easter morning sunrise and the Chinese cultural significance of the “altar to heaven” in their remembrance of Christ’s resurrection.<sup>4</sup>

Yet, the unique Christian service that morning was more than a time of worship; it was also a time for visual production. In the congregation that morning was Dr. Harold E. “Gene” Henke, an American Presbyterian medical missionary accompanied by his wife, Jessie Mae Henke, and their three children, Robert, Richard, and Lois.<sup>5</sup> During a pause in the service, Henke retrieved an 18-year-old spring-wound Cine-Kodak Model B 16mm movie camera from its leather carrying case and began to film the event on Kodachrome color positive film. The footage still in existence, approximately 80 seconds depicting the Union Church service alone, forms the basis for most of the descriptions in this introduction, a testament to the recording power of cinema.<sup>6</sup> The camera depicts the blue sky and the bright sun, the ministers squinting to see their notes, and the wind ruffling the black Geneva gowns and white altar cloth. Henke changed positions three times in the time it took to shoot the 80 seconds of film. His initial shot was taken from a medium distance, showing the ministers and the altar from the point of view of the congregation. Then, with the service underway, Henke walked several hundred feet away to capture a wide panoramic shot of the entire altar complex with the individuals standing on the marble steps. He concluded with a wide shot of the Union Church members exiting the altar, streaming down the steps of the Circular Mound Altar and dispersing as they walked back toward the central temple structure.<sup>7</sup> The 80 second film is both a rich document of a particular historical event and a creative artistic artifact.

The short fragment, however, is more than a mere record or an illustration; though there is no original sound or textual information (subtitles, intertitles) in the moving pictures to identify exactly what is going on, the film is far from a mute witness. It points both to the structures of history that enabled its production and the structures of visibility that allow for interpretation of this history. As an

“anchoring” object, the visual artifact is both evidence and an open signpost to historical questions. It, along with other forms of photographic and cinematic visuality used in this paper, raises questions about the missionary project and the relation of visual production to the broader goals that these individuals hoped to further in China. As a distinct form of historical production, there is something about the visual that speaks to mechanisms of individual perception, while simultaneously allowing for productive spaces of individual interpretation. Thus, I hope to define the multifaceted quality of this paper as a series of concentric, overlapping questions—a set of “pictures-within-pictures,” so to speak.

First, the missionaries’ visual production indicated complexities in the broader foreign missions projects in the early-to-mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, connected to a “crisis of identity” that American foreign missionaries wrestled with, an ideological struggle exacerbated by varying theological criticisms and questions of praxis.<sup>8</sup> By looking at images, I hope to shed light on the experiences of individuals who participated in missionary institutions while providing a preliminary response to the question: *can images speak?* And if so, *how* do they speak in concert with other historical sources?

### **Visual Perception—Dr. Harold E. Henke, Jessie Mae Henke, and Medical Missionary Photography**

In June of 1927, Robert E. Speer, a leading proponent for foreign missions and head of the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, was presiding over a missionary conference in New York City.<sup>9</sup> Speer later became known for his actions as a high-profile moderator between Presbyterian “modernists” and “fundamentalists,” but at this specific moment in time, he may have been relieved to take a step away from the debate to bless a group of new Presbyterian foreign missionaries who were to be officially “commissioned” that day.<sup>10</sup> Standing before Speer was a young couple—Dr. Harold E. Henke and Jessie Mae Henke, R.N—ready to begin their journey to their medical mission posting in China. The Henkes’ identities were closely linked to their “calling” as missionary medical professionals. Harold was only two years into his career as a medical doctor and married nurse Jessie Mae Paddock on May 16, 1927, less than a month before they traveled to New York for the commissioning ceremony.<sup>11</sup>

What the Henkes did not know at the time was that their rapid preparation and limited leisure time as newlyweds was the beginning of 21 years of missionary work in China, a period that produced not only three children and rich experiences with Chinese nationals and foreigners, but also a full collection of visual images representing life for medical missionaries in the interwar era.<sup>12</sup> This paper employs two general frameworks to interpret the photographs and cinematic materials produced by the Henkes in this time period. The first framework follows the need for the medical missionaries to represent their work to supporting congregations back in the United States. The second framework looks at photographs in terms of personal documentation, in which the Henkes recorded images as extensions of their individual perceptions and sentiments, applied to a broad spectrum of photographic subjects—people, places, and events.

One of the churches supporting the Henkes' medical work, the Presbyterian Church of Rye, New York, certainly recognized the informational power of visual images. In 1930, the "very wealthy" congregation collected a substantial donation and shipped a new Cine-Kodak Model B 16mm movie camera to their compound in Shuntehfu; it was the same camera that Harold Henke, 18 years later, pulled out of its leather case to film the Peking Union Church's Easter service on the Altar of Heaven.<sup>13</sup> The importance of the movie camera as a visual tool was underscored by its status as a semi-professional luxury model of its time, carrying a price tag of \$150.<sup>14</sup> Along with motion picture films, the Henkes also recorded their work with a medium-format rollfilm still camera—possibly a Kodak Autographic No.3, based on analysis of the resulting film formats. This camera, while not the most advanced at the time, still folded compactly, allowed for several sequential shots on the same roll of film, and was much more maneuverable compared to cameras used by the Henkes' predecessors.<sup>15</sup> In many ways, photographic technology shaped the interaction between the subjects and the photographer; the new cameras were less menacing and more conducive to candid instantaneous photographs.

The first image that the Henkes produced in China survives as a 3¼ x 4¼-inch black and white print, depicting the wharf at the port of Tanghu (塘沽 *Tanggu*) as their steamship approached shore (*Figure 1*).<sup>16</sup> The occasion was evidently important enough for the

camera to be put into use, given the Henkes' anxiety about their final destination in China.<sup>17</sup> Jessie Mae's memoirs note that the couple was notified by cablegram en route that their original mission posting had been changed from "Yueng Kong, South China" to "Shuntehfu, North China," a distance of several thousand miles; accompanying this message were "instructions to get off in Japan, transfer to a small Japanese liner, cross the Inland [S]ea to the port of Tangkee [sic], thence by rail to Tientsin and Peking."<sup>18</sup> The change may have been unsettling to the Henkes, and seeing their disembarkation port for the first time on the afternoon of October 2, 1927, over a month since they left the United States, was exciting enough for the couple to unpack their still camera and photograph the landing. The image's caption, written in Jessie Mae Henke's handwriting on the back of the print, reads simply, "The wharf where we landed at Tanghu, China...October 2, 1927."<sup>19</sup> The photograph itself depicts a striking immediacy; the ship is a few hundred yards away from shore, but the figures watching the vessel approach are clearly visible in an enlargement of the print.

The nameless individuals represent a photographic microcosm of the world that the Henkes were about to enter. Six foreign men dressed in suits and fedoras stand with hands in pockets at the part of the dock closest to the approaching ship, one of them leaning



Figure 1 (Henke Collection)

rakishly on a bamboo cane as he watches intently. Behind them, a group of working-class Chinese men converse, seemingly uninterested in the spectacle. The camera has also frozen a dockworker in motion, waving a striped signal flag to guide the ship's pilot to shore. These individuals exist within and without the photograph; in the actual temporal moment depicted by the image, they are but figures passing by the event that is occurring at the docks. Yet, they were part of the scene that the Henkes saw that afternoon as they arrived, as one of their first impressions of China. In one photograph documenting the end of their long voyage and the beginning of their presence in what Jessie Mae Henke later described as "the land of our adoption," the Henkes simultaneously recorded their relief at arriving safely as well their curiosity with the new environment.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, the photograph was an artifact that captured, for future memory, the fact that the voyage was successful—visual production as proof of physical presence.

Moreover, it is the ability of photographs to visually place the creator in a physical time and place which embodies many of the other personal images that the Henkes took during their tenure in North China. These images were later categorized as "general scenes," labeled as such on the battered manila envelopes in which they were stored. Moreover, these photographs were annotated not long after they were printed, with handwritten notes on the backs of most of the prints.<sup>21</sup> These images show a developing association with the environment and people, as the Henkes familiarized themselves with their identities as foreign missionaries in China.

The beginning of this development is evident in photographs specifically dated from the Henkes' first year and a half in China, from 1927 to 1929. In order to prepare themselves for intensive medical missionary activity at missions outside of Beijing, the Henkes spent this time acquiring Chinese language skills at the North China Union Language School, then accredited by the University of California.<sup>22</sup> It is likely that the insulated environment of the small foreign community in the school, combined with the daily instruction in Chinese language and culture, influenced the Henkes' decisions behind producing photographs in their spare time. The extant photographs from this year and a half in Beijing focus on the "non-Western" elements of the city. These include images of Chinese architecture and "daily life," with emphasis on street scenes and photographs

of Chinese cultural practices.<sup>23</sup> Yet, as much as these photographs depicted structures and ways of life very different compared to what the couple was accustomed to as foreigners, they also point to relationships between images, texts, and perception.

While touring famous landmarks in Beijing soon after settling in to the language school, the Henkes photographed the Forbidden City, the Temple of Heaven complex, and the former Imperial gardens at Pei Hai (北海公園, *Beihai gongyuan*). While the resulting images visually resemble “tourist” photographs, taken to record the missionaries’ visits to these monuments to former dynasties, their captions show that the Henkes were conscious of technological limitations in their visual production. On the back of one black-and-white photograph of the “Hall of Prayer for Good Harvests” (祈年殿, *Qiniandian*) in the Temple of Heaven, Jessie Mae notes that “the roof tiles & decorations are a vivid blue” (Figure 2).<sup>24</sup>



Figure 2 (Henke Collection)

This image clearly shows that the Henkes were well aware that their black-and-white, silver gelatin-based photographic technology was not fully capable of reproducing scenes as seen by the naked eye. Consciousness of this key limitation may have influenced Harold Henke’s decision to film the Easter sunrise service at the Temple of Heaven twenty years later in Kodachrome color movie film. In addition, there is a connection between individual perception and a broader audience in these photographs. In encountering these foreign architectural forms in the moment, the Henkes were clearly most drawn to the vivid colors before them, with that visual aspect of the architecture striking enough to merit mention in the captions. At the same time, the fact that they recorded these specific physical details that they were also concerned about passing on a more “full” visual experience to the audience of their photographs, instead of a touristic, one-dimensional “I-was-here” record.



Other photographs taken later in the Henkes' stay in Beijing show their increasing understanding of the environment (*Figure 3*).<sup>25</sup> One such image, taken in 1928, shows a busy Beijing street framed by an ornamental gate, a *pailou* (牌樓).



**Figure 3 (Henke Collection)**

Harold Henke's handwritten caption on the back of the photograph reads

Taken at the main cross streets 2 ½ blocks from here & called SSu-Pailou (the 4 pailous [sic] 2 of which can be seen—all alike. Our postoffice [?] is at right. All people are Chinese. 2 policemen in the right center, a soldier on either side, 2 men & a lady in rickshaws. Looking north. Language school is north 2 blocks and east to your right—2 blocks. Hatamen street.

Interestingly, Henke makes clear to write out the romanization of the gate's name first and then makes an attempt to translate it into English, exhibiting an elementary attempt at translanguaging practice. Moreover, the caption describes the photograph to an unseen audience somewhat familiar with the photographer's environment; the scene is described as being taken a known number of blocks "from here," ostensibly using the Language School as a reference point.

At the same time, the peculiar nature of the caption and the image together points to the photograph as an indicator of personal cognition and development in understanding. Given that the Henkes were honing their language skills and mobility, the caption emphasizes familiarity with specific locations within the city as well as Harold Henke's ability to identify these places and architectural elements by their Chinese designations. Henke also shows that he is able to differentiate between city policemen and government soldiers (both equipped with similar military-style uniforms), important knowledge for foreigners living in a major city rocked by bloody anti-foreign demonstrations months before and already contested ground between the Nationalist government and the North China forces of warlord Zhang Zuolin (張作霖).<sup>26</sup>

The Henkes were transferred to their permanent assignment at the American Presbyterian Mission at Shunthefu (順德府, *Shundefu*) in February of 1929; Jessie Mae Henke noted with some delight that it was a “very old city...250 miles south of Peking...reported by some historians as having been the capital of China in the days of Abraham.”<sup>27</sup> At the station directly outside Shunthefu's western city wall, the Henkes settled in to begin their medical missionary work. An early published report from the station, likely written in part by the Henkes, states that “our patients come to us from an area of about 14000 square miles in which it is estimated that there are living three million people...the nearest hospital to us is 80 miles away either in a north or south direction or three days by mule cart either to the east or the west.”<sup>28</sup> The medical missionary compound centered around two hospital buildings, the Grace Talcott Memorial Hospital and the Hugh O'Neill Memorial Hospital, named after benefactors from the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York.<sup>29</sup> The Chinese simply referred to the entire compound as the “Gospel Hospital”—*Fuying Yiyuan* (福音醫院).<sup>30</sup> Here, Harold Henke took up a position as the co-superintendent, working alongside Dr. Chang En Ch'eng, a Chinese doctor trained at the Peking Union Medical College.<sup>31</sup> Jessie Mae Henke began her tenure as an operating room nurse, before taking on a position as the superintendent of the Nurses Training School, teaching courses in nursing techniques, medical theory, and hygiene.<sup>32</sup>

The Henkes' visual production during this time can be separated into two categories—photographs taken to record improvements in

the medical facilities and photographs taken to document diseases and patient healing. These images were retained for later viewing or reprinted for transmission abroad; extant copies in the Henke collection indicate that comprehensive medical reports were produced in 1931 and 1939.<sup>33</sup> These professionally printed publications, containing extensive records of diseases treated, patient statistics, and laboratory examinations, are evidence that the missionaries at Shunthefu took the responsibility of sharing medical conditions with home congregations and the Presbyterian Foreign Missions Board very seriously.

These reports presented an orderly, professional record of medical missionary activities, but diseases, injuries, and treatments were reduced to numbers on a page. The Henkes thus turned to photographs to present a more “human” face to their medical work. They were assisted by the arrival of another American physician, Dr. Ralph Charles Lewis of California, in September 1935.<sup>34</sup> Lewis, an avid amateur photographer, “had purchased a good camera before going out [to China]...[and] wanted to learn as much as [he] could about photography.”<sup>35</sup> Together, he and the Henkes produced a rich body of medical photographs at Shunthefu.

Some of the photographs documented successes in medical outreach, for the encouragement of support congregations at home. Compared to the sparsely illustrated 1931 medical report, the 1939 report features a section entitled “The Fruits of Labor,” containing short reports of successes in evangelistic and surgical work as well as photographs depicting recovered patients. One such report reads:

Imagine the joy of being able to eat solid food after nine years being on a diet of liquids which could pass between the teeth! Such was the experience of a lad of fifteen who came to us for healing. As a small child, he had had an ulcer which formed in his cheek, destroying much of the jaw... so that he was not able to open his mouth. An operation was performed which relieved this condition and he was indeed happy to be able to talk and eat like other boys.<sup>36</sup>

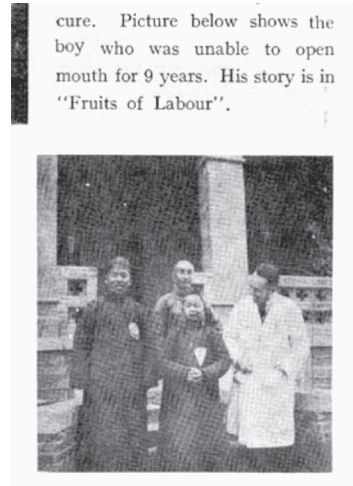
The effectiveness of this report, however, was not only in its urging readers to “imagine” the prior condition and recovery of the boy; they could see for themselves. In the accompanying picture section, a photograph—likely taken by Lewis—shows the boy and his

father outside the hospital, smiling. Harold Henke, dressed in a lab coat to identify himself as a doctor, grins at the boy instead of the camera, indicating a personal familiarity with his patient (*Figure 4*).

The largest collection of medical photographs, however, was not published in the reports at the time. Almost all of the photographs in the 1939 report depict patients under treatment or in various stages of recovery. The larger body of medical photographs found in the Henke collection presents a graver view of medical problems faced by the doctors and their staff at Shuntehfu. Unlike the aforementioned published images, many of the medical photographs lack annotations; their more “clinical” composition also indicate that they were likely intended for medical research purposes. They also play a dualistic role. On the one hand, they are “clinical” documents of severe medical conditions and physical diseases in more advanced stages than those found in the United States; Jessie Mae Henke states in her film narration that “[of certain diseases] not seen in our own country, we took more pictures...because we didn’t see them; it was rare.”<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, the photographs are evidence that treating diseases was difficult and often unsuccessful. Several of the photographs in the “Medical Practice” section show close-ups of what appear to be advanced carcinomas, graphically depicted in close-ups (*Figure 5*).<sup>38</sup>

Surgical operations are more clearly represented in other images found in the collection, including one of the most striking cases—photographs of a woman who had a 158-pound ovarian cyst successfully removed (*Figures 6a, 6b*). The doctors were clearly impressed enough with the severity of the illness and the effectiveness of the operation to document the patient’s recovery in before-and-after photographs.

To highlight the exceptional surgery, the woman’s pre- and post-surgery weights were noted on the front and back of each print,



**Figure 4 (Henke Collection)**



Figure 5 (Henke Collection)



Figures 6a, 6b (Henke Collection)

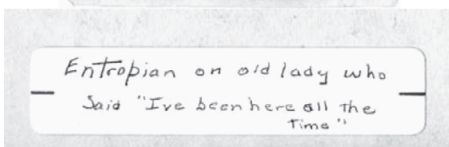
written first in pencil and then traced over in blue ink, as if the photographer was worried that the pencil would rub off over time. A scribbled caption on the “before” photograph states, almost enthusiastically, that “The ovarian cyst weighed more than the pt. [patient] after operation.”<sup>39</sup> Strangely, existing textual documentation about the removal of the massive ovarian cyst is sparse. Neither Harold Henke nor Ralph Lewis bring up the incident in their writing and Jessie Mae Henke briefly mentions it only once in her recollections; the medical reports from 1931 and 1939 are also silent.<sup>40</sup> As

of present, these photographs are the only detailed documents of the successful operation.

Other photographs bear striking conversations between personal texts and images, some preserving the voices of the Chinese individuals within them. In a set of photographs taken at a rural clinic, one of the many forays into the North China countryside that the Henkes conducted in the first half of the 1930s, there is a large print of Harold Henke and a Chinese nurse administering a trachoma treatment to an elderly Chinese woman. The photograph, which has been colorized with retouching oils, contains a label applied to the back that reads, "Entropian [sic] on old lady who said 'I've been here all the time'" (*Figure 7a, 7b*).

The photograph's strange caption is explained in Jessie Mae Henke's recollections, shedding light on the importance of the image and its memorializing of the Chinese woman's voice.

At another [rural clinic], a...woman patiently waited her turn to be examined. Her eyes were badly enflamed and scarred with the trachoma, the scourge of so many in China. [Dr. Henke] examined her eyes carefully, and finally



Figures 7a, 7b (Henke Collection)

said with reluctance[,] “I’m sorry. I can’t help you, for you’ve come too late!” Quick as a flash her reply came back! “Dr. Henke. I’ve been here all the time. It’s *you* who have come too late!”<sup>41</sup>

This image adds a visual framework to the “disembodied” voice in the text. While Henke’s recollections offer textual context, the image provides visual context; the viewers *see* the elderly woman who reminded Harold Henke of his (and the medical missionaries’) goals of service as well as her identity as a person deserving treatment. And as a document of the treatment in progress, the viewers see that the woman’s rebuke was not in vain.

As a whole, the changes in the Henkes’ photographic perception over time directly mirrors developments in their understanding of China and Chinese individuals during their medical missions work of the late 1920s and 1930s. Their photographic production began with a picture taken from a distance, an alien China seen from the deck of an approaching ship. The photographs taken in the course of the following decade show that the Henkes moved from distanced visitors to missionaries intimately involved with indigenous people on the ground, seeing Chinese individuals not as faraway figures in an unfamiliar environment, but as coworkers, patients, inheritors of faith, and friends.

### **Historical Lenses—Images and Meaning-Making**

The visual production of American Protestant missionaries in China in the early-to-mid 20th century reflects rich personal and collective perceptions, ways of representation, and understandings. They are images that reflect identity production as well as ideological questions. The visuality is connective as well, linking not only photographers, subjects, and audiences, but also mediating between “the way things were” and the ways things were perceived. And in speaking to categories of historiographic analysis, the richness of the images and the various missionary understandings of cultural identity (in whatever form), show that “imposition” and “cultural imperialism” are not terms to be applied blindly to foreign missionaries in China. Rather that such analytical terms and categories require nuanced interrogation, taking into account the complicated visual representations and relationships seen in missionary images.



These approaches also remind the scholar that images are “lenses” that mediate between historical reality and historical intervention, not transparent windows. Yet, the complexities and challenges of studying visuality in history do not mean that images are to be cast aside as opaque or relegated to the static realm of “illustrations;” images provide spaces in which historical questions may be answered or generated, memories and perceptions constructed or deconstructed. In the case of missionary visual production, images embody tantalizing cross-cultural, transnational perspectives that may be illuminated by further “on-the-ground” research. But analysis aside, it is often best to step back and look at personal and collective *meanings* in images. It is these meanings, I feel, that make wrestling with visual complexities worthwhile. As this paper began with 80 seconds of Kodachrome movie film shot during an Easter service at the Altar of Heaven, it concludes with two still black-and-white prints taken nearly a decade apart at Shuntehfu, as personally meaningful to the Henkes as the sunrise service was to the missionary congregation worshipping that cold Sunday morning.

When Jessie Mae Henke sat down to write an early draft of her China recollections, she took time to express one of her most profound memories—that of a young Chinese girl named Ai Jung. The amount of textual detail Henke devoted to describing her first encounter with Ai indicates the profundity of the experience, and is worth quoting in its near-entirety.

Almost yearly there are devastating floods in China. And when the banks of the Yellow River or the Yantze [sic] River overflowed...many were left homeless and hungry. Late one afternoon, and in a drizzle, we heard a commotion at our front gate and went out to see its cause. There on the steps was the most forlorn man I think I have ever seen, hanging on to the hands of a little boy and girl, equally forlorn looking. The man was telling onlookers how he had come from the flood area and lost everything. He pleaded with them to buy the little girl, so he would have money enough to buy food for the boy...[We] told him we would take the girl (his daughter), gave him money for food for him and his son, and told him he could claim his daughter whenever he wanted to. He came back occasionally to see her but never to claim her! Her name was Ai Jung.



We put her in the Girls School and cared for her in the ensuing years.<sup>42</sup>

The relationship found its way into the image archive. Shortly after Ai's adoption, she and Jessie Mae Henke were photographed together on the hospital's front steps (*Figure 8a*). While the steps formed the backdrop to many a group photograph taken at Shuntehfu, this one was particularly special to the Henkes. Although Ai and Jessie Mae squint uncomfortably into the bright fall sunlight, this was more a result of Harold Henke's amateur photographic technique. Their relationship is already evident; Jessie Mae has placed her right hand on Ai's shoulder and the two of them seem comfortable together. The caption to the photograph reads "'our' little Chinese girl—Ai Jung." Eleven years later, on January 18, 1941, a second photograph was taken. In it, Ai was now a young woman and a nursing student, having just graduated from the Presbyterian Nurses Training School at Shuntehfu (*Figure 8b*). Her transformation from an orphaned peasant girl to a medical professional is evident; she is dressed in an immaculately white Western-style nursing uniform and holds a scroll tied with a dark ribbon, likely her nursing certificate. Standing next to Ai is Australian missionary nurse Rose Rasey, then acting as the Superintendent of Nurses in Jessie Mae's absence.<sup>43</sup> At the time the photograph was taken, the Henkes were on furlough in Chicago, thousands of miles away.<sup>44</sup> Yet, the relationship between Ai and her adoptive parents was strong. A caption scribbled in Jessie Mae Henke's handwriting on the back of the print reads: "Ai Jung—our Chinese daughter."

With the Japanese occupation of China and the attack on Pearl Harbor later that year, it would be four years before the Henkes returned to China.<sup>45</sup> The photograph of Ai's nursing graduation somehow made its way to the United States in the interim, a reminder of the medical missionaries' connection to their own adopted "Chinese daughter" (*Figure 9*). When Jessie Mae saw Ai again after her return to China in 1947, the young nurse "was married and had a son of her own."<sup>46</sup> Then the Chinese Civil War came, with foreign missionaries ordered out of China en masse by the victorious Communist government.<sup>47</sup> The Henkes stayed as long as they could; Harold Henke departed for good nearly three months after the People's Republic was declared.<sup>48</sup>



Figures 8a, 8b (Henke Collection)

They left China carrying with them the Cine-Kodak, their still camera, and the Kodachrome film of the Easter sunrise service. They left behind Ai Jung, their mission station at Shuntehfu, and their Chinese coworkers and patients. But the memories and the images remain.

Rose Bacey  
 Ai Jung - our Chinese  
 daughter

Figure 9 (Henke Collection)

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Harold and Jessie Mae Henke Missionary Collection (private), California. 16mm Kodachrome film, 1947. VTS\_01\_2.VOB (D1). Chinese terms used in this paper appear in the original Wade-Giles romanization used by the missionaries. The current *Hanyu pinyin* (漢語拼音) romanization is noted in parentheses following original words, as necessary.

<sup>2</sup> Jessie Mae Henke, 16mm film narration; Richard P. Henke, telephone interview by author, March 11, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Liang Ssu-ch'eng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture, a Study of the Development of Its Structural System and the Evolution of Its Types*, ed. Wilma Fairbank (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1986), 182.

<sup>4</sup> Henke Collection, 16mm Kodachrome film; Henke, 16mm film narration.

<sup>5</sup> Henke, telephone interview, March 11, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Henke Collection, 16mm Kodachrome film, 1947; Henke, 16mm film narration.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 5, 9-11.

<sup>9</sup> Jessie Mae Henke, *Family History* (unpublished manuscript, 1988), 11.

<sup>10</sup> John F. Piper, *Robert E. Speer: Prophet of the American Church* (Louisville: Geneva Press, 2000), 348-352.

<sup>11</sup> Henke, *Family History*, 11.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>13</sup> Henke, 16mm film narration (VTS\_01\_3.VOB); Richard P. Henke, personal interview by author, May 2, 2010.

<sup>14</sup> Frank R. Fraprie and E.J. Wall, eds. "The American Annual of Photography 1927," Vol. XLI (Boston: American Photographic Publishing Co., 1926), Advertisement #63.

<sup>15</sup> The still camera used by the Henkes in China is no longer extant in their collection. As such, I have made educated guesses based on the size of the resulting prints (which were mostly printed directly from the negatives, without enlargement) and the kinds of cameras that were popular with American amateur photographers and travelers of the late 1920s.

<sup>16</sup> Henke Collection, "Landing at Tanghu [sic]."

<sup>17</sup> Henke, *Family History*, 11.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Henke Collection, "Landing at Tanghu [sic]."

<sup>20</sup> Jessie Mae Henke, "Substance of My Talk on China to Groups" (unpublished manuscript), 1.

<sup>21</sup> Henke Collection, "General Scenes."

<sup>22</sup> Henke, *Family History*, 11.

<sup>23</sup> Henke Collection, "General Scenes."

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, "Temple of Heaven."

<sup>25</sup> Henke Collection, "Pailous."

<sup>26</sup> See Donald A. Jordan's *The Northern Expedition: China's National Revolution of 1926-1928* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976).

<sup>27</sup> Henke, *Family History*, 12.

<sup>28</sup> Henke Collection, “China Records and Notes,” *Report of Medical Work at Shuntehfu, Hopei, North China—American Presbyterian Mission*, 1931, 22.

<sup>29</sup> Henke, 16mm film narration.

<sup>30</sup> Liu Ju (劉舉), personal interview by the author, recorded in Wuchang, China, May 22, 2011.

<sup>31</sup> Henke Collection, 1931 *Report*, 1.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*; Henke, 16mm film narration.

<sup>33</sup> Henke Collection, “China Records and Notes.”

<sup>34</sup> Ralph Charles Lewis, *China Years: His Story in Those Years in the Life of Ralph Charles Lewis* (unpublished manuscript), 123.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>36</sup> Henke Collection, 1939 *Report*, 8-9.

<sup>37</sup> Henke Collection, “A Conducted Tour Thru the Hospital Compound at Shuntehfu, Hopei, China,” 1930, 16mm silent film. VTS\_01\_2.VOB (D1); Henke, 16mm film narration.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, “Medical Practice,” “Child Ear Growth.” I would like to express my sincere thanks to Elliot Ho (OMS, MS, Western University of Health Sciences) and Corinne Lieu (MS, Creighton University Medical School) for their assistance in identifying the medical conditions depicted in these photographs.

<sup>39</sup> Henke Collection, “Ovarian cyst—Before.”

<sup>40</sup> Henke, “My Talk,” 4.

<sup>41</sup> Henke, *Family History*, 13.

<sup>42</sup> Henke, “Our Life in China in Early Years, 1927–1940” (unpublished manuscript), 2.

<sup>43</sup> Henke, *Family History*, 15. When Japan declared war on the British Empire on December 8, 1941, Rasey was labeled “an enemy alien” and “incarcerated at a converted mission compound in Shunteh[ufu]...[for] 8 months” before being sent to a Japanese prison camp for British nationals in Shanghai (Lunghwa Civil Assembly Centre), where she was imprisoned for the remainder of the war. See Brad Manera, “Rose Sarah Rasey, Australian nurse and missionary in China,” *Collegian, Journal of the Royal College of Nursing, Australia* Vol. 2, No. 4 (1995): 43–45.

<sup>44</sup> Henke, *Family History*, 17.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

<sup>46</sup> Henke, “Our Life in China,” 2.

<sup>47</sup> Harold E. Henke, “Factual Report on Medical Mission Work—N. China” (unpublished lecture notes, December 24, 1949).

<sup>48</sup> Henke, *Family History*, 19.